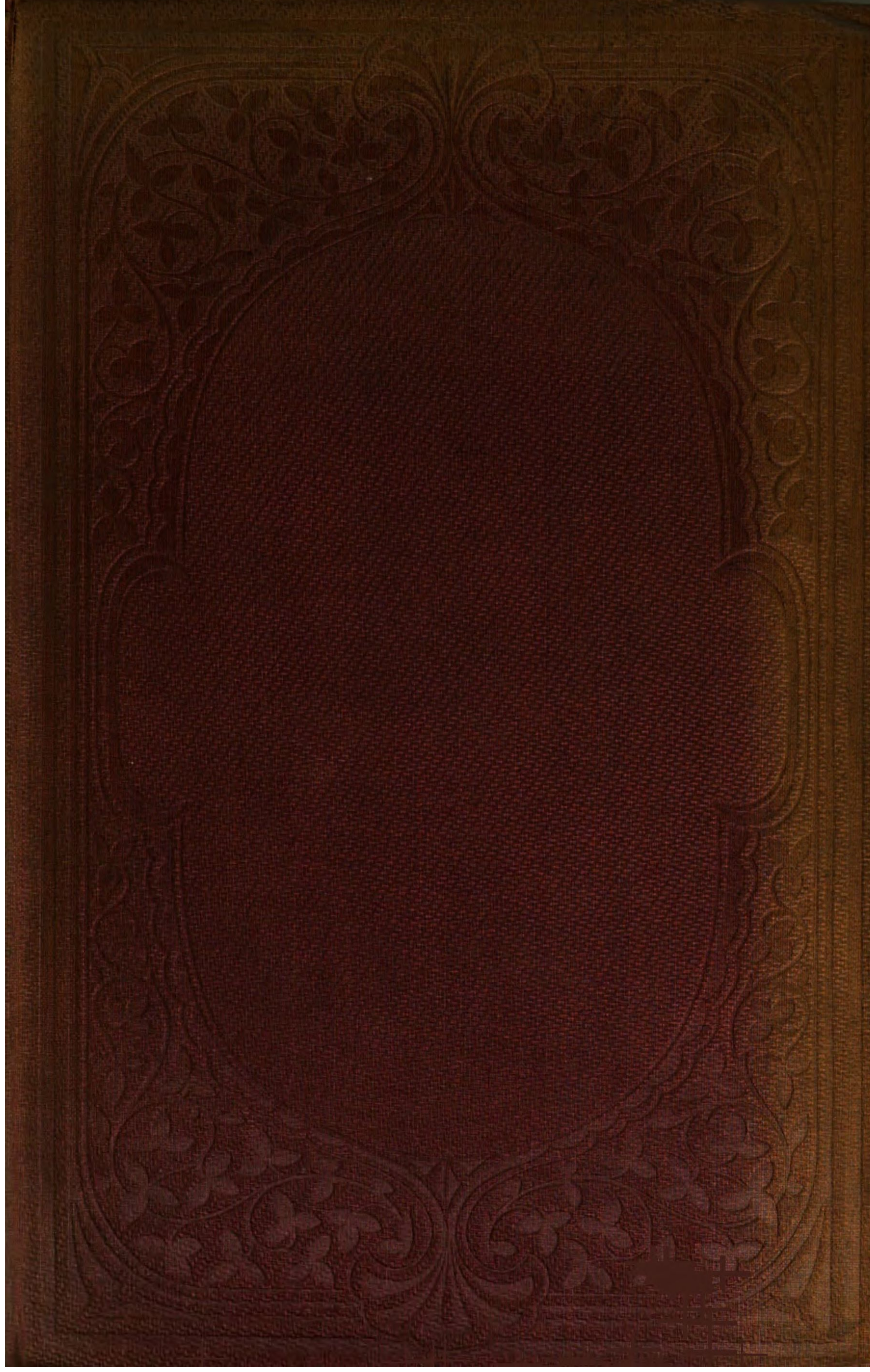




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JOHN RICHARDSON

THE HISTORY OF THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE

THE
MONARCHY OF FRANCE:

ITS
RISE, PROGRESS, AND FALL.

BY
WILLIAM TOOKE, F.R.S.

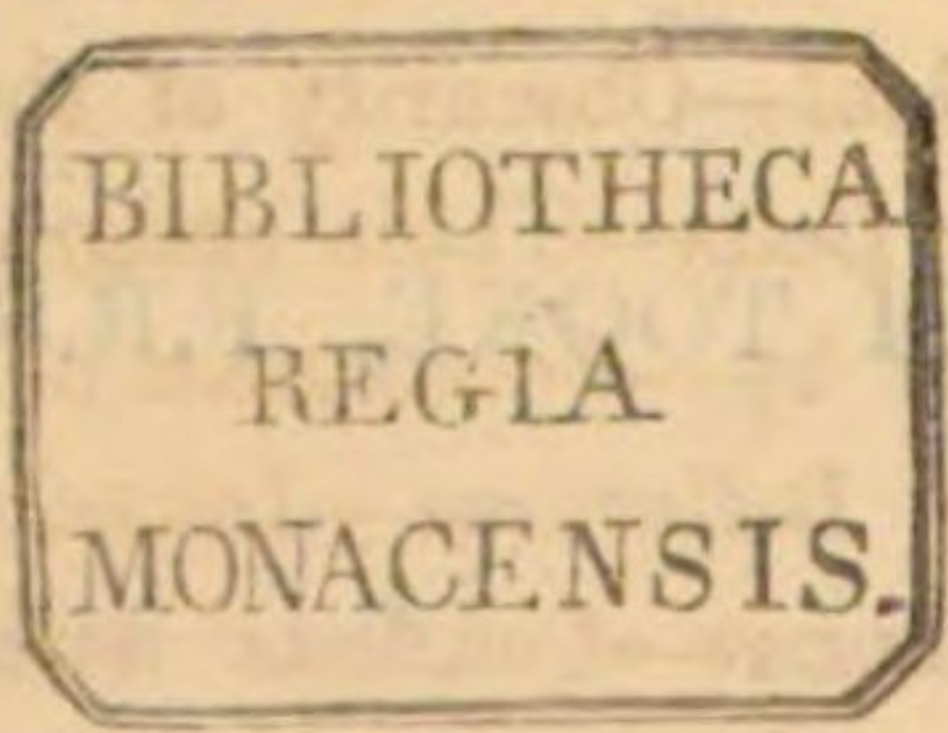
LONDON :
SAMPSON LOW AND SON, 47, LUDGATE-HILL
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MONARCHY OF FRANCE

WINE, PROGRESS, AND FALL

LONDON: SERCOMBE AND JACK, 16 GREAT WINDMILL STREET.



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ERRATA.

Page 78 line 8 *dele* Nantes.

„ 87 „ 16 *for* Boyeldicu *read* Boyeldieu.

„ 177 „ 4 „ Estrampes *read* Estampes.

„ 184 „ 5 „ Coignac *read* Cognac.

„ 434 „ 3 „ Maestrecht *read* Maestricht.

„ 445 „ 24 „ Maestrecht *read* Maestricht.

„ 534 „ 20 Omit the words “the author of the travels of Anacharsis.”

„ 545 „ 26 *for* St. Menehoud *read* St. Menehould.

„ 565 „ 6 „ Dumourier *read* Dumouriez.

„ 607 „ 12 „ Guyton-Morveau, Tallien, Ballay of Verdun, Dubois-Crance, and Barras, etc., *read* Roux, Florent-Guyot, Tallien, Pons de Verdun, and Dubois-Crance; and Barras remained the commander of the Constitutional forces.

„ 613 „ 28 Introduce the word “great” a third time.

„ 653 „ 25 *for* Maimbourg *read* Maubourg.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume has attained a bulk so disproportionate to my original intention, that I will no further encroach on the indulgence of the reader, than by soliciting it in favour of this endeavour to present to the public, within the reasonable limit of a single volume, a summary of French history, from its earliest authentic records to the close of the last century, with tables of the several subsequent governments to this time.

The object has been to convey in this condensed form to the English reader as much acquaintance with the continued tide of public and political events in France, under its monarchy, as it may import him to acquire, with a due regard to the more important demands on his attention of professional reading and research; and of the large requirements of English history and biography in all their ramifications, not omitting the collateral claims of the continually increasing extent and interest of our miscellaneous literature.

The title of the work is sufficiently indicative of its contents and immediate scope, and without any disparagement of the labours of my predecessors in the same field, I have ventured on the task in the hope of supplying the desired result by a less voluminous process, while, with a view to the information so supplied, French writers alone

have been consulted. Our neighbours do not possess so rich and valuable a series of early monastic chronicles as we do. Gregory of Tours, it is true, is equal, if not superior, to the best of our chroniclers, but his successors were of a very inferior description. It is otherwise in respect of their histories and memoirs, which are of interminable extent, and most of them of great and intrinsic value and authenticity.

For the earlier period the *Abrégé Chronologique* of the President Henault has been chiefly consulted, who, although censured by most of his successors for some errors and many omissions, has been quoted and relied upon by all as their best and safest authority, always excepting the better and later claim of the Abbé Mably, whose "*Observations sur l'Histoire de France*" has received as it deserves the unqualified approval of his countrymen, while equal justice has been done to him by Professor Smyth in his lectures on modern History.

The general historians of France chiefly referred to by me are Father Daniel, Veilly, Villaret, Mezeray, Anquetil, Sismondi, and Thierry; while for the later and revolutionary period, coinciding with my own age and recollection, and therefore watched by me throughout with peculiar interest, I have gleaned the material incidents and observations from Mignet, Thiers, Rabaut St. Etienne, Lacretelle, Chateaubriand, and Lamartine, endeavouring to reconcile their very different versions of the same facts, and in some instances have been enabled to correct them by an acquaintance both at home and abroad, as well with some of the actors in the interesting events of the revolution, as with several intelligent and impartial observers of them; while, for all practical purposes, I have found no more useful or accurate

guide than an anonymous work published in Paris in 1820, entitled "Revue Chronologique de l'Histoire de France," from 1787 to 1818. For the biographical sketches of some of the most distinguished deputies to the States-General, I am mainly indebted to the "Dictionnaire Biographique des Hommes Marquans de la Fin du Dix-huitième Siècle."

This history is open to the objection that it is protracted about seven years by way of diary beyond the period assigned for the fall of the monarchy, and then chronologically continued to this time. In both instances, however, it is but a continued exhibition of the still unsettled consequences of that fall; nor could it be expected that the oldest sovereignty which ancient or modern history can boast, existing for fourteen centuries through a succession of sixty-seven monarchs, and civil and military institutions matured by the wisdom and illustrated by the achievements of Charlemagne, St. Louis, Charles the Wise, Henry the Great, and Louis the August, could be radically subverted without causing a heavy swell of public and social disturbance and agitation, the satisfactory solution and subsidence of which may not be witnessed by the youngest individual of the existing generation.

In these circumstances I considered it desirable that my work should supply a concise summary of the past and present political condition of France, as a starting point from whence the future destinies of that splendid and fertile country and its thirty-five millions of intelligent, gallant, and accomplished inhabitants may be traced.

*Russell Square,
5th May, 1855.*

THE
MONARCHY OF FRANCE:

ITS
RISE, PROGRESS, AND FALL.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

GAUL AND THE GAULS, TO 51 B.C.

Early inhabitants of Gaul—Obscurity of their origin—Supposed fusion with Kelts, or Celts—Their emigrations and immigrations—Invasions of, and by—Foundation of Massilia by the Phoceans—Sigovesus and Bellovesus—Invasion of Italy and capture of Rome by Brennus—Conflicts with the Romans—Establishment by the latter of the colonies and cities of Aix and of Narbonne—Final subjugation of Gaul by Julius Cæsar.

OF the earliest inhabitants of Gaul, no certain knowledge has reached us. Their ingenious and learned descendants, have exhausted their conjectural powers in a fruitless endeavour to shed a glimmering of light over the dense obscurity which for ages has shrouded the origin and movements of their remote ancestors; and to ascertain whether

B.C. they superseded the aboriginal Celts, or were themselves a branch of the same great Celtic race.

A vague tradition appears to have prevailed, from an early period, of a settlement by the Gauls in Umbria, a part of Northern Italy; and this is rendered the more probable by the fact of the inhabitants of that district having acquired from their neighbours the designation of Galli Veteres, being considered the descendants of the Pelasgian Greeks, who first (1912 B.C.) colonized that region of Italy, called in consequence Magna Grecia; while by some historians the Pelasgi are alleged to have been of Scythian origin, the posterity of an early migration from the north, and who, in either case, may be considered as having contributed to the foundation of the three great empires of Greece, Rome, and France.

614. With greater approach to probability, it is narrated by Livy, that, about 140 years from the building of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus being king, a simultaneous movement took place among the Gauls, of a countless host, under the conduct of two leaders, Sigovesus and Bellovesus, the supposed nephews or sons of Ambigatus, a supposed king of the Gauls. Being formed into two divisions, one of them, under Sigovesus, crossed the Rhine, and settled amid the wilds of the Hercynian forest, as far as that part of Germany now called Bohemia; while the other, under Bellovesus, proceeded over

the Alps into the plains of the Po, defeated the Etruscans, or Tuscans, who then possessed that country, in a set battle near the river Ticinus, and founded the city of Mediolanum, now Milan. After this successful experiment, swarms followed in the same track, and, passing the newly acquired possessions of their countrymen, westward of the Adda, extended the Gaulish settlements as far as the Adige; subsequent parties diverged towards Switzerland by other routes, and one section of them succeeded in expelling the Etruscans from their territory between the Po and the Appenines, the present sites of Parma, Modena, and Bologna. Others again reached the shores of the Adriatic, and spread from Ravenna to Ancona. These extensive settlements, in an especial manner those in Northern Italy, comprising the fertile plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, were afterwards designated by the Romans, with reference to their own position, as Gallia Citerior, or Cisalpine Gaul, while all beyond the Alps was denominated Gallia Ulterior, or Transalpine Gaul.

B.C.

About the same period, an attempt at commercial intercourse and colonization was made, by the descent into Southern Gaul of the Phocæans, a Grecian people of Ionia, in Asia Minor, who made such good report to their countrymen of their expedition, that, about sixty years later, a large

599.

B.C. body of them, wearied out by the arbitrary and oppressive rule of their Persian lords, a second time visited the same coast in larger numbers, and founded the colony and town of Massilia, now the
539. celebrated city and port of Marseilles—the loyal and faithful ally in after ages of the Roman Commonwealth, until, by taking part with Pompey, it incurred the vindictive visitation of Julius Cæsar and the marked displeasure of his successors in the Empire.

The earliest mention of the Gauls in authentic contemporary history, occurs in Herodotus, who states that the Kelts dwelt without the Pillars of Hercules, and that they bordered on the Kynesians, who lived the farthest to the west of all the people of Europe. This information was probably derived from some Phœnician navigator, trading to Britain for tin; and would thus, according to the track of the voyage, locate the Kelts on the coast north of the Garonne, the inhabitants of which were, at that time, probably intermixed with the Iberian Kynesians on the coasts of Gascony and Navarre. Thucydides and Isocrates take no notice of the Gauls, and Xenophon only incidentally refers to them, as forming part of the auxiliary force sent by Dionysius to the aid of Lacedæmon. Aristotle, in some of his philosophical writings, makes occasional allusion to the Gauls.

No doubt is now entertained that the Gauls, Galts, or Galatæ, at an early period became identi-

fied by extensive immigration, and continual fusion and alliance with the principal race or family of central Europe, called Kelts, or Celts, if not already, as before observed, a branch of it, and their names may be considered as only different forms of the same appellation. Owing to their increasing population, and extent of territory, they became subdivided into various tribes, many of them at fierce enmity among themselves, and as dissimilar in several particulars, of customs, laws, and even language, as are, at the present time, the various representatives of the same Celtic breed,—the Scotch Highlanders, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Bretons. B.C.

During the ensuing two hundred years, nothing is known of the internal transactions in Gaul, except that in all that period Rome was kept in a continual state of apprehension of inroads from the Gauls, by which common name the several tribes of Ambrones, Kymri, or Cimbri, Teutones, and Tiguri were called. To such a length was that apprehension carried, that the Roman citizens, who, by age or former services, were exempt from the duties of ordinary warfare, were compelled to be enrolled among the forces by whom the much-dreaded Gauls were to be opposed, precautions which were justified by the previous entire destruction of the Etruscan cities, situated between the Alps and the Appenines, by the Gauls, in the exercise of their assigned vocation of plunder and devastation.

B.C.

Towards the close, however, of the fourth century before the Christian era, these fears were more than realised by a formidable invasion of Italy by an immense body of the Sennonian Gauls, inhabiting the territory now called Sens and Auxerre, under their king or leader, Brennus,* who, crossing the Appenines, penetrated into central Italy as far as Clusium, now Chiusi, a city then still retained by the Etruscans, which they besieged, and laid all the surrounding country waste. The inhabitants of Clusium in this emergency applied to their allies of Rome, about one hundred miles distant, for aid, and three deputies of the Fabian family were sent in consequence to ascertain the position of the besieged. The deputies, on their arrival, remonstrated with Brennus, from whom receiving a haughty answer, they put themselves

* We would refer to Dr. Arnold's History of Rome, for an elaborate and ingenious inquiry into the origin of the several tribes who, under the name of Gauls, invaded Italy; in which he inclines to the opinion, that they consisted of combined bodies of Gauls and Kymry, and considers the name of Brennus as a mere fiction in connection with the legend of the Gaulish attack on Delphi. He further suggests that the word Brennus, the supposed name of their leader, is no other than the Cymrian word, Brenhin, which signifies king or leader in the Welsh, as Brenn does in the sister dialect of Brittany, the most ancient spoken languages of Europe. In corroboration of Dr. Arnold's suggestion, it may be stated that there still exist near Llangollen, in North Wales, on the summit of a lofty mountain, the ruins of an ancient castle, still called and well known by the name of Castel dinas Bran.

at the head of the Etruscans, made a sally on the Gauls, which was repulsed by Brennus, and resented by him as a gross breach of faith on the part of the Romans, whereupon he raised the siege of Clusium, and marched upon Rome by the valley of the Clanis, leading directly to the Tiber,—so near its source as to be readily fordable,—and then the whole plain of Latium was open to his farther progress. The Romans, expecting that the attack would have been made from the right bank of the Tiber, were, with their Latin and Hernican allies, prepared to meet them there, when, ascertaining the unexpected course taken by the Gauls, and the Tiber there not being fordable, they were under the necessity of going round again by Rome; and without a moment's delay, marched out by the Salarian road to meet the enemy, whom they found already within twelve miles of the city, at the confluence of the Alia and the Tiber; and here the Romans were wholly routed. Brennus with great skill directed his attack against the new levies, consisting of the poorer citizens, whose wooden shields were unequal to ward off the fearful strokes of the Keltic broadswords. The carnage was immense, as most of those who fell not by the sword, perished in the Tiber. The remnant of such as escaped, took refuge at Veii, Rome being abandoned as defenceless, all but the citadel, into which the Patricians, with their immediate retainers, entered,

B.C.

390.

B.C. with a determination to defend it to the last extremity. Brennus delivered over the devoted town to pillage and to fire, and proceeded to besiege the capitol, or, more properly, the citadel,—he and his chiefs in the meanwhile establishing their residence on the Palatine Hill, opposite the capitol. The elder senators, and such of them as had borne high office in the Commonwealth, or had been decreed triumphal honours for their victories, assembled, about eighty in number, in the forum, and seated in their richest robes, after devoting to the spirits of the dead, themselves and the common enemy, for the welfare and deliverance of the Romans and the Quirites, waited in solemn silence the entrance of the Gauls, who were awe-struck by the imposing sight, when one of them, not with intentional irreverence, put his hand on the white beard of the consul, M. Papirius, who, resenting the sacrilegious indignity, struck the barbarian with his ivory sceptre. The blow was instantly returned by a death stroke from the sword of the Gaul; this was a signal to his comrades, who immediately accomplished the vow of the conscript fathers, by devoting them to the powers of death upon the spot. Brennus was repulsed with loss, in several attempts he made to storm the capitol; at length its garrison, in immediate stress of famine, offered to ransom themselves and the city by the payment of a large sum of money, commuted at one thousand pounds

weight of gold. The weights, as the Roman story goes, being unfair, the Roman military tribune, Quintus Sulpicius, complained of the fraud, but the insolent chieftain threw his heavy broadsword into the scale, and when the tribune asked what he meant, he received the memorable reply, "Væ victis." In the meanwhile, Camillus, then under sentence of banishment from Rome, rallied the fugitive citizens at Veii and the surrounding districts, and, if we may believe Livy and the traditions of ancient Rome, came to the rescue of the capitol at the moment of the completion of the ransom; and by the sword compelled the barbarians to disgorge the gold they had acquired by the sword, Brennus and his followers being too happy to be permitted to escape with their lives. The more probable version, however, is, that Brennus withdrew in safety with his trophies and a great portion of the golden spoil. Some of the Roman historians allege that he was six months at Rome, and held the capitol in siege during all that period; but this hardly consists with the numbers in the capitol, and their obvious deficiency of provisions, and of any means for obtaining them. B.C. 389.

Many of the followers of Brennus settled among their brethren on the territory of the Etruscans; and others younger and more adventurous, under another Brennus, invaded Thrace and Macedonia, and showed themselves in the neighbourhood of

- B.C. Byzantium, now Constantinople, levied contributions there, and some time afterwards returned into
284. Italy, and defeated the Romans near Arretium, in which engagement the consul, Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, was slain.

About the year 300 B.C., the Belgic Gauls invaded Britain in great force, and established colonies on the south-west coast, their chief emporium being Winchester, the *Venta Belgarum* of the Romans.

After a further interval, a division of the Gauls again advanced into Asia Minor, accompanied by a large body of Greeks, where they established a colony and town, afterwards called Galatia, from *Galatæ*, the name by which the Gauls were known to the Greeks, and to the inhabitants of which town, in later times, the Epistle from St. Paul was addressed. The part of Asia thus peopled by the Gauls was called *Gallogræcia*, and its inhabitants, *Gallogræci*.

224. The Romans, in revenge for their disaster at Arretium, crossed the Po for the first time, on the plea of rendering assistance to the citizens of *Masilia*, who claimed their protection against some of the native tribes in the neighbourhood,* on which occasion the barbarians were repulsed with great slaughter.

* An embassy to this effect is recorded in one of the fragments of Polybius.

The tide again turned against the Romans, when Hannibal traversed Transalpine Gaul, surmounted the Alps, and, seconded by the Cisalpine Gauls, who at first received him coldly, obtained the victory at the Trebia; they then joined him with effect to the end of the campaign. It required, however, all the prudence of this great commander to keep his turbulent allies in order; but they served him well at the battle of the Lake of Thrasymenus; and again at Cannæ, when upwards of four thousand of them fell, constituting two-thirds of the entire loss on the Carthaginian side on that memorable day.

B.C.
219.

217.

215.

A Roman army again, at the instance of the Massilians, attacked and conquered the Salii, a tribe of Transalpine Gauls; and, after their defeat, the Allobroges and the Arverni, their neighbours, were subdued by the Romans. One or two Roman colonies were now founded in Gaul, such as Aquæ Sextiæ, or Aix, in Provence, planted by Caius Sextius, and Narbo Martius, or Narbonne, the origin of which is fixed a little later. By these means, the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, on both sides of the Rhône, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and extending inland as far as the Loire and the mountains of Auvergne, were reduced to the form of a Roman province.

154.

125.

118.

About this time, a swarm of the long-dreaded Cimbri and Teutones, driven out of the Chersonesus, made their appearance on the frontiers of the Roman

113.

- B.C.
108. portion of Transalpine Gaul, and, after defeating Caius Papirius Carbo, a consul, with a consular army in Illyricum, in consequence of being refused a settlement in Gaul, they proceeded to gain one by force, and in two successive years, after ravaging Cisalpine Gaul, they defeated and slew Servilius Cæpio and his colleague, the two consuls; but, with the caprice of barbarians, then withdrew for two years. They again fell upon the Romans, and defeated two consular armies united, under the command of M. Aurelius Scaurus, with such dreadful slaughter, that the capital itself was filled with alarm. They then again retired, invaded Spain, but being repulsed from thence, recrossed the Pyrenees, and spent another year in wandering over Gaul. Being reinforced by some other German hordes, they attacked the Romans in Transalpine Gaul, towards the north-eastern side of Italy, when Marius not only destroyed the multitude completely, but immediately hastening to the support of Lutatius Catulus, his colleague, who had been partially defeated by the barbarians, engaged the other division of the enemy, and gave them a second overthrow, as complete as the first, in the neighbourhood of Verona, and thus restored peace to Gaul. Cisalpine Gaul was now first permanently made a Roman province; and among the first fruits of its colonization, was the construction of the two great roads, the Via Flaminia, and the Via Æmilia.
- 105.
- 102.
66. At a later date, Ariovistus, a German chieftain,

established himself on the banks of the Seine, from whence, at the end of eight years, he was expelled by Julius Cæsar. The command in Gaul had been conferred on Cæsar for the term of five years, prolonged afterward for five more years, in the course of which he suppressed a revolt of the Gauls, Belgians, and Ambrones, occupying his seventh and eighth campaigns, comprising the most important of his conflicts, and terminating in the utter discomfiture of the Gauls, after a gallant resistance on the part of Vercingetorix, their last independent chieftain. The great event of these sanguinary campaigns, was the taking of Avaricum, now Bourges, 40,000 of the inhabitants of which were massacred, 800 only escaping the slaughter. Cæsar concluded his operations in Gaul with the siege and capture of Massilia; after which he sent supplementary colonies to Narbo and to Arelatæ, passed the Rubicon to Rome, where his satanic march to power, as aptly so characterised by Dr. Arnold, received its first fatal check and retributive termination.

B.C.

Partial revolts and insurrections occasionally took place after the departure of Cæsar, but were repressed with such instant and severe visitations, that the great mass of the native Gauls, subdued in mind as well as in body, sunk into a condition little better than that of serfs under their haughty conquerors, and into servitude to such of their own countrymen as, by alliance or wealth, had identified

B.C. themselves with the military colonists and occupants of the land.

The religion of the Gauls was similar to that which prevailed in Britain: the worship, in groves and forests, of some fearful and cruel demon, to whom human sacrifices were offered by the Druids, on a consecrated stone called the dolmen. The priests of that worship were encouraged and assisted in their fearful ceremonies by the bards, their associates in power and influence, and who with the Druids were sole instructors of youth, and exercised uncontrolled dominion in all public councils.

The victims in these scenes of human immolation were generally the aged individuals of the community. No traces of Druidism existed in Cisalpine Gaul; and its horrid mysteries appear to have been more systematically practised in Britain than in Transalpine Gaul, as Cæsar mentions that the Druids of Gaul were in the habit of sending their youthful neophytes over to Britain to complete their education.

At the period of their subjugation by the Romans, and previously to it, the Gauls, although their form of government was nearly republican, constituted a number of petty states, independent of each other. These states having elective chiefs, and united by a common nationality, were induced, whether attacked at home, or about to wage war on their

neighbours, which their thirst for pillage often inclined them to do, invariably to combine for the purposes of aggression or defence. It was in general assemblies that measures were determined on; but these meetings were tumultuous, and frequently ended in bloodshed and increased disunion,—it having been the policy of the Romans, and especially of Julius Cæsar, during his continued command, extending over upwards of ten years, to sow jealousies and dissensions among the chiefs, thus gradually rendering them the instruments of their own downfall. B.C

The character of the Gauls is summed up by Cæsar, and other Roman authors, as inconstant, light, lively, frivolous, generous, sincere, and confiding; irresistible in success, but panic-stricken and prepared to fly upon the least check or reverse.

In the preceding pages, we have followed Dr. Arnold's History of Rome, without fatiguing the reader with special references, applicable to mere dates and facts; but have much pleasure in transcribing from his pages the following just and accurate appreciation of the character of the Gauls, as one of the great races of mankind:—

“The Kelts or Gauls for nearly two hundred years continued to fill Europe and Asia with the power of their arms; but it was a passing tempest, and if useful at all, it was only useful to destroy. The Gauls could communicate no essential points

B.C.

of human character in which other races might be deficient; they could neither improve the intellectual state of mankind, nor its social and political relations; when, therefore, they had done their appointed work of havoc, they were doomed to be themselves extirpated, or to be lost amidst nations of greater creative and constructive powers; nor is there any race which has left fewer traces of itself in the character and institutions of modern civilization."

Whether the Galli would have ever established a Gallic kingdom in Asia, is doubtful; for that nation, though it has carried its arms into all parts of the world, has never yet been able to subsist as a state out of the limits of Transalpine Gaul.

In corroboration of the view we have been induced to take of the moderate standard of intellectual endowment possessed by the Gauls, it may be observed that they had no written language, nor indeed any other alphabet than of Greek letters, probably borrowed from the Grecian colony of Massilia. A braver set of men, however, never faced an enemy, than the Galli with whom Cæsar fought. Some of the Gallic nations, the Sequani, for instance, coined money, an art which they probably acquired, with their alphabet, from the Massilians, the legends and inscriptions being in Greek letters.

Of the great Gallic family, the Belgæ were the only people who never crossed the Alps, or invaded

Italy. The Senones, and all the other tribes, did so repeatedly.

The Carthaginians found employment for some Galli in the first Punic war; they served in Sicily, but were turbulent and dangerous.

As some evidence of the partial, although not enlightened civilization of the Gauls before Cæsar's time, they appear to have had river-tolls, which, with other obstructions to internal commercial intercourse, subsisted during many succeeding centuries.

The successive invasions of Italy by the Gauls may be thus classed:—

1. By Bellovesus, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

2. By the Cenomani.

3. By the Salii.

4. By the Boii and Lingones, who crossed the Po, and took possession of the country as far as the Appenines, driving out the Etruscans.

5. The most important of all, by the Sennones, who, with others, in immense numbers, followed Brennus in his expedition to Rome.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

The origin and name of the Gauls have been variously derived; the earliest, and by no means the most questionable supposition is, that they were the descendants of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet. They, however, believed themselves to be descended from Pluto, and, by virtue of such parentage, reckoned their time not as other nations do, by the days, but by the nights.

Diodorus Siculus considers them as aborigines, and descended from Galatus, the son of Hercules. Ammianus Marcellinus alleges that they were called Kelts, from the name of one of their kings, and Gauls, from that of his mother. Strabo, without condescending upon particulars, asserts that they were so denominated from their nobility of disposition, and high reputation. Saints Jerome and Isidore, entitled no doubt to great consideration, derive their name from the Greek word γαλα (milk), from the whiteness of their skin; but whichever of these authorities may prevail, it is certain that the people were known and designated as Gauls during the reign of Tarquin the elder.

Cluverius, one of the most eminent geographers of the seventeenth century, derives their name from the ancient Celtic verb, 'gallen,' to travel. The probability is, that they were the descendants of the earliest Pelasgian invaders, who dispossessed the aboriginal Celts, or entered into alliance with them, and that the name of Galatæ, by which they were called by the later Greeks, applies equally to Kelt as to Gaul.

Before the great Gaulish invasion of Greece, in the fourth century before Christ, the only knowledge possessed by the Greeks of the Kelts was confined to the tribes of Spain and Gaul, after which the more correct form of Galatæ was introduced; yet many authors continued to use the old orthography, and, in fact, with the exception of the Galatians of Asia Minor, the other Gauls in all parts of the world are generally called Keltæ, and not Galatæ; and this coincides with Cæsar's statement, that the Gauls to the north of the Marne and the Seine, whom he calls Belgæ, differed in language and customs from the Gauls of the interior.

By way of caution to his readers, M. Sismondi, with his wonted acuteness, has, in his valuable history, expressed his opinion of the futility of the endless dissertations and speculations on the origin of nations and of names, in the following terms:—"Nous serons souvent appelés à nous tenir en garde contre le zèle des écrivains que ne satisfait point l'aridité de nos chroniques et qui y suppléent par des divinations. Plus d'une fois le lecteur pourra être surpris en voyant à combien peu se réduit ce que nous savons réellement sur un événement assez célèbre pour avoir motivé de gros livres."—SISMONDI *Histoire des François*, vol. i., p. 134.

CHAPTER II.

GALLIA ROMANA.

Triumph of Cæsar over Gaul at Rome—His death—Peaceable possession of all Gaul by Augustus—Revision of its provincial designations—Complete merger of Gaul in the empire of Rome—Introduction of Christianity—Martyrs of Lyons—Invasions of Gaul by the Franks—Gradual acquisitions by them of territory there.

THE whole of Gaul having been brought under sub-
jection to Rome by Cæsar, he, on his final return
from Spain to the Eternal city, celebrated a splendid
triumph over the five nations he had conquered;
Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, Africa, and Spain ; and was
created perpetual dictator and emperor by vote of
the senate, and in the following year suffered death
in the senate-house.

B.C.

45.

44.

In the conflict of parties which ensued, M. Antonius endeavoured to possess himself of Gaul, but was frustrated in that design by Decimus Brutus, who held Mutina (Modena) by order of the senate. He was besieged by Antonius, who defeated the consul Pansa, sent by the senate to the relief of the town ; but Antonius was himself in turn altogether defeated, and driven off the field by the other

B.C.
43.

consul Hirtius, who was accompanied by the young Octavius, then professing obedience to the senate.

27. Octavius having successfully defeated or circumvented all his competitors for power, assumed the title of Augustus at the persuasion and on the nomination of Munatius Plancus, and entered upon the peaceable possession of Gaul, and the other provinces of the empire. He enacted many useful regulations for the administration of them, and effected a more convenient repartition of Gallia into four provinces.

At this time the city of Lugdunum, now Lyons, was founded by Lucius Munatius Plancus; it was built on an elevation at the junction of the Saône and the Rhône. The Emperors Claudius and Aurelian were born there, also Sidonius Apollinaris, a poet and prose writer of some eminence. The government of Gaul was then conferred by Augustus
15. on Tiberius, and the general regulation of its provinces remodelled. Drusus, who was at this
11. time in command of the legions, defeated an insurgent tribe of the Usipetes, and, crossing the
9. Rhine, extended his conquests as far as the Weser. On his return, he had to encounter and defeat the Catti and the Cherusci; but died before he could recross the Rhine, on which occasion Augustus
8. made his first visit to Gaul.

From this period the Gauls, as a people, may be considered as merged in the vast domain of Rome,

during the height of its power, and thus lost not only their nationality, but their individuality; and whether for weal or for woe, became partakers with the Romans, during the ensuing five centuries, in their triumphs as well as their reverses; acquired the full rights of Roman citizenship, a qualification for entrance into the senate, and a share in all public honours and employments. They were thus identified with the Western Empire from the reign of Augustus until that of Valentinian II. At the earlier period of this union, some revolts, rather than rebellions, broke out in Gaul; the first was that of Sacrovir and Julius Florus, which was soon quelled, and each of the leaders committed suicide.

A.D.

21.

Gaul, from an early date, had afforded refuge to some memorable exiles—to Herod Archelaus, and Pontius Pilate, who committed suicide at Vienne, and to Herod Antipater, and Herodias his wife, who died at Lyons; the latter of whom, in consideration of her royal birth, being sister to Agrippa, was invited by Caligula to remain in Rome; but she elected to share the banishment of her husband. The Romans, with a view to their continued influence in these important provinces, evinced their wonted policy of inspiring either gratitude or terror, by laying claim to the former sentiment, in imparting the privileges of Roman citizenship to all the princes of Gallia Comata.

40.

48.

Towards the close of the first century, the most

A.D.
76.

important insurrection of the Gauls took place, and of the longest continuance, under the leadership of Civilis, a wealthy Batavian, who, with a combined force of Gauls and Batavi, made successful head against the Romans for upwards of eight years, and baffled the efforts of the Roman general, Cerealis, who was commissioned by Vespasian to oppose him; peace was at length restored, on the questionable submission of Civilis, who received tokens of honour in consequence from the emperor.

161. Christianity was introduced at an early period into Gaul, and its first converts were at the same time the earliest victims. A fierce persecution was waged against them throughout the provinces, but chiefly at Lyons, where, in one year, 177. Photinus, its first bishop, died in prison at the age of ninety, and forty-eight individuals, of both sexes, including St. Attalus, St. Blandina, and others, died under the infliction of the most excruciating torments; but their blood was the seed of the Gallican church, which, during the first century or two of its labours, produced some of the brightest ornaments of the Christian faith. St. Denis, the patron saint of France at a later day, bore testimony, 221. by a painful death, to the truth of his mission.

Thus, during the second and third centuries of our era, an influence, as powerful, and more beneficial than that of Rome, prevailed in Gaul, and rapidly extended itself throughout its provinces,—

the religion of Christ, in all its worldly poverty, and with all its heavenly aspirations, free from any impure alloy, and fraught with all the blessings of gospel peace and love, was promulgated by those apostolic men, St. Martin of Tours, St. Hilary of Soissons, and by St. Nicasius and Mallon, throughout Neustria (Normandy). The church of Rouen was founded by them, and, at a later period, Exuperius, the good bishop of Toulouse, promoted the building of the cathedral of Bayeux on the site of a temple of the Druids.

Gaul, thus forming part of the Roman empire, and identified with its fortunes, affords no material for any distinct historical record, other than that its bishops and clergy, devoted to the orthodox Athanasian faith, viewed with abhorrence the Arian heresy of the rulers of the declining empire of the West, and thus gladly paved the way for the successful invasion of Clovis and the Franks, who, recently converted to the true faith, zealously assisted in opposing the encroachments of the Arians.

The Western empire retained the possession of Gaul until the close of the fifth century; it then became subject to the Eastern empire until towards the sixth century, when it was overrun by the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths, who established themselves throughout the provinces, and who were in turn themselves defeated and dispossessed by the Franks.

The last and severest blow sustained by the provinces of Gaul was inflicted by the Huns, under Attila, the "scourge of God," who gave no quarter to the inhabitants, and pillaged and burned every town and city, excepting only Troyes, Orleans, and Paris; the invaders were ultimately expelled, and nearly exterminated, by Meroveus the Frank, at the ever memorable battle of Chalons.

As has been before noticed, the first division of Gaul was into Cisalpine and Transalpine; the inhabitants of the former being the most civilised, and wearing the Roman toga or gown, were denominated Togata, while those who lived in the Transalpine, or northern district, were named Braccata, from wearing trousers. The inhabitants of the Celtic and Belgic provinces afterwards constituted a third class, called Comata,* on account of their suffering their hair to grow to its full length. This classification of the Gauls coincides with the threefold division of their country as described by Julius Cæsar,—one inhabited by the Belgæ, the other by the Aquitani, and the third by those who, in their own language, were called Celts, and by the Romans, Gauls.

On the progressive colonization of the country, it was regularly divided into four provinces by Augustus; namely, Narbonnese Gaul, Aquitania,

* The definitive colonisation by the Romans of Gallia Comata took place in 27 B.C.

Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Belgica. In process of time, these four districts were subdivided into seventeen provinces. A.D.

After the death of the Emperor Aurelian, Gaul 275.
was much disturbed by the contending claims of the several commanders of the Roman legions, who were nominated emperors as caprice or cupidity prompted. Thus Tetricus, and many obscurer tyrants sprung up, encountered one another, and fell in battle, or by their own hands. After an interregnum of about eight years, Tacitus and Florianus were in succession acknowledged emperors by the whole Roman world, and were succeeded by Probus, who marched into Gaul with an over- 276.
whelming force to avenge the murder of Posthumus,* the only loyal Roman commander who, during that disturbed period, had, in many bloody encounters, not only defeated the insurgents, but also repelled the invasions of the Franks, Lygii, Allemanni, and other German tribes, and obtained the title of the saviour of Gaul. He was at length assassinated in his own tent by his discontented and mutinous troops. Probus took signal vengeance on his opponents, whether foreign or domestic, 277.
by recovering seventy cities, and causing the almost incredible number of 400,000 individuals, chiefly

* This Posthumus must not be confounded with two officers of the same name who had commands in Gaul, and aspired to the purple; and are included in the list of the thirty tyrants.

A.D. barbarians, to be killed in battle and otherwise,—a piece of gold being the reward for the head of each.

395. The acknowledged dependence of Gaul on the Western empire, endured but a short time after the reign of Honorius, who, with the forlorn hope of recovering the allegiance and affections of his Gaulish provinces, proposed, in terms of warm attachment, to confer on them a representative government, by issuing an edict authorising seven provinces to send delegates to an annual meeting, to be held for twenty-eight days, from the 15th of August to the 13th of September in each year, and each delegate to be fined at the rate of four or five pounds weight of gold, for non-attendance; but the threat did not operate, and the Western empire was dissolved before a second session could have been held.

The seven proposed provinces were:—

1. Viennensis.

2. Maritime Alps.

3 and 4. 1st. and 2d. Narbonensis.

5. Novem Populana (Gascony).

6 and 7. 1st. and 2d. Aquitania.

L'Abbé Dubos would substitute the 1st. Lugdunensis for the 1st. Aquitania.

While we thus lose sight of the native Gauls, as in any wise promoting or influencing the civilisation and improvement of their country, it is due to the

inhabitants, whether Gauls or Romans, or both, to bear witness to the extensive progress made by them in their public works and buildings, particularly in the southern provinces, and especially also at Paris, the "Cara Lutetia," the beloved and favourite abode of the emperor Julian; vestiges of whose palace and baths still attest the splendour and appliances of his imperial residence, and who was there first proclaimed emperor by his grateful legions. A.D. 361.

Aqueducts, amphitheatres, temples, villas, and baths, bear witness to the luxury and refinement of the colonists; and, in most respects, the Roman remains in France exceed in amount and interest those still to be found in England, excepting only the great military roads, and the extraordinary construction and extent of the northern walls.

After the fall, with Romulus Augustulus, of the Western empire, the Gauls, during another century, owned a nominal allegiance to the emperors of the East, from which they were at length formally released by the emperor Justinian; and so terminated their connection with the Roman empire, after a lapse of upwards of five hundred years, in the course of which laws, institutions, manners, customs, even language, all became Roman, so much so, that it is observed by the Abbé Dubos, that the Gauls no longer existed as such, and that throughout Gaul, no individual Gaul could be found. 475. 536.

The Gauls, with all their advantages of intercourse and equal privileges of citizenship with the Romans, have left but scanty memorials of their attainments in the arts and sciences, or in general literature, and even in the more absorbing pursuit of the period, war and its honours, they can boast but of few individuals who legitimately attained the imperial purple ; or of any distinguished consular commander of their race.

Cicero, indeed, speaks in high terms of the orators, jurists, and sophists of Massilia, who established schools for elocution in that city, and were in great repute as pleaders at Rome. M. Antonius Gripho, a poet and orator, taught publicly at Rome, and is celebrated by Cicero for his ability and disinterestedness. The Massilians also ranked among the most celebrated rhetoricians of the age. Pythias, an eminent philosopher and geographer, a native of Massilia, flourished 300 years before the Christian era ; he distinguished himself as an astronomer ; was the first who established a distinction of climate, by the length of days and nights ; he advanced far into the northern seas, and discovered the Island of Thule, and entered that then unknown sea called the Baltic. The name of Eudimenes has also been handed down to posterity as another eminent Massilian navigator and geographer.

Of the Gauls who acquired literary distinction during the supremacy of Rome, the following short

and not very distinguished list comprises the greater number:—

Pompeius Trogus, born in Gaul 41 B.C. He wrote a general history in Latin, of which Justin wrote an epitome; he was of a distinguished family, all the members of which zealously attached themselves to the fortunes of Julius Cæsar, and attained high honours. His general history, from the creation to the reign of Augustus, was divided into forty-four books, and was considered a model of style and composition.

Atacinus Varro, a native of Gaul in the time of Cæsar; he translated into Latin verse the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius; he also wrote epigrams and elegies, but did not succeed in satire. Some fragments of his poetry are still extant.

Vibius Gallus, a celebrated orator of Gaul of the Augustan age. Seneca has preserved some fragments of his orations.

Domitius Afer, the friend, if not the preceptor, of Quintilian, was a native of Nîmes, born about sixteen years before the Christian era; he acquired great fame as an orator, but degraded his talent to the vile purposes of informer and public accuser. Quintilian, however, is lavish in praises of his eloquence, and also of a book on witnesses written by him. Afer having unfortunately given some offence to Caligula, the emperor accused him, and pleaded his case in person. Domitius Afer, instead

of a defence, repeated parts of the imperial address, with tokens of the highest admiration—then fell on his knees, and begging pardon, declared his greater apprehension of the eloquence of Caligula, than of his imperial power. This turn of flattery succeeded so well, that the emperor not only pardoned him, but took him into favour, and raised him to the consulship. He died in the reign of Nero, A.D. 59.

Petronius Arbiter (*elegantiarum*), a pander and parasite to that monster of all wickedness and profligacy, the Emperor Nero, who nominated him consul, and gave him such unbounded power and licence as excited the envy of his rival, Tigellinus, who accused him of conspiring against the life of the emperor, who immediately sentenced Petronius to die; the sentence was carried into effect by the voluntary death of Petronius, A.D. 66. He held high offices in the state, the duties of which he performed with exemplary correctness; but then subsided into the lowest depths of debauchery. He wrote a poem on the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey, in a style almost equal in parts to that of Lucan; his other poems were of the most elegant latinity, but filled with such licentious atrocities as obtained for him the character of *auctor purissimus impuritatis*. To the credit of our country, no English critic has disgraced himself by writing notes on or otherwise illustrating this author.

Zenodorus, a sculptor in the reign of Nero, of

whom he executed a colossal statue 120 feet in height, consecrated to the sun, the head of which was removed by Vespasian, and replaced by one of Apollo surrounded by beams, each of which was nearly eight feet in length. From this statue, the Colosseum took its name.

Anabius, a distinguished Gaul in the time of Vitellius, mentioned by Montanus of Narbonne, who was himself an orator of considerable eminence in the reign of Vespasian.

Ausonius flourished in the fourth century, was tutor to Gratian the son of Valentinian I., and when Gratian became emperor, he, in 371, appointed Ausonius questor, and afterwards consul. He had a large family, and died at an advanced age. He is supposed to have been a Christian; but his poems do no credit to his profession.

Sidonius Apollinaris was no mean poet,—although Gibbon does not speak highly of him; he was son-in-law to the emperor Avitus, and wrote panegyrics on him and on other emperors. He was promoted to the dignities of Bishop and of Saint. Gibbon thus concludes a rather disparaging account of him:—"The prose of Sidonius, however vitiated by a false and affected taste, is much superior to his insipid verses."

St. Gregory, bishop of Tours, occupies the most distinguished place as an historian and chronicler of his own times; he was born about 544, A.D., and

this being after the separation of Gaul from the Roman empire, he belongs to rather a later period, but his history of France entitles him to notice in this place. He was descended from a noble family of Auvergne; besides his "History of France," in ten books, he wrote eight books of "The Miracles; or, Lives of the Saints." His history is very useful, and has obtained the unqualified approval of the latest and best writers on the constitutional history of France. Mably, Sismondi, and Thierry, all concur in acknowledging the merit of his work. He died 595, A.D.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS

held in Gaul until the year 429 inclusive:

A.D.

- 197. Of Lyons, under St. Irenæus, on Easter.
- 199. Of Lyons, against the errors of Valentinian.
- 257. Of Narbonne—Paul, its bishop, accused of incontinence.
- 314. Of Arles, in Provence, against the Donatists.
- 351. Of Bazas, against the Arians.
- 353. Of Arles, by the Arians, against St. Paulinus.
- 355. Of Poitiers, on the Arians.
- 356. Of Beziers, by the Arians, against St. Hilary.
- 360. Of Paris, against the Council of Rimini.
- 362. Of Paris, against Saturninus, Bishop of Arles.
- 374. Of Valence, in Dauphiny, on Ordinations.
- 383. Of Nismes, for the Catholic faith.
- 385. Of Bordeaux, against the Priscillianists.
- 429. Of the Gauls, against Nestorius.

CHAPTER III.

Provincial division of Gaul under the Romans—by Julius Cæsar, by Augustus, and Gratian—under the Monarchy—and into Departments under the Republic.

CÆSAR'S threefold partition of Gaul, excluding the Provincia, was not arbitrarily made by himself, it was a division based on the geographical nature and quality of the country, and the national habits of the people. These natural divisions of Cæsar are mentioned by later writers as still existing, though those of a political character had been long changed.

Gaul comprised all France, Belgium, Luxemburg, a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, those parts of Germany which lie west of the Rhine, the greater part of Switzerland, and the country south of the Lemman Lake, belonging to Sardinia; thus exceeding the limits of the conquests of Louis XIV., and co-extensive with the dominion of the first Napoleon.

The area of France, within its present limits, is estimated at 200,000 square miles.

This extensive region may be considered as having for its natural limits two seas, two great moun-

tain ranges, and a noble river ; and may be subdivided into western and north-western, and into east and south-east parts, by natural and well-defined boundaries.

Up to 1789, the map of France, and its political divisions, preserved many of the leading features of the map of Gallia that would consist with the description of it by Cæsar.

The subdivision of France into departments, is one of the great existing monuments of her revolutionary convulsion ; but political boundaries cannot all at once erase national characters, and France, only a part of Cæsar's Gallia, is still a nation of many tribes.

To give a complete view of the Provincial and Departmental divisions of France from its earliest period under Julius Cæsar, to the present time, we subjoin, in addition to the Roman subdivisions of it, a list of the provinces as they existed in the year 1789, with the mode and date of the annexation of each to the crown of France, at the same time showing their subsequent reduction into departments by a decree of the National Assembly.

DESCRIPTION OF GAUL BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

Cæsar opens the first book of his Commentaries by describing the whole of Gaul as divided into three portions,—one inhabited by the Belgæ, another

by the Aquitanians, and the third by those who, in their own tongue, called themselves Celts, but by the Romans were called Gauls.

The Gauls are separated from Aquitania by the Garonne—from the Belgæ, by the Marne and the Seine; the territory of the Gauls commences with the Rhône, and is bounded by the Garonne, the ocean, and the Belgic frontier, on the side of Franche Comté and Switzerland it extends to the Rhine, turning towards the north.

The Belgæ begin from the Gaulish frontier, advance to the embouchure of the Rhine, and look towards the north and the east.

Aquitanian Gaul extends from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, and that portion of the ocean which washes the shores of Spain; it lies between the west and the north.

Although Cæsar thus specifically distinguishes only three districts of Gaul, he as distinctly recognises a fourth, being the earliest settlement of the Romans in Gaul, and called by them *Provincia*, since known by the name of Provence, constituting a part of the ancient Narbonnese, with the basin of the Rhône, excepting only a small part on the basin of the Garonne; and this *Provincia* was considered by the Romans a second Italy. The inhabitants of Gaul consisted of two great branches of one Celtic family—the Galli, and Cymri. The modern representatives of the latter, the Bretons, and the Welsh

people, having preserved their integrity of race and language better than any other of the Celtic tribes.

GAUL had been distributed by Augustus into *four* Provinces; these were gradually subdivided by succeeding emperors, until Gratian, A.D. 380, ultimately confirmed their entire number at *seventeen*.

1. The Provincia Romana, or Gallia Narbonensis, comprising five subdivisions; these belonged to the Roman senate, and were therefore governed by a proconsul of its own nomination:—

Vienna Allobrogum.	Vienne.
Narbo-Martius.	Narbonne.
Aquæ-Sextiæ.	Aix.
Tarantaria.	Moustiers.
Eburodunum.	Embrun.

2. AQUITANIA.—Three Provinces. These and the remaining provinces belonged to the emperor, and were governed by an imperial legate:—

Avaricum.	Bourges.
Burdigala.	Bordeaux.
Aquæ Tarbellicæ.	Dax, or Acqs.

3. GALLIA CELTICA, OR LUGDUNENSIS.—Five Provinces:—

Lugdunum.	Lyon.
Rotomagus.	Rouen.
Cæsarodunum.	Tours.
Senones.	Sens.
Vesontio.	Besançon.

4. GALLIA BELGICA.—Four Provinces:—

Two in Germany:—1. Germania Prima, or Superior; 2. Germania Secunda, or Inferior.

Moguntiacum.

Mentz.

Colonia Agrippinensis.

Cologne.

Two Belgic:—

Augusta Trevirorum.

Treves.

Durocortorum, or Remi.

Rheims.

Provinces of France, and their capitals, as they existed in 1789, with the date of their annexation to the crown; also the final distribution of them into eighty-five Departments, by a decree of the National Assembly, bearing date 12th January 1790:—

Provinces.	Annexation.	Departments.
Ile of France. (Capital, Paris).	Never alienated from the Crown of France.	5. { Seine. Seine et Oise. Seine et Marne. Oise. Aisne.
Picardy. (Amiens).		1. Somme.
French Flanders. (Lille).	By Louis XIV. in 1667.	1. Nord.
Artois. (Arras).	By Louis XIII. in 1640.	1. Pas de Calais.
Normandy. (Rouen.)	By Philip Au- gustus in 1204.	5. { Seine Inférieure. Eure. Calvados. Manche. Orne.

Provinces.	Annexation.	Departments.
Champagne. (Troyes).	In 1284, by the marriage of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, and Countess of Champagne, with Philippe le Bel.	4. { Marne. Ardennes. Aube. Haute Marne.
Alsace. (Strasbourg).	By the treaty of Munster, in 1648.	2. { Bas Rhin. Haut Rhin.
Lorraine. (Nancy).	At the death of Stanislaus Lesinski in 1766.	4. { Meuse. Moselle. Meurthe. Vosges.
Britanny. (Rennes).	By the marriage of Anne, Duchess of Brittany, with Charles VIII. in 1491, and with Louis XII. in 1499; but not formally annexed to the Crown till 1532, by Francis I.	5. { Ille et Vilaine. Côtes du Nord. Finisterre. Morbihan. Loire Inférieure.
Maine. (Mayenne).	By Louis XI. in 1481.	2. { Sarthe. Mayenne.
Anjou. (Angers).	By Louis XI. in 1481.	1. Maine et Loire.
Touraine. (Tours).	On the death of Francis, Duke of Alençon, brother of Henri III., in 1584.	1. Indre et Loire.
Orléannais. (Orléans).	At the accession of Louis XII. in 1498.	3. { Loiret. Eure et Loire. Loire et Cher.
Berry. (Bourges).	By Philippe I. in 1100.	2. { Cher. Indre.
Nivernais. (Nevers).	By Charles VII. in 1457.	1. Nièvre.

Provinces.	Annexation.	Departments.
Burgundy. (Dijon).	By Louis XI. in 1477.	4. { Yonne. Côte d'Or. Saône et Loire. Ain.
Franche Comté. (Besançon).	By the peace of Nimeguen in 1678.	3. { Haute Saône. Doubs. Jura.
Poitou. (Poitiers).	Taken from the English by Charles V. in 1370, and an- nexed at the death of John, son of Charles VI. in 1416.	3. { Vienne. Deux Sèvres. Vendée.
Annis. (La Rochelle).	By Charles V. in 1370.	1. Charente Inf.
La Marche. (Gueret).	By Francis I. in 1531.	1. Creuse.
Bourbonnais. (Moulins).	Confiscated by Louis XII. at the death of the Con- netable de Bour- bon in 1505.	1. Allier.
Angoumois. (Angoulême).	By Charles V. in 1370.	1. Charente.
Limousin. (Limoges).	By Charles V. in 1370.	2. { Haute Vienne. Corrèze.
Auvergne. (Clermont Fer- rand).	By Philip Au- gustus in 1210.	2. { Cantal. Puy de Dôme.
Lyonnais. (Lyons).	By Philippe le Bel in 1309.	2. { Rhône. Loire.
Dauphiné. (Grenoble).	By Philip of Valois in 1343; his grandson, Charles V., was the first Dauphin.	3. { Isère. Hautes Alpes. Drôme.

Provinces.	Annexation.	Departments.
Guyenne and Gas- cogne. (Bordeaux.)	By Charles VII. in 1451.	9. { Dordogne. Gironde. Lot et Garonne. Tarn et Garonne. Lot. Aveyron. Gers. Landes. Hautes Pyrenées.
Bearn. (Pau).	Bearn formed part of the kingdom of Navarre, and was annexed by Louis XIII.	1. Basses Pyrenées.
Foix. (Foix.)	By Louis XIII.	1. Arriège.
Roussillon. (Perpignan).	At the peace of the Pyrenées in 1659.	1. Pyrenées Orientales.
Provence. (Aix.)	By Louis XI. in 1481.	3. { Bouches du Rhône. Basses Alpes. Var.
Languedoc. (Toulouse).	Annexed to France by King John in 1361.	8. { Haute Garonne. Tarn. Ande. Herault. Gard. Ardèche. Lozère. Haute Loire.
Comtat Venaissen and Orange. (Avignon).	Orange was ceded by the Peace of Utrecht, 1713.	1. Vaucluse.
Corsica. (Ajaccio).	Taken by France in 1794, and erec- ted into an 86th department.	1. Corse.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRANKS.

Earliest mention of the Franks—They invade the Belgic Provinces, and retain possession of Tournay and the Cambresis—Their aspect and habits—Conflicts with the Romans, and acquisition of Paris—Enter into alliance with the empire, and subsidized for its defence—Their Dukes, Clodion and Clovis—Battle of Tolbiac, and Conversion of Clovis to Christianity.

THE extraordinary people called Franks, are not named by Tacitus in his enumeration of the German tribes, nor is any notice taken of them in history until the year 240 A.D. At that period, we find, from Vopiscus and others, that the Franks formed part of a confederacy with some German tribes on the banks of the Rhine, between that river, the Weser, and the Main, and had dislodged from thence the more ancient league of the Cherusci, but appear to have entered into fellowship with the Sicambri, the most considerable tribe of that league.

The Allemanni had established a similar league to the south of the Main. The provinces occupied by the Franks are those now known by the names of Franconia, Thuringia, and Westphalia; and though the Franks were thus brought in contact by rude

alliance, and more frequently by ruder collision, with the Allemanni, and other tribes of pure Teutonic blood, they still retained their name, their independent chieftains, their customs, their weapons,* and their laws.

By M. Lehuéron it is supposed that the Franks were a band of exiles and outlaws from among all the adjoining tribes ; and M. Thierry, therefore, derives their name of Frank from the word “*Frech*,” fierce or bold ; and assumes that they were ever on the look-out for better habitations at the expense of their more civilized but less courageous neighbours ; and the conclusion arrived at by M. Thierry is, that “*ainsi naquit la premiere nation de l’Europe moderne.*”

By some the Franks are considered as a branch of the great stock of the Suevi mentioned by Tacitus, and more expressly by Ammianus Marcellinus, who calls the Salian Franks by name—“*Francos eos quos consuetudo Salios appellavit.*”

We incline, however, with the Abbé Mably, in his able and profound observations on the history of France, to trace the descent of the Franks from the settlement on the Rhine, at a very remote

* Of these they had two peculiar and deadly instruments,—the *Francisca*, called *Bipennis* in the *Gesta Francorum*, being a double-edged battle-axe ; and the *angan*, a long barbed spear or lance, from the shape of the termination of which, what is called the *fleur-de-lis*, in the arms of royal France, is supposed to have been taken.

period, of a colony, either from Pannonia or the Palus Mæotis, or perhaps from Scythia and the remoter regions of the north, whose descendants, the Franks, were, by a singular coincidence, disturbed by an invasion from the same regions of the north in the fourth century of our era, and with such other of their confederates as would join their standard, compelled to seek better quarters in the south.

The predatory and marauding habits of the Franks would at no distant day have induced their southward march ; but it was precipitated by a fortuitous incident, which is thus narrated by the Abbé Mably, and most of the early French historians :—

Some young Huns, engaged in the chace on the borders of the Lake Mæotis, started a hind, which led them, eager in the pursuit of their prey, after it over a marsh, up to that time considered impassable. They were astonished thus to find themselves in a new and most inviting country. The hunters, on their return to their habitations and families, reported the wonders they had witnessed ; and the curiosity thus excited, was fated to change the destiny of nations.

Whatever weight may attach to the foregoing narrative, we may at all events conclude, with some degree of certainty, that the Franks were not of German origin.

A more terrible people than the Huns, who spread

themselves over Europe by the road thus opened to them, had never yet appeared; they destroyed all the barbarians whom they attacked, or reduced them to slavery. They thus gradually advanced into Germany, and infused terror into the several tribes of the Goths, the Allemanni, the Vandals, and the Suevi, who, seeing no safety in their present habitations, were obliged, in order to preserve their lives and liberties, to invade and enter into the territories of the Western empire.

The Franks do not appear to have been inclined to trust to the tender mercies of their supposed kinsmen, the Huns, with whom they were considered to stand in the relation of a common though remote ancestry; they were among the earliest to leave the wilds and forests of Germany, by passing the Rhine under the conduct of their distinguished chieftain, Clodion, and, after repeated conflicts with the natives, possessed themselves of Cambray, Tournay, and the adjacent country as far as the Somme, in Belgic Gaul.

In consequence of these inroads, Ætius, the Roman general, who had been recalled with his legions from Britain, for the defence of the Belgic frontier, exerted his most strenuous endeavours to dislodge the Franks from their positions, in which he was repeatedly baffled, and his successors in command, in various bloody encounters, were equally unsuccessful.

The Roman dominion, under the emperors of the west, still subsisted in Gaul, and the Franks had been hitherto content with carrying off the booty gained in their predatory visitations, without coveting any territorial position by conquest or treaty; but the frequent repetition of these expeditions, and the inability of the declining forces of the emperors to protect the provincials, introduced another condition of affairs, and the Franks, gradually seduced by a view of the luxuries and arts of the Gauls, became desirous of employing their numerous captives in the cultivation of the fertile vallies they had so often devastated, and, under existing pressure from the continued progress of the Huns, established a permanent settlement of their military commonwealth in their first acquisition of Tournay, and the territory attached to it.

The tendency of these and subsequent conquests, after continued conflicts, was a gradual amalgamation of the Sicambrian and Salian Franks with the Romanized Celtic Gauls, and an adoption of the more civilized habits of the conquered people; in the mean time, the Franks (for such became their common name), with persevering energy, but various success, pursued their onward course of conquest, gradually tending to an extension of their dominion, although, during the reigns of a more energetic succession of emperors, from Constantine to Julian, they were on more than one occasion repulsed with

terrific slaughter, until, taking advantage of the empire relapsing into decline, their great leader, Clovis, with an immense swarm of followers, having subdued their former associates in the north and south of Germany, extended their ravages far into the southern provinces of Gaul.

The empire was at the same time assailed by successive hordes of other barbarians—Goths, Vandals, and Visigoths—who conquered Spain, and portions of Africa and Asia, and became the founders of mighty empires, until the Emperors Gallienus and Valerian found it necessary to maintain their tottering dominion by purchasing the aid and alliance of the Franks by large pecuniary payments, by way of subsidies, and bestowing the privileges and honours of Roman citizens upon them. The Franks thus acquired an ascendancy over their enervated employers, and made continual encroachments on the Belgic and other adjoining provinces, but in some degree evinced their fidelity to their engagement, by very efficiently assisting the Gauls in repelling an invasion of the Vandals and Suevi, who suffered so severely as to be deterred from again renewing attacks in which they found themselves over-matched by their fellow-barbarians.

The leaders of the Franks assumed no higher title than that of dukes, and were elected by acclamation to that dignity, in token of which they were elevated on the bucklers of their brother warriors,

over whom they possessed no other supremacy than consisted with military discipline, and their continuance in command was commensurate only with the success of their marauding expeditions. It does not appear that any hereditary claim was allowed, or favour shown, on that score, until the elevation of Clodion to the chieftainship, who was the reputed son of Far-mund, or Pharamond, who, although his existence is more than doubted, and the traditions of his reign altogether fabulous, is quoted by most of the French historians as the first sovereign or king of France of the Merovingian dynasty.

We tread, however, upon more certain ground, when we assign to Clodion the credit of having been the first Frankish duke or chieftain who acquired a permanent position in the country of the Gauls, and who, after sustaining many defeats, ultimately succeeded in retaining that position. On his death in 448, a son of his, named Meroveus, very doubtfully advanced to that relationship, was elected to succeed him, and gave his name to the dynasty.

The Franks, now in alliance with their former enemy, Ætius and his Roman legions, together with the Visigoths, under their king, Theodoric, and the Burgundians, encountered Attila and his Huns before Orleans, and lastly at Chalons, on the Marne, where they utterly routed the ferocious horde of

Huns, after one of the most bloody conflicts on record; the greater portion of the enemy was slaughtered on the field, and it has been alleged that the slain on both sides amounted to 250,000. Theodoric was killed, and Attila, "the scourge of God," narrowly escaped with his life under covert of the night; and thus was dissipated that swarm of Huns, which, like a breaking cloud, scarcely left behind a single trace of its passage.

Meroveus died in 456, and was succeeded by his son, Childeric the First, who extended his encroachments in Gaul as far as the Loire, and possessed himself of the cities of Paris and Angers. He has left the reputation of being a very dissolute prince, and being, like his predecessors, more intent on plunder than effecting any permanent settlement; never resided in Gaul, but carried off his booty to the ancient colony of his people on the north bank of the Rhine, leaving his followers to plunder, and retain at pleasure. He died at Tournay in 481; and it was reserved for his son Clovis, by the renewed acquisition of Paris, and permanent occupation of it, to entitle himself to be considered as the founder of the Frankish sovereignty in France. Clovis, and all the princes of the Merovingian race, claimed the exclusive privilege of wearing their hair at its full natural length, the loss or removal of which was a disqualification for the sovereignty, and a signal for deposing the individual, and shut-

ting him up in a monastery, in case he was mercifully permitted to wear his head.

Clovis, in the prime of manhood, possessing commanding talent, and endowed with indomitable courage, was well supported in his ambitious views by the Gallican bishops, who were of the orthodox Athanasian faith, while their brethren of the Greek and Latin churches had adopted the Arian heresy. Clovis had been converted to Christianity by the joint influence of his queen, Clotilda, and the miraculous fulfilment, by victory, of a vow made in the trying hour and uncertain issue of the great battle of Tolbiac, he now stedfastly adhered to the faith of his instructors, who, sensible of the declining condition of the Roman empire, and anticipating the success of their zealous catechumen, without hesitation exerted their influence over their clergy and the people to support the rightful claim of Clovis to the possession of France.

As has been before observed, the first portion of land possessed by Clovis in Gaul was no more than the tract of country between the Scheldt and the Somme, his farther progress being impeded by the power of the Armorican League. This impediment was surmounted by his conversion to Christianity, when the members of the League became his willing subjects, or rather, in the first instance, his faithful allies. He now extended his frontiers considerably, and his acquisitions were recognised by Anastasius,

who made a merit of necessity, by entering into alliance with the Franks ; and acknowledging their services to the Empire, by appointing their leader master of the forces, and conferring on him the ornaments of the Patriciate, and the dignity of Consul, with the title of Augustus.

Clovis established Paris as his royal residence, in 510, and died there shortly afterwards, having reigned thirty years, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards called St. Genevieve, and now St. Eustache du Mont.

Of the character of the original Franks, no favourable report has reached us ; they are represented by all historians who have noticed them, as brutal and ferocious in the extreme. Mably applies those epithets to them ; and Chateaubriand, in his *Martyrs*, describes them in still more revolting colours, as those terrible Franks, attired in the spoils of bears, seals, the aurochs, and wild boars, in a camp fenced by coracles, and chariots yoked or harnessed with oxen ; their warriors ranged in triangles, presenting a forest of spears, and, though for centuries settled in Germany, partaking of none of the better features of the German nature ; and, when conquerors of Gaul, and in communication with the Romans, still retaining their distinct and dreaded nationality, and always, as described by Vopiscus and Procopius, fierce, false, and making a jest of oaths. Their religion, until

their conversion under Clovis, partook of all the worst and most revolting elements of paganism, including human sacrifices, prompted by the darkest superstition, conducted by priests, who assumed the character and functions of Magi, and were dreaded, if not worshipped as such.

Some interest attaches to this condition of unmitigated ferocity, and to the transition state which the Franks experienced in consequence of the intercourse which took place between them as conquerors, and the native multitude of various castes subdued by them, and who, not being expelled or exterminated, as was the case with the Britons by the invading Saxons, still constituted the majority of the inhabitants.

This intermingled population, and the necessarily habitual intercourse it entailed, resulted in a complete antagonism of class and race, comprising violent contrasts, abated by a variety of reciprocal claims and duties, arising from a common interest and a common country. These modifications in different degrees, and under various aspects, influenced, in the course of time, the general no less than the individual features of the motley population. Among whom were the Franks domiciled in Gaul; those again of more recent advent possessing, in addition to their native ferocity, some peculiar German characteristics; the Gallo-Romans, entertaining a gloomy disgust for the barbarians; and

lastly, Romans, degenerated both in mind and body into a degraded and servile condition of abject subserviency.

The gradual process towards a common fusion of these discordant elements, continued throughout the sixth and seventh centuries, until at length, in the course of the eighth century, the conflicting habits of the Teutonic and Gallo-Roman races appeared to merge into one amalgamated theocratic and semi-barbarous system; still, however, advancing onward, until Gaul and the Gauls, with all their subdivisions, were superseded or identified under the consolidated name and power of France and the French.

A prevailing opinion exists, that the Merovingian period is particularly deficient in matters of interest, and but little entitled to share the attention of the historian, or to reward his labours by the approval of his readers; and that period is therefore generally passed over in the most cursory manner, by giving a very abridged account of the long-haired kings and their reigns. This compendious mode of dealing with the first race savours more of carelessness than discretion; for, although there may be some difficulty in disentangling the several partitions and successions among the rulers of the sister realms of Soissons, Austrasia, Neustria, Orleans, and Paris, the fact is, that the details are so far from being barren of incident, that they

abound in very peculiar circumstances, in extraordinary individuals, and in dramatic scenes and incidents, so varied and at the same time so romantic, as to impose a difficult task on any one desirous of arranging in lucid order the graphic effect of the succession of important events.

This period, extending from the fifth to the ninth century, so neglected by modern historians, happily found one contemporary chronicler in the person of Gregory of Tours, who has left ample materials for the employment of modern inquiry, more especially with reference to the state of collision between the vanquished and the victors, and their subsequent fusion; and we may add that, in these particulars, no chronicler of equal intelligence with Gregory of Tours, appeared until Froissart recorded the sayings and doings of his contemporaries.

Of the weapons wielded with such success by the Franks, the following description has been handed down to us:—"The battle-axe, or francisque, was the national weapon of the Franks; it was double-bladed, and the handle was sheathed with steel. Each soldier carried his francisque in his belt; in battle he flung it from him, shouting his war-cry, and it buried itself like a wedge in the head of his enemy. Sometimes, says Sidonius, he would bound after it with such prodigious activity, that the warrior and his weapon arrived together. The Franks also made use of a lance,

or pike, called an angan, with a curved or barbed head or point. They darted it into their adversary's shield, and then wrenching this means of defence from him, dashed out his brains. Sometimes the angan, fastened at the end of a cord, was flung in the manner of a harpoon. Some Franks also wore a sword suspended to a broad baldric. They used neither bows nor slings, and wore no armour; helmets even were seldom used, and they often fought naked to the waist, their only garment being trousers of leather or coarse cloth, and their sole defence an enormous shield. To render their appearance still more formidable, their hair was dyed with a red liquid, which gave it the colour of blood. The back of the head was shaved, as it was the exclusive privilege of the Royal Merovingian race to wear their flowing locks at full length. The beard was only suffered to grow on the upper lip.

Clovis, in his career of repeated incursions into Gaul, achieved victory upon victory; these, however, would have been of small avail but for his conversion to Christianity, by the intervention of his queen, Clotilda; thus he conciliated the powerful League of the Armoricans, and entered into alliance with it against the Romans.

Clotilda had lived in obscurity with her uncle, Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, when a mendicant pilgrim brought her the ring of Clovis, and asked her to be his wife. She was fair and virtuous, and

hospitable to strangers. She washed the pilgrim's feet, secretly listened to his message, and was so well pleased that she gave him a hundred pieces of gold. This pilgrim was Aurelian, the friend and chancellor of Clovis, whose ambassadors soon followed. They gave to Gondebaud, according to custom, a penny and a farthing. Clotilda went with them, and became the wife of the heathen king. Four years later, this heathen, predisposed by Clotilda, invoked the Saviour in the plains of Tolbiac, and triumphed over the Germans in the name of the only true God. The following Christmas, this haughty Sicamber entered the piscina of the catechumens, and, bending beneath the hand of the bishop of Rheims, burnt all that he had worshipped, worshipped all that he had burnt, and was baptised with his family and his people. The church gave forth a joyful cry, stretched out her hand to the king of the Franks, and proclaimed him her only faithful son amid all the monarchs of the west.

The Franks, or French, are the only European people who can deduce a perpetual succession of generations, during nearly fourteen centuries, to this time, dating from about the year 500, when Clovis first wrested Gaul from the Empire of the West.

Gibbon, in the thirty-eighth chapter of his history, gives a masterly view of the character and actions of Clovis, with a considerable alloy of censure upon both, without, we think, making sufficient allowance

for the disturbed and irregular condition of government, such as was so called at that time. Charlemagne, although living upwards of three hundred years later, is open to similar depreciating incidents of oppression and cruelty as are imputed by Gibbon to Clovis. They were both great men, each much in advance of his age, but of course partaking of some of the harsher features of the dark and gloomy period in which they lived; and so illiterate, that Charlemagne, according to his friendly biographer and secretary Eginhart, strove in mature age, but with small success, to acquire the practice of writing.

It was well observed of Clovis, and of his ability in battle, and equal ability in circumventing the intrigues of his rivals in power by quietly ridding himself and the world of them, that he subdued Gaul from one battle-field to another, destroying his open enemies in the open day, and disposing of his false but professing friends in the shade.

The Abbé Mably has bestowed infinite labour and learning in the investigation of the progress of the Franks, and of their constitution under the Salian code; and we are enabled, after consulting almost all the other sources of information on the subject, as well ancient as modern, to concur unqualifiedly in the estimate of the Abbé's work, as expressed by Professor Smyth, in his lectures on modern history: "that in all and in every part of these subjects, and of all their history, the work of

the Abbé de Mably is inestimable. The French history, to one not a native of France, would be a subject of despair, would be totally unintelligible, without his assistance; and when I recommend him to others, I ought to do it in the language of the most perfect gratitude for the relief he has so often or rather so continually afforded me."

In our previous inquiries as to the ancient Gauls, it was not in our power to report the existence among that numerous people of any vestige of law, whether written or customary, although some rude rules they must of course have had to regulate their civil and military relations, but had apparently no one to record them, or to transmit the knowledge of them to posterity.

The Franks, on the contrary, appear, at an early period of their settlement on the Rhine, to have borrowed from their neighbours and confederates, the Salii,* some useful practical provisions, which gradually expanded to the full volume of what, in the year 422, was confirmed and promulgated as the Salic code, and continued in full force during the whole period of the Merovingian dynasty, and, in some particulars, until, and even after, the dis-

* Owing to this intimate union between these tribes, the Franks have been frequently denominated by Mr. Hallam, and other historians, the Salian Franks, although there was no distinction or subdivision among the Franks; and the code, in its origin, was principally ascribed to the Salii, and partly to the Ripuarii, another branch of the same family.

solution of the monarchy. Notwithstanding their partial submission to the code in question, the Franks endured as little restraint under it as could consist with the ordinary relations of social or rather gregarious life.

They had no king, and owned no other subjection than to a code of their own voluntary adoption, and to their military chieftain, who had the title of duke or count, and was himself amenable, with the humblest in rank of his warrior followers, to the condition of equality established by that code. This was experienced by the most powerful of their leaders, Clovis, who had already assumed the title of king, when he was obliged to acknowledge the equal right of his followers to share in the spoil and fruits of victory; in the memorable instance of the vase of Soissons, as thus recorded by Gregory of Tours, and other succeeding chroniclers:—

“ The great church of Soissons having been, in common with the other sacred edifices there, pillaged by the Franks in one of their marauding expeditions, although against the will and wish of Clovis, St. Remi reclaimed one vase of singular size and beauty, with such force and power of intreaty, that Clovis, although not then converted to Christianity, was induced to promise that it should be restored to the church. On the return, therefore, of the troops to Soissons, the entire booty

was collected on one spot for apportionment and distribution; the king received his share in common with his fellow-warriors, when, in addition to it, he solicited a grant to him of the vase; it was conceded to him accordingly by acclamation, when a young Frank, audacious, rapacious, and reckless, struck the vase with his francisque, exclaiming, "Thou shalt have nought, O king, which is not thine by right." Clovis answered not. He restored the shattered vase to St. Remi, but kept his anger in his heart. The following year, at the *male* or military gathering of the Franks, Clovis reviewed his warriors; and pausing before him who had struck the vase, said, "Wherefore should thy sword, thy angan, and thy francisque be so tarnished?" and wrenching those weapons from him, flung them to the ground; when, as the Frank stooped for them, the king, raising his own francisque, clove the barbarian's skull in twain, saying, "As thou didst to the vase of Soissons, so be it done to thee." Such were the Franks, and such Clovis their king.

The primary authority recognised by the Franks, was the general assembly of the nation at the Champ de Mars, to whom alone, in addition to the military arrangements, the legislative power, on the narrowest scale, was confided,—the executive power being placed in the hands of a council, composed of the duke, count, or other leader, and the more distinguished chiefs, called Antrustions, or imme-

diate vassals of the king, and the Leudes, the next highest order of nobles, but who, except in minor matters, were not permitted to interfere with the independent sovereign rights of each independent sovereign-man; collectively comprising a people fierce, brutal, without country, without conscience, and each member a soldier, who lived only upon booty, and who would not submit to any legal animadversion, except to pecuniary fines, and to no personal punishment whatever, except a summary one of death, inflicted in three cases only,—high treason against the military chief during war, and they were never at peace; private assassination; and convicted cowardice.

This was the condition of the Franks, and of their training, when they first became known to the Gauls, and little if any alteration was made in their habits until they effected their first settlements at Tournay and in the Cambresis; they then found it necessary to enact laws, and nominated four elder chieftains, selected from their residence in each of four villages,* to prepare them, whose labours were sanctioned by three successive meetings of the entire people on the Champ de Mars.† These

* The prologue to the laws gives the names of these villages, and several districts in Germany have claimed them as being within their limits. Among others, the principal claimants to that honour are Franconia, Hanover, Gascony, and Brabant.

† The general assemblies which, under the kings of the first race, were held in the month of March, began, under Pepin, to

laws were finally divided into two codes, one the Salic, and the other the Ripuarian, so called from the two tribes from whom they originally emanated. The former being in force from the Carbonarian forest to the Loire, and the latter from the same forest to the Rhine. It is to be observed that these laws applied only to the Franks, and not to the vanquished Gauls, who were left to the full enjoyment of the Roman code, with an option given to them, of declaring by which they were desirous of being governed, and if any one declared for the former, such wish, being recorded and verified on oath, had the effect of immediate naturalisation, with all the rights and immunities of the Frankish race, and among them, that of the fine for the wilful murder of a Frank, being exactly double that for the life of a Gaul or Roman ; but of these privileges, very few, either of Gauls or Romans, availed themselves. Another singular fact is, that the Franks were so intuitively imbued with the principle of liberty, that they were with difficulty induced to recognise slavery even to themselves, in the persons of their captives ; and so averse were they, from the trammels of law and, what they considered, its degrading effects and tendencies on both parties, be held in May, in consequence of the large numbers who came to them on horseback, when the want of forage at so early a season of the year, induced that monarch to postpone the meetings until May ; and in the ensuing reign of Charlemagne, these assemblies were altogether discontinued.

that they left to the Gauls and Romans the whole conduct and details of litigation under both codes, as also of all appointments, from the supreme judge to the lowest officers of the tribunals, involving all the wealth, patronage, and influence attaching to those appointments.

Those codes were revised by Clovis, afterwards amended by his sons, and ultimately ratified and promulgated in the reign of Dagobert, upwards of one hundred years after the establishment of the Frank monarchy.

The peculiar feature of the Salic code which survived the monarchy—and, had it been faithfully observed in its full intention and integrity, might have averted its fall—was the provision for the male descent of land, and establishing the right of primogeniture, thus at once inferentially securing the male succession to the crown, and giving to a family the protection and refuge of the *sol* or homestead, or roof-tree, as it is termed in Scotland, of an elder brother, and at the same time creating the conservative influence of an independent landed interest in favour of the commonweal. This celebrated enactment was thus concisely expressed :—“ *De terrâ vero Salicâ nullæ partes hereditatis mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem sexum toto terræ hereditas perveniet.*”

Another of the Salic laws is highly creditable to the good feeling and gallantry of the Franks, in their appreciation of female honour, the fine for

an unfounded imputation against the honour of a woman, being double that for falsely accusing a man, and that man a Frank, of cowardice.

Having, in the preceding pages, given the unfavourable view of the character of the Franks, as invariably recorded in the pages of every chronicler and historian, from Gregory of Tours downwards, including the distinguished modern authorities of Mably, Sismondi, Chateaubriand, and Thierry, we think it due, in justice to that extraordinary race, to give, by way of set-off, their own estimate of their merit, as contained in the preface or preamble to the Salic code.

The flourishing panegyric on themselves which follows, elicited no responsive echo from their contemporaries or posterity, and they must be content with the universal award pronounced on them, of being the most ferocious, unscrupulous, and uncompromising tribe of the darkest age of European history:—

“The nation of the Franks, illustrious, having God for their founder, dauntless under arms, unswerving in treaties of peace; wise in council; healthy and noble in appearance; fair and of singular beauty; bold, active, and fearless in fight; recently converted to the catholic faith; untainted by heresy; when they were still in the darkness of a heathen creed, with the inspiration of God, seeking the key of science, according to its elements;

desirous of justice ; constant in piety. The Salic law was compiled by the chiefs of this nation. This is the nation which, small in numbers, but fearless and strong, shook from its neck the heavy yoke of Rome."

The first sovereign of the Merovingian race has left little but his name, and no record of his actions ; still the elder French historians invariably place Pharamond at the head of that dynasty, although the President Henault and later writers reject him and his three successors, Clodion, Meroveus, and Childeric, and commence with Clovis.

There appear, however, sufficient indications, by chronicles and well vouched traditions, to justify restoring the four doubted and doubtful monarchs to the list of the kings of France.

Of Pharamond himself we say nothing, because nothing is really known ; as, excepting a short and suspicious line in the chronicle of Prosper, the name of Pharamond was never mentioned before the seventh century. In the *Gesta Francorum* it is alleged that the choice of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, then an exile in Tournay. His claim having been, however, recently recognised by Chateaubriand and Thierry, we have no hesitation in restoring him to his primal rank ; he will therefore head our first royal list.

His immediate successor and reputed son was

Clodion ; and whether he ever assumed a higher title than that of duke is uncertain, but there is no doubt of his possessing the princely qualification of length of hair from both sides of the head, and was distinguished by the name of *le Chevelu* accordingly. He made repeated inroads into Gaul, and obtained permanent possession of Cambray, the entire garrison of which he put to the sword ; after which he subdued all the country between the Scheldt and the Somme ; but on laying siege to Soissons, was defeated with great loss by *Ætius* ; his eldest son Aubron was killed in the engagement, and it is said that Clodion died of grief in consequence, in 448 A.D. He was succeeded, as we have before seen, by Meroveus, who made common cause with the Roman general *Ætius*, in alliance with whom, and also with Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths and the Burgundians, he obtained the decisive victory of Chalons-sur-marne over Attila and his Huns, in which Meroveus took so signal a part as to attach his name to his race. His successor was Childeric I., whose son Clovis first established the royal residence in Paris.

The later kings of the Merovingian line gradually subsided into such a state of indolence and neglect of duty, as to create the necessity for some substituted, if not delegated power. A new order of rulers arose, for which there was no previous precedent, nor has the example ever since been

followed, at least in terms, although occasionally in fact.

These pseudo-rulers of the state were the mayors of the palace, constituting a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself, and they so established their assumed dominion as to secure its hereditary succession in the family of some of the most distinguished holders of that all-important office, which acquired its first supreme ascendancy during the minority of Clovis III., the infant son of Thierry III., and the government was administered by Pepin Heristal, as mayor of the palace, during the reigns of seven nominal sovereigns.

In its origin the office was merely that of superintending the royal household ; gradually, however, owing to the intrigues of the court and of courtiers interested in detaching the sovereign from the duties of royalty, any aptitude for business on his part was repressed by his chief attendants, and the blank supplied by pageantry and amusement ; the kings thus gradually subsided into a condition of real incapacity.

The mayors of the palace were too happy to avail themselves of this tendency on the part of their masters ; they successively undertook all the functions of government, controlled the finances, commanded the armies, and presided at the tribunals of appeal from the several provincial courts, which had formerly been heard before the king in person, in the presence of the Leudes.

By the ready means thus acquired of patronage and power, the mayors conciliated the principal territorial chiefs or barons by allowing them to oppress their vassals with impunity, while the mayors themselves consolidated their own authority by superseding that of their master in all the essentials of dominion. The shadow of royalty thus left constituted all that remained of their inheritance to the seven latest sovereigns of the first race, dignified in French annals by the appellation of *les rois Fainéans*.

In these circumstances some credit may be considered due to the mayors for their moderation in so long abstaining from assuming the title of royalty, having already usurped all its substantial attributes.

What mainly contributed to this state of things, was the fatal policy, pursued by the early kings, of making partition of their dominions among their numerous sons, as caprice or favour prompted, comprising an interminable and complicated series of Childeberts, and Chilperics, Thierry's, and Dagoberts, with a Maire du Palais in each of their petty courts, more intent on his own selfish purposes than the welfare of king or kingdom. To the list of these kings will be subjoined the names of the later and more influential mayors, the first of whom was Lando, or Landry, created in the year 470; and the last was Pepin le Bref, who assumed the title of king on the death of his father, Charles Martel, the great victor at Tours over Abderame and the Sara-

cens who had advanced so far in their invasion of France from Spain.

In taking leave, for the present, of the Franks, we would direct attention to the effect produced upon Europe by that extraordinary tribe. Their origin unknown, except as interlopers among the Teuton families upon the Rhine, taken into alliance with them, and although inferior in numbers to the Allemanni, the Suevi, the Ripuarii, and the Salii, yet obtaining an ascendancy over all of them, and wisely adopting the laws of the two latter, we cannot but be struck by the energy and perseverance evinced by them in the acquisition and maintenance of the superiority they had acquired. Unknown until A.D. 240, they, within little more than two centuries from that period, had subdued all Northern Gaul by the submission of the Allemanni, and the Southern by that of the Visigoths; such was the vast dominion Clovis became possessed of by their aid, under the conduct of his own commanding genius.

That this ascendancy was obtained by right of conquest there can be little doubt, although the Abbé Du Bos has attempted to prove a sort of imperial sanction, by the grant of the Consulate and other patrician honours, by the Emperor Anastasius, to Clovis, and who, it may well be supposed, was content, and even pleased to receive these insignia, without compromising the paramount agency of the sword. Sir Francis Palgrave, a greater authority than Du

Bos, has been equally misled into the supposition that the large possessions of Clovis and the Merovingian kings, were derived rather from Rome than from the Elbe, or more probably from whence the Franks first came, the Palus Mæotis, or the shores of the Caspian.

In assigning to the Franks a Thracian, if not a Scythian origin, we confirm the invariable fact of the superiority in arms of the northern over the southern nations; first, of the Europeans under all circumstances over the orientals, and next, of the Goths and Scandinavian, or northern races, over the southern; in corroboration of which, it may be stated that the Franks were never vanquished but by Rollo and his northmen, who, with inferior numbers, advanced almost unopposed to Paris, and, as the price of peace, obtained the cession of the entire province of Normandy. As the Gauls and Romans fell before the Franks and Goths, so did the Franks before the Scandinavians.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

Hideous as is the image conveyed to us of the Frank of the third century, it falls far short comparatively, of the portraiture transmitted to us of Attila and his Huns in the year 450, when they were first permitted to invade and ravage Italy and Gaul.

The Franks, although disguised by their uncouth attire and ferocious gestures, were physically fine specimens of human nature, although by no means of humanity; the Huns, on the contrary, were exaggerated deformities of our race in every limb and feature, and of whom their immediate descendants, the existing Kalmuks, may be considered as presenting too flattering a resemblance.

Whether they were Huns or Franks, however, who spread, locust-like, in devouring swarms over the vine-covered plains and hills of Italy and France, still, the exquisite lines in Gray's unfinished poem on the alliance of education and government, equally apply:—

“Oft o’er the trembling nations from afar,
Has Scythia breath’d the living cloud of war;
And when the deluge burst with sweeping sway,
Their arms, their kings, their gods have roll’d away;
As oft have issued host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast;
The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her ancient titles and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter sun and heaven of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows.”

The same imagery, yet with no imputation of plagiarism attaching, was adopted by Thomson. In his poem of “Liberty,” we find the following lines:—

“Hence many a people fierce with freedom rushed
From the rude iron regions of the north
To Libyan deserts, swarm protruding swarm.”

And then again in his “Winter”:—

“Drove martial horde on horde with dreadful sweep,
Resistless rushing o’er th’ enfeebled south.”

In his *Henry and Minerva*, the same sentiments occur:—

“The Alps in vain their vast barrier oppose,
Swarms rise on swarms, and foes succeed to foes;
I saw their armed swains, and harnessed steeds,
O’erspread the Sabine fields, and Tuscan meads;
I heard their savage horns provoke the war,
While human victims bled to cruel Thor.”

Of a later date, the more modern Franks of 1797, the undoubted representatives of the followers of Clodion and of Clovis, were well met by the Russian general Suvarow, a warrior of kin-

dred tendencies, but engaged in a more righteous cause. The invasion of Italy by the French was thus described by "the nameless many-languaged bard," the author of the Pursuits of Literature, in the epistle of Kien Long, emperor of China, to George the Third :—

" Drizzling in blood of millions, streams in air
The scroll FRATERNAL, FREEDOM, DEATH, DESPAIR ;
They pass, nor Rhine nor Rubicon they know,
Torrents may roar, or tranquil streams may flow,
With unappalled protrusion on they burst,
All nations cursing, by all nations curst."

THE FRANCISQUE, OR FRANCISCA.—See p. 53.

Mr. Gibbon, in a note, vol. vi., p. 331, takes slight notice of this murderous axe, referring to Procopius for a clearer description of it : this may be found in the first part of the Glossary of our learned antiquarian, Sir Henry Spelman ; and the following extract from the narrative of Gregory of Tours, of the incident of the Vase of Soissons, may be taken in elucidation of it :—
" Rex instructat circumvenire phalangis ad eum qui dudum percuperat urceam pervenit spretisque suis armis ejus tandem franciscum projecit in terram, ad quam recipuendam inclinato militi. Rex in caput suam defiget Bipennem." The same expressions occur in the Glossary of Ducange, and in the Gesta Francorum. Lucien Bonaparte, in one of his meagre notes on his dull epic of Charlemagne, thus alludes to it :—" La francisque, l'arme favorite des anciens Franks étoit une double hache à long manche terminée par un fer pointu."

THE ANGAN, OR ANGANA.—See p. 54.

Little more than the name of this weapon has come down to us, and that very variously spelt in the several chronicles, with no particular description, except that it was of many shapes, but all partaking, as stated in the text, of the spear or lance form, with a barbed and curved or fluted termination, and in frequent use, but only in battle ; whereas the francisque was invariably attached to the Frank in his belt as a constant part of his costume, ready at once for open war or private vengeance. The account of the angana in Ducange is far from satisfactory.

CHAPTER V.

ROLLO AND HIS NORTHMEN.

Invasion of Neustria by the Scandinavians—Their conflicts with the Franks—Permanent occupation of Rouen by Rollo—Paris thrice besieged—Rollo's conversion to Christianity—Marriage with daughter of Charles III.—The investiture and acknowledgment of him as Duke of Normandy, with succession to his Heirs, as vassals to the crown of France—The Duchy forfeited in 1202, by the felony of John, king of England.

NORMANDY, from its maritime position, harbours, and other commercial facilities, its vicinity to England, and the abundance of its resources, has been, from the first period of its colonization, one of the most flourishing and important portions of the country of which it has formed a part. It does not appear that it was ever visited by Cæsar; but was brought under subjection to Rome by his lieutenant, Sabinus, who defeated Virodrix, its last independent chieftain, who was carried captive to Rome, and there put to death. Previous to that period, it was composed of several petty states, and underwent the usual course of intestine divisions and foreign invasion. On its colonization by the Romans, it was constituted a

province of the empire, by the name of Lugdunensis Secundus.

On the downfall of the Roman empire, the Franks gradually obtained possession of the entire province, which was included in the kingdom of Neustria, and became an appanage in favour of the Merovingian princes. Childebert afterwards included it in the larger kingdom of Soissons, which, with the other kingdoms of Austrasia, Orleans, Paris, and Burgundy, became a constant and complicated source of discord and of decrepitude, until, by the joint operation of policy and power, these jarring elements were gradually subdued into the form of the one powerful and undivided monarchy of France.

This unity of dominion was for a time interrupted by the partition of the empire and kingdom among the sons and successors of Charlemagne. From the period of his death, in 814, to the accession of Charles III., justly styled the simple, in 898, when the several sovereignties were once more united, a succession of weak or wicked princes had compromised their own power, and lowered the military standard of the character and reputation of the Franks, owing, according to M. Chateaubriand's opinion, to their licentious indifference to the due observance of the marriage contract. He observes that, during the period of the first race and far into the second, there was a marked distinction between

the conduct of the barbaric sovereigns, and those who derived title from the Romans ; the Frank princes had many wives, and more concubines ; partitions of dominion took place among all their sons, without regard to seniority or legitimacy of birth. This caused a fearful derangement of all social and domestic ties throughout the whole course of the Merovingian race, and the recovery from it during the second race, was of slow operation. We notice this deteriorated condition of both sovereign and subject, to account for the feeble resistance they were in a condition to offer to their Scandinavian invaders, who made their first appearance on the coasts of Neustria and Brittany in the year 842, probably with some previous knowledge of the degenerate habits of the parties to be attacked.

In order the better to understand the moving impulse causing the great migrations to proceed, in one continuous stream, from Norway to the Mediterranean, we would briefly sketch the mode and conduct of the almost more than men who composed these expeditions, and the little more than boats which conveyed them.

Early in the ninth century, the ancient northern hive of nations, the Scandinavian tribes of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, extending even to the Icelandic Thule, under the influence of the same impulse which, upwards of one thousand years previous to that period, had threatened Rome it-

self, and devastated Europe to the shores of the Mediterranean, under the various denominations of Goths, Vandals, Sarmati, Cimbri, and Scythians, now coveted a more permanent settlement in the fertile region of Neustria, and along the shores of the Atlantic.

Partial incursions up the Seine, and ravages of the adjoining banks, had already given fearful indications to the terrified inhabitants of the approaching storm; in anticipation of which, Charlemagne, so early as in 808, created a considerable naval force to watch and to repel the Norwegian adventurers, in a line of coast extending from the Tiber to the Oder.

That great man foresaw the impending danger, and thus took means for successfully averting it during the remainder of his life; and with reference to these visitations, and his apprehension of them, it is reported of him that, on one occasion, being in a city of Narbonnese Gaul, he saw some Scandinavian boats land in the very harbour and parley with while they plundered the people; the emperor asked who these men might be, and was answered that they were trafficking Jews, or perhaps Bretons, or Africans, on some coasting expedition; but the emperor's eagle eye was intently fixed on the individuals who had landed. "They are no traders," said he, "they are enemies;" and, gazing on the sea, he wept, while he thus exclaimed, "Friends,

would you know wherefore I weep? it is not that I fear these wretched pirates, but from the certain presage, that, if they thus venture to approach this shore during my lifetime, they will, after my death, inflict upon my children, and my people, calamities far exceeding any that have ever yet befallen a conquered nation."

His melancholy apprehension was too surely verified, by invasions commencing soon after his death, and continued with increasing vigour, during upwards of eighty years, by the systematic progress of the Vikings or Sea-kings of Norway.

The course adopted in the three northern kingdoms, according to one of their most ancient laws, was that, on the return of every fifth year, a considerable portion of the young men were selected for voluntary exile during life, from their country; vessels were provided for them, and a Viking appointed to accompany them to whatever spot fortune or the waves might lead. The daring adventurers then embarked, encouraged and cheered by those they left behind.

Their parting war-song invoked the coming storm to aid the rowers' arms, and to select, at its wild will, their place of debarkation.

With small food, and less luggage, no slaves, no children, and no women, sailors on sea, and sailors still on land, wild and ferocious as storm-birds, they made for the mouths of rivers, and, landing

with the tide, they hurled a spear upon the shore, in token of the conquest they had made, and then penetrated into the interior, their progress onward traced with fire and with blood.

Their costume at sea was of large trousers, made of goat skins, the hair being outermost; when landed, they put on helmets and coats of mail; their weapons were keen swords, enormous battle-axes, and immense clubs, called by them *morghen stirn*, or morning star, still, or very recently, wielded by the watchmen of Denmark and of Sweden.

Their emblem was a wild horse, represented on their weapons and on their standards. The black Danish raven was another of their symbolic tokens, embroidered on white silk, with an open beak and expanded wings. Their ships are described as having flat sterns and sharp stems, with white sails, and the head of a lion, a bull, or a dolphin at the bows; the sea-king's own vessel was often in the shape of a dragon; their fleet was supplied with a number of coracles, to enable them to land in the shallowest of rivers.

A fleet of this description, and so manned, invaded Cornwall in 835, and ravaged the surrounding country, but apparently not coveting that barren land, bleak and stormy, like their own, they directed their course to the opposite coasts of Brittany and Normandy, when the latter province in an especial manner attracted their regard; they had means, it

should appear, for making known those attractions to their countrymen, who hastened in shoals to their support.

In 842, impelled by a favouring storm, they reached the Garonne, and, ascending that stream, they, in their inland progress, ravaged and burnt the cities of Bordeaux, Agen, Toulouse, Carcassone, Nantes, Narbonne, and Arles.

In 845, Riort, surnamed Ironside, with Hasting, another daring Viking, ascended the Seine, took and burnt Rouen, and devastated both banks of the Seine. In the next year they were followed by Regnier, the lieutenant to Eric, king of Denmark, when what remained of Rouen was again pillaged, and Paris burnt, on which occasion the grandson of Charlemagne retired to St. Denis with his bishops and monks, and purchased the withdrawal of the Northmen by the payment down, by way of ransom, of 7000 pounds weight of silver. This of course operated as a sufficient lure for renewed invasion, which took place in 856, under the conduct again of Hasting, denominated the Bridegroom of the Ocean by the Scalds, the bards of the Scandinavians. He besieged Paris a second time, took it, and burnt the churches of St. Peter and St. Genevieve, after plundering the city.

The success and booty which invariably attended the expeditions of the Northmen only increased their appetite for more; accordingly, in 861, a larger fleet

than had yet appeared upon that coast, sailed up the Seine, under the command of the Viking Waland, and passing Rouen, which was now in the virtual possession of the Northmen, as their place of arms and rendezvous from the North, proceeded to Paris, which they besieged for the third time, and stormed it after much slaughter and plunder of the inhabitants, and the destruction by fire of all its churches except St. Germain de Pres. Charles le Chauve redeemed what remained by the payment of 5000 pounds weight of silver, a large quantity of grain, and many head of cattle.

These inroads still continuing, and the Northmen spreading desolation throughout the country as far as the Loire, and sacking and burning Orleans and all the cities and towns upon its banks, while similar ravages marked the progress of other bands of Northmen landing from the Garonne, and meeting their brethren towards the Loire, Charles submitted to enter into a treaty for the payment of an annual tribute of 4000 pounds of silver, to purchase immunity from attack for the future.

The conflict appeared no longer to be one for rapine only, but for actual territorial conquest; and with that view, 150,000 Northmen sailed up the Somme in 880, and, landing on its banks, commenced their work of destruction in a more systematic manner than had hitherto been pursued, adding butchery of the inhabitants to the plunder

and conflagrations of their dwellings. On the death of Charles le Chauve, his successors, Louis III., and Carloman, resisted the invaders with more effect, and more than once defeated them with considerable loss, although still Louis was induced to purchase peace for twelve years at the price of 12,000 pounds of silver. The terms of peace had been only partially observed, when, upon the election of Eudes to be king of France, he assembled a considerable force, and in several engagements succeeded in driving the northmen to their boats, when his death relieved them from the only enemy who had successfully contended with them; and the accession of Charles the Simple, in 898, sealed the destiny of Normandy. In 900, Eric, king of Denmark, arrived with large reinforcements to the support of the Northmen, bands of whom moved in every direction to the far limits of southern Gaul. Paris underwent a siege of two years, but, having been well fortified by Eudes, the Northmen raised the siege, to give them opportunity for a more profitable employment of their time. Charles the Simple offered to relinquish in their favour the maritime coast of Neustria; but the offer was declined with derision, as being less than what was already under their control. On Eric's return, in 905, to Denmark, Rollo appears to have been left in command of the Scandinavian host; he at first met with several reverses, and sustained, in 911, a severe

defeat at Chartres; but these checks to his progress did not deter him from the main object of his ambition, of securing dominion and territory for himself and his followers; he therefore, in 912, made such demonstrations of force, and so judiciously prepared his means, with a view to a decisive march upon Paris, that the simple Charles deputed Franconius, the archbishop of Rouen, to apply to the great Danish pirate for a suspension of arms, which being graciously conceded, a treaty was concluded and signed at St. Clair sur Epte; all the requisitions of Rollo were complied with, the greater part of the ancient kingdom of Neustria, with Dol and Rennes in Brittany in addition, were agreed to be delivered up to him, with the title of Duke of Normandy as a fief from the crown, and homage to be performed for it accordingly, with the collateral conditions of accepting Giselle, the king's daughter, in marriage, and being baptised.

The rite of baptism was in due form solemnized by the archbishop of Rouen, and the Christian name of Robert bestowed on the chieftain; the marriage was immediately afterwards celebrated between him and the Princess Giselle; neither ceremony, however, proved altogether successful: the bridegroom soon relapsed into the use of his original name of Rollo, and Giselle, whether from neglect, or harsher means, did not long survive the sacrifice she had made to protect the imbecility of her father, and promote the ambition of the Danish chief. Rollo had some

time before married, according to the Danish custom, Poppea, the daughter of the Baron Beranger de Bayeux and Viscount of Beasin, reserving to himself the right of repudiating Poppea, and marrying any more eligible party ; he availed himself of this privilege for the immediate purpose, by a temporary separation ; but, on the death of Giselle, reverted, with renewed or increased affection, to the object of his first choice.

The third and concluding condition of the treaty remained to be performed, and had well-nigh occasioned an entire rupture of it. It appears that Rollo had not been made aware of the humiliating ceremony attaching to the act of homage ; on being informed that it was expected of him to kiss the spur of his Suzerain, he indignantly rejected the suggestion, and threatened instant hostilities. His wiser captains, and the king's more supple courtiers, united to appease his wrath, led him to the throne by his hand, and placed it between those of the king ; he then sullenly retired, giving a reluctant consent that one of his men-at-arms should perform the degrading act of vassalage on his behalf.

A stalwart Dane was selected, and instructed accordingly ; he was accompanied to the footstool of Charles, and, whether intentionally or otherwise, instead of stooping his head to the royal heel, he raised the foot so high as to upset the majesty of France, amid the loud laughter of his barbaric comrades.

The form was considered to have been accomplished, the investiture of the duchy followed accordingly, and the newly created duke of Normandy faithfully performed the duties of his high position, as well towards the crown of France, as towards his immediate subjects.

The noble Dane, with exemplary assiduity, exercised his high duties as sovereign and as legislator; established tribunals of justice; promulgated a code of laws, which, under the title of "le grand coutumier de Normandie," remained in full force throughout the province until superseded, partially only, by the Code Napoleon; he also regulated the criminal police of his duchy with that exactitude, and rigid enforcement of its duties, that it was said, that any purse or valuable ornament, accidentally dropped, might lie for weeks untouched on the roadside, no one daring to take it for fear of being considered the robber; and such was the opinion of his justice, that the ordinary appeal to him for redress of any grievance, when he went forth from his residence, was by a cry from the injured party of "Ha Raoul," which was immediately responded to by him, and right was done.

This mode of appeal was so universally adopted by his subjects, and the result proved always so satisfactory, that it established itself as a technical part of legal practice; and, until the nineteenth century, the memory of it was preserved, and, in

consequence, the legal form of an appeal of right and imperative demand of justice, was made by public proclamation, called the "Clameur de Haro," this was justly considered one of the greatest privileges of the province, and recognised by the courts of law as the peculiar birth-right of its inhabitants.

Rollo having finally established the constitution of the duchy,* abdicated the sovereignty of it in favour of his son William (Long Sword), in the year 928, from whom our William the Conqueror was the fifth duke, and by whom it was transmitted to his heirs and successors, kings of England, until soon after the accession of John in 1202, when it was seized by Philip Augustus, by virtue of a decree of a court of peers of France, of forfeiture of the duchy by John, by reason of his murder of his nephew Arthur, and divers other felonies of which he was convicted; still it was considered an independent duchy, and held by the kings of France only as its dukes; and so it continued for three hundred years, until it merged absolutely, in the reign of Louis XII., into the French monarchy, of which it became an integral part; but the title was retained and conferred only on princes of the blood; the last who bore it was the eldest son of Louis XVI., the Dauphin, who died in 1789.

* The topographical extent of modern Normandy, from Gisors to Cherbourg, is upwards of 200 miles in length, about 90 miles in breadth, and nearly 700 miles in circumference. Rouen, its capital, contains upwards of 100,000 inhabitants.

Rollo, in addition to other constitutional privileges, instituted provincial assemblies of the people, which, in the rest of France, had been suppressed by the mayors of the palace, established an exchequer and other courts, the judges of which held assizes, and went on circuits to the principal towns and districts of the duchy.

These beneficial institutions afforded a pleasing contrast to a previous period of nearly fourscore years of ruthless cruelty and rapine on the part of the invaders, fraught with dismay and ruin to the natives, whose continual state of terror and alarm was such that in the public prayers and litanies in all the churches, a special sentence was introduced, imploring deliverance from the *fury* of the Northmen.

From the period of the acknowledged rule of their great leader, an entire calm prevailed ; no more hostile invasions, but abundance of peaceful emigration from the north, gradually supplying the effects of depopulation of the natives by fire, sword, and exile ; replacing them by a succession of ever hardy and now industrious Scandinavians, proving themselves worthy of enjoying the fine and fertile soil they had by their valour acquired, the greater portion of the surviving natives being chiefly priests, and religious communities, with a numerous train of retainers and dependents, serfs and slaves. The great Norman proprietors still retained their hereditary tendency to conquest and dominion, and such

was the increasing amount of population, that the grandsons of Tancred of Hauteville, one of Rollo's great chiefs, and some of the Guiscards and other noble youths, with a large force, invaded Italy, where they made themselves masters of Apulia, Calabria, Naples, and Sicily, and most of them transmitted these possessions to their heirs.

We have been induced to give as large a space to the details of the invasion of a province only by Rollo and his Northmen as we had before devoted to the account of the occupation of the whole of Gaul, and this not only because of the superior character of the infusion thus introduced by the seakings and warriors of Scandinavia, as of the legislative wisdom, sobriety, and steadiness of conduct which have ever since characterised the Norman race. The extent and position of the province, its maritime and general importance, and in an especial manner, its early and long-continued union with England, which derived its feudal tenures and many of its customs from it, in still greater measure entitle it to this preference.

The comparative superiority of Normandy over the rest of France has been developed through successive ages to this time; and whether considered as regards its territorial resources, its commercial facilities, or the character of its inhabitants, we feel justified in assigning to Normandy the palm of industrial as well as of intellectual pre-eminence.

The following summary of the names of a few only of the distinguished natives of Normandy, corroborates our view of their progress in most branches of science, literature, and the arts:—

Malherbe, pronounced by Boileau as having given the first impulse in poetry: “Malherbe vint.” Corneille, of whom Voltaire observed, that on his appearance the work of genius was consummated: “Quand arriva Corneille, tout fût crée en France.” T. Corneille, the Poussins, Pradon, Turnêbe, Sandt Bochart, Basnage, Daniel Huet, Auzout, Lemery, Varignon, Duhamel, C. Fontenelle, Mezeray, Vertot, Bernardin de St. Pierre, Blondel, Jouvenel, Duquesne, the learned jurisconsult Thouret, Madame la Fayette, Vicq d’Azyr, Dupuytren, Conté, Dacier, Delaplace, Vauquelin, Boyeldicu, Desgenettes, Casimir de la Vigne, Ancelot, Alexis Dumesnil, Carrell, Dupont de l’Eure, and Bignon. We close this list with the name of an individual conferring equal honour on England and on France. Sir Mark Isambard Brunel, born of Norman parents in or near Rouen, evinced, at an early period of his life in England, his original genius by his invention of the machinery for cutting blocks for the navy, as carried on in Portsmouth dock-yard, and afterwards by planning, and, with indefatigable perseverance, completing, that great triumph of engineering art, the Tunnel under the Thames.

SOVEREIGN DUKES OF NORMANDY,

FROM ROLLO TO KING JOHN OF ENGLAND.

912 to 1202.

	A.D.
Rol Rollo, or Raoul (baptised Robert I.),	912 to 928
William I. (Long Sword),	928 „ 943
Richard I. (the Old, Sanspeur),	943 „ 996
Richard II. (the Intrepid),	996 „ 1027
Richard III.,	1027 „ 1028
Robert II. (le Diable),	1028 „ 1035
William (the Bastard, and the Conqueror) II. of Normandy, and I. of England,	1035 „ 1087
Robert III. (Curthose), in preference to his younger brother, our William II. (Rufus),	1087 „ 1106
Henry I. (Beauclerc),	1107 „ 1134
Matilda, or Maud, empress, his daughter, } Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, her husband, }	1135 „ 1148
Geoffrey, their son;	
Arthur, his son, murdered by his uncle, John.	
Henry II.,	1148 „ 1189
Richard IV., and I. of England (the Proud, Cœur de Lion,	1189 „ 1199
John (Lackland),	1199 „ 1202
Escheated, by forfeiture for crime, to Philip Augustus, and the crown of France.	

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRANKS AND NORMANS.

One of the most important codes among the feudal nations was the Salic law. It derived its appellation from the Salians, who inhabited the country from the Loire to the Carbonarian Wood on the confines of Brabant and Hainault. It is supposed to have been written in the Latin language, about the beginning of the fifth century, under the superintendence of Wisogastus, Bodogastus, Salogastus, and Windogastus, the four chieftains of the nations.* It received considerable additions from Clovis, Childebert, Clotaire, Charlemagne, and Louis the Debonnaire. There exist two ancient versions of it, and they differ so considerably, that they have been sometimes treated as distinct codes.

Another tribe of the same people, who occupied the banks of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, were known by the name of the Ripuarians, and were governed by a collection of laws which from them was called the Ripuarian law. This code seems to have been first promulgated by Theodoric, and to have been augmented by Dagobert. The punishments inflicted by the Ripuarian code are more severe than the punishments inflicted by the Salic law, and the Ripuarian law recognises the trial by judgment of God and by duel, of which no mention whatever is made in the Salic code; both codes were adopted by the Franks, the neighbours and occasional allies of the Salians, as well as of the Ripuarians.

These laws were in course of time in some measure superseded by the Capitularies. The word Capitulary, in its generic sense, denotes every kind of literary composition divided into chapters. Laws of this description were promulgated by Childebert, Clotaire, Carloman, and Pepin, but no sovereign appears to have promulgated so many of them as Charlemagne, which he did with a view to establish an uniformity of law throughout his vast dominions, thus adding to, amending, or explaining the existing laws by short additional chapters. The authority of these Capitu-

* More probably the designations of the four villages or districts from whence the four chieftains were convened.

laries prevailed in every kingdom under the dominion of the Franks, and was submitted to in many parts of Italy and Germany.

With the Merovingian race the Salic and Ripuarian laws expired. The Capitularies remained in force in Italy longer than in Germany, and in France longer than in Italy; the publication of the Decretum of Gratian, which totally superseded them in all religious concerns, put an end to their authority in France.

The codes, in all matters not specifically enacted by them, not only permitted, but recognised in the several districts and provinces the ancient customs which prevailed in each of them. Written collections of these customs were published by authority; these collections formed a considerable part of the law of France, and were a striking feature of its jurisprudence, the origin of which may be traced to the commencement of the Capetian race. The verification of these customs, which differed in every province, and frequently in each signory, after upwards of forty years' labour bestowed on their compilation, was not completed until 1609, in the reign of Louis XII.

The grand Coutumier of France is contained in 4 vols. folio; it comprises above 100 collections of the customs of provinces, and 200 of the customs of cities, towns, or villages.

Another collection, called *Les Etablissements de St. Louis*, holds a high rank for the wisdom with which it is written, and the curious matter it contains.

The grand Coutumier de Normandie, for its high antiquity and the relation it bears to the feudal jurisprudence of England, is particularly interesting to an English reader. An edition of it was published by Basnage, with a learned commentary. See *Horæ juridicæ subsecivæ*, by Charles Butler, 1807.

The Salic code, if it did not create, at all events accommodated itself, with extraordinary exactness, to the several gradations in rank and condition of which the motley population, of what for the present purpose we must territorially designate Gaul, consisted. These gradations were in course of formation from the period of the early conquests and settlements in that country by the Franks, in the fifth century, until their full development by the completion of the feudal system in the ninth. To render this more intelligible, we extract from the Salic and Ripuarian codes, and from the capitularies of Charlemagne, a kind of

tariff of the comparative value of the lives of the individuals of each class of which the civil hierarchy, comprised in that population, was composed :—

1. The first rank in the scale of value and compensation, attaches to the man of Frank origin, and to the barbarian living under the law of the Franks.

2. The second, is the barbarian living under the law of his own nation or tribe, whatever it may be.

3. Then comes the indigenous free proprietor, or Roman possessor; and, in the same rank, the Lite, Leude, or German colonist.

4. Then the Roman tributary—that is, the indigenous colonist.

5. And, lastly, the slave without distinction of origin.

1. Si quis ingenuus hominem Francum aut barbarum occiderit, qui lege salica vivit, viii., M. den., qui faciunt sol. cc, culpabilis judicetur. (Leg. salic., tit. xliii. §. 1, apud Script. rer. gallic. et francic., t. iv., p. 220). Si quis ingenuus hominem ingenuum Ripuarium interfecerit, cc. sol. culp. jud. (Leg. Ripuar., tit. vii., *ibid.*, p. 237). Si quis Ripuarius advenam Francum interfecerit, cc. sol. culp. jud. Si quis Ripuarius advenam Alamannum seu Fresionem vel Bajuvarium aut Saxonem interfecerit, clx. sol. culp. jud. (*Ibid.*, tit. xxxvi, § i., ii., et iv., p. 241). Si Romanus homo possessor, id est qui res in pago ubi commanet proprias possidet, occisus fuerit, is qui eum occidisse convincitur iv. M. den., qui faciunt sol. c., culp. jud. (Leg. salic., t. xliii., § vii., *ibid.*, p. 220). Si quis Ripuarius advenam Romanum interfecerit, c. sol. multetur (Leg. Ripuar., tit. xxxvi., § iii., *ibid.*, p. 241). Si vero Romanus vel Lidus . . . occisus fuerit . . . (Leg. salic., tit. xliii. § iv., *ibid.*, p. 220). Qui Lidum occiderit c. sol. componat . . . (Caroli Magni capitul., anni dcccxiii., *ibid.*, t. v., p. 688). Si quis Romanum tributarium occiderit, mcccc den., qui faciunt sol. xlv., culp. jud. (Leg. salic., tit. xliii., § viii., *ibid.*, t. iv., p. 220). Si quis servum alienum occiderit, aut vendiderit vel ingenuum dimiserit, mcccc den., qui faciunt sol. xxxv., culp. jud. (*Ibid.*, tit. xi., § iii., p. 209).

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE OF THE

FIRST OR MEROVINGIAN RACE—A.D. 420 TO 737.

1. PHARAMUND,	.	.	420 to 428.
2. CLODION LE CHEVELU,	.	.	428 „ 448.
3. MEROVEUS,	.	.	448 „ 456.
4. CHILDERIC I.,	.	.	456 „ 481.

Married Bazine,

N.B.—The inter-relationship of the preceding four kings, dukes, or chieftains, not satisfactorily established.

5. CLOVIS *m.* Clotilde.

Thierri, king of Metz, d. 534.	Clodomir, king of Or- leans, d. 524.	6. CHILDEBERT I., king of Paris, d. 558.	7. CLOTAIRE I., king of Sois- sons, after- wards reigned alone, d. 562.	<i>m.</i> { Ingonde. Aregonde. Chonsene. Radegonde. Gondiucque. Waldrade.	
8. CARIBERT, king of Paris, d. 566.		Gontran, king of Or- leans and Bur- gundy, d. 593.	Sigebert, king of Aus- trasia, d. 575.	9. CHILPERIC I., king of Sois- sons, d. 584.	<i>m.</i> { Audevere. Galsuinde. Fredegonde.
				10. CLOTAIRE II., reigned alone, d. 628.	<i>m.</i> { Haldetrude. Bertrude. Sichilde.

11. DAGOBERT I., reigned alone after the death of Caribert, d. 638.	m. { Gomatrude. Nantilde. Ragnetruide. Nulegonde. Berthilde.		Caribert, king of Aquitania, d. 631.
Sigebert, d. 656.	12. Clovis II., king of Burgundy and Neustria.	m. Batilde.	
Clotilde m.	15. THIERRI III., reigned alone, d. 691.—First of the Fainé- ant kings.	13. CLOTAIRE III., king of Burgundy and Neustria, d. 670.	14. CHILDERIC II., king of Austrasia, d. 673. m. Bilihilde.
16. CLOVIS III., d. 695.	17. CHILDEBERT III., d. 711.	m.	19. DANIEL, called Chilperic II., d. 720.
	18. DAGOBERT III., d. 716.	m.	21. CHILDERIC III., dethroned 750.
		20. THIERRI IV., d. 737.	

MAYORS OF THE PALACE

To the several Kings of Austrasia, Neustria, Soissons, Paris, Orleans, Metz, and Burgundy.

From the accession of Childebert II. (524), to the death of Clotaire II. (628):—

The name of Lando, or Landri, occurs more than once, but of uncertain date.

Theodorik,	Claudius.
Badeghosile.	Licin.
Gondeland.	Gondebald.
Landeghesile.	Warrathon.
Cuppa.	Carloman.
Landri.	Gondoald.
Chrodin.	Sadragheside.
Gogon.	Arnold.
Radon.	Erkinoald.
Florentian.	Pepin the Elder.
Wefoald.	Cagan.
Warnaher.	Noran.
Bertoald.	Ega.
Protadius.	St. Eloi.

The above contented themselves with the fulfilment of the simple functions of their office; while those in the following list gradually assumed the duties and responsibilities of government in all its substantial departments, allowing to the sovereign only an ornamental and nominal supremacy.

From the accession of Dagobert I. (628), to the death of Childeric II. (673):—

Erhinoald.	Grimoald.
Berthoald.	Adalyhise.
Ebroin.	Rodbert.
Almarik.	Wefoald.
Floachat.	St. Leger.
Martin.	Archambaud.
	Hermanfroy.

At length all pretence of subordination was discontinued, and the following mayors recognised nothing but the name and title of an almost invisible sovereign, a genuine Fainéant:—

Ebroin.	Dreux.
Lendefile.	Grimauld.
Waraton.	Nordebert.
Ghilimher.	Theudoald.
Berther.	Raghenfred.
Pepin Heristal.	
Charle Martel.	
Pepin le Bref.	

The founder of the Carlovingian dynasty.

In the preceding lists we have adhered to the orthography ordinarily adopted with reference to the names contained in it; in order, however, to assist the reader in identifying them with the different sound and aspect they assume in some modern French historians, we subjoin a glossary showing the approved Teutonic version:—

Pharamond,	Far-mund.		
Clodion,	Klod,	Khlodion.	Hlodion.
Meroveus,	Merweg,	Meroveé,	Merewig.
Chilperic,	Chilp-Eric,	Hilperik,	Khilperik.
Clovis,	Klodwig,	Hlodowik.	Louis.
Clotilde,	Khlotilde,	Chlothilde.	
Caribert,	Kharibert,	Haribert.	
Brunehaut,	Brunehilde.		
Childebert,	Khildebert,	Child-Burg.	
Clotaire,	Khlotair,	Hlother.	
Matilda,	Maud,	Mahaud.	
Charles Martel,	Karle le Martel.		

CHAPTER II.

Chronological series of memorable events which occurred during the reigns of the first or Merovingian race of the kings of France.

420.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY OF FRANCE.

This year is assigned as the beginning of the reign of Pharamond, the first king of the Franks, although no mention of the fact is made by Gregory of Tours, the earliest annalist of the period. Nor does his name occur in any chronicle or history of an earlier date than the seventh century.

422.

The code of Salic laws established and promulgated. As the Franks were governed by this code during the whole period of the Merovingian dynasty, a short account of its origin and provisions is given in the Supplemental Note, p. 89.

428.

Clodion.

Alleged death of Pharamond, and accession of his supposed son Clodion, who establishes his capital and residence at Amiens.

436.

The Goths, under the conduct of their King

Theodoric, make war upon the Franks, and besiege Narbonne, upon which relief of provisions, and otherwise, being sent by Count Lictorius the imperial general, the Goths raise the siege.

448.

Meroveus.

Clodion, having undertaken the siege of Soissons, is attacked and defeated by the Roman general Ætius, and Auberon, the son of Clodion, is killed in the engagement. Clodion dies soon after of grief and mortification, and is succeeded by Meroveus, who gives name to the dynasty.

451.

Attila, although defeated by Ætius on the Danube in the preceding year, rallies his innumerable hordes, and invades and ravages the greater part of Gaul; he is, however, again encountered by his able opponent Ætius, aided by Meroveus and Theodoric; they compel Attila to raise the siege of Orleans, and afterwards obtain a signal and decisive victory over him in the plains of Champagne, near Chalons-sur-Marne, where Attila is said to have sustained a loss of upwards of 200,000 men.

452.

Attila and the Huns again invade Gaul, but are met and put to the rout by Thorismond, king of the Goths, with still greater slaughter than was computed to have taken place at the battle of Chalons.

456.

Childeric I.

Meroveus having considerably extended his dominion by the acquisition of the greater part of the Roman province of Lugdunensis Secundus, dies this year, and is succeeded by Childeric I., who, soon after his accession, owing to his dissolute conduct, is deposed by the universal consent of the chieftains and the people, from whose indignation he takes refuge with Bising, king of Thuringia, whose hospitality he requites by seducing his wife Bazine; she afterwards marries her seducer, and becomes the mother of Clovis. During the interregnum occasioned by the expulsion of Childeric, the government is conducted by Ægidius, the Roman general, until the return to power of Childeric. Ægidius dies, leaving his claims and rights, such as they might be, to his son Syagrius.

462.

Childeric takes the city of Cologne from the Romans, and gradually regains the favour of the Franks.

466.

Childeric is recalled from exile, formally restored to the sovereignty, and marries Bazine. Theodoric, king of the Goths, invades Gaul, lays siege to Clermont in Auvergne, is defeated with considerable loss, and compelled to retreat, by the son of the Emperor Avitus.

467.

Birth of Clovis.

475.

Childeric possesses himself of the country of the Saxons, abandoned by them in consequence of their being defeated by the Romans; he enters into alliance with Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who confirms Childeric in his acquisitions, and himself goes into Italy, takes possession of Rome and of Ravenna, but refuses the title of emperor, preferring that of king of Italy, and establishing Ravenna as his capital.

481.

Clovis I.

Childeric dies, and his son Clovis, in the fifteenth year of his age, is acknowledged king of France.

486.

Battle of Soissons, where the patrician Syagrius, the Roman general who had assumed the title of king, is defeated by Clovis, and flies for protection to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who, on the demand of Clovis, delivers up Syagrius, who is led to immediate execution. As the first fruits of his victory, Clovis considerably extends his dominion in Gaul by the acquisition of the remaining Roman portion of it, and establishes the seat of his government at Soissons.

490.

Clovis subdues the Tongri or Thuringians, and retains possession of Liege.

493.

Theodoric enters into a treaty of peace with the Emperor Anastasius, and marries Audelfleda, the sister of Clovis.

Clovis marries Clotilda, niece of Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians.

Rheims submits to Clovis, and all the provinces between the Seine, the Aisne, and the Somme.

496.

Battle of Tolbiac (now Zulpich), near Cologne, where the Allemanni are defeated. At a critical moment of the conflict, Clovis ejaculated a vow to embrace Christianity, the religion of his wife, should he obtain the victory, and this being signally achieved, he accomplishes his vow by being baptized, with 3000 of his followers, by St. Remi, at Rheims, on the night of Christmas. His sister Ebofleda was baptised, and his other sister, Lantilda, at the same time renounced the errors of Arianism. Clovis thus becomes the only orthodox Catholic prince in Europe, all the other sovereigns being Arians; he in consequence first acquired the distinction of being called the eldest son of the church.

497.

The Armorican league, or republic, consisting of Brittany and the adjoining districts, enters into alliance with Clovis, and ultimately submits to his government, as had been the case some time before with the Roman colonies on the banks of the Rhine.

St. Remi, otherwise Remigius, distributes among the provinces the valuable donations in plate and money made to him by Clovis, and especially endows the church of Laon, which he erects into a bishopric, and appoints Genebaud the first bishop.

500.

A celebrated conference, held at Lyons, between the Catholics and Arians, which had no other than the usual result of confirming each party in its opinion, and aggravating their mutual dissent.

505.

Clovis, at the instance of his Queen Clotilda, founds the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Paris, afterwards completed by his widow, and dedicated to St. Genevieve.

507.

Battle of Vouillé, near Poitiers, wherein Alaric, king of the Visigoths, the best and wisest of the kings of the barbarians, is defeated and slain by Clovis, who thus becomes possessed of Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, Perigord, Saintonge, Angouemois, and Angouleme, and of the cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse, being all that the Visigoths possessed between the Loire and the Pyrenees, except some small districts in Provence and Languedoc. Clovis, in addition, obtained a considerable treasure, which Alaric had amassed in his capital city of Toulouse.

508.

Clovis receives from Anastasius, emperor of the

East, a rescript conferring on him the title of honorary consul, with the imperial insignia, the purple robe, the mantle, and the diadem, with the titles of Augustus and Patrician.

He appears thus attired in the church of St. Martin, distributes with his own hands a munificent largesse in gold and silver to the populace, and returns to Paris, which he constitutes the seat of government and the residence of the sovereign.

Theodoric, the renowned king of the Ostrogoths, out of attachment to his kindred Visigoths, sends to their assistance Hibbo, with 30,000 men, against the Franks, who are defeated with great loss, and compelled to relinquish their recent conquests in Provence and Languedoc.

Clovis, nothing daunted by this first and only reverse experienced by him, lays siege to Arles, which is vigorously defended by the Goths, but he ultimately obtains the possession of it.

He returns to Paris, where he has a dangerous illness, and on his recovery resumes his aggressive career by making war on the Burgundians, another branch of the Visigoths. Gondabaud, their king, is vanquished, and takes refuge in Italy, where he dies, and Sigismund, his son, succeeds to such a portion of his dominion as had not been appropriated by Clovis.

509.

Clovis seizes the persons of Chararic, king of Amiens, and of his son, orders them to retire into

a monastery, there to be shorn, and to become monks; on their refusal, and the youth observing that the hair might grow again, Clovis, from a reasonable conviction that their heads could not do so, causes both to be beheaded.

Ragnacaire, king of Cambray, and Riquier, his brother, are brought before Clovis, who, on the spot, dispatches both with his francisque; and causes Rignomer, king of Mans, to be assassinated in his own town, and takes possession of the dominions of his victims.

Clovis puts to death his kinsman Sigebert, king of Cologne, with his son Clodoric; he also causes Cararic, king of the Morini, to be assassinated.

By way of set-off to these successive atrocious acts of murder and usurpation, Clovis built churches, and founded and endowed monasteries, with the most lavish liberality, but devoted himself, in an especial manner, to his patron St. Martin, whose protection, in many cases of imminent hazard, he gratefully acknowledged, admitting, however, that though St. Martin had been a good friend to him in time of need, he had, at the same time, been rather an expensive one.

511.

Childebert and Clotaire I.

Amalric, king of the Visigoths, the son and successor of Alaric, marries Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis, and of Clotilda, his queen.

The Salic code of law is revised and promulgated by Clovis, in which mention is first made of water-mills in France.

Death of Clovis at Paris on 29th November, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-first of his reign ; he is buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. His dominions are divided among his four sons :—Thierry, or Theodoric, his illegitimate son, obtains for his portion the kingdom of Austrasia, comprehending a great part of Aquitania, conquered from the Visigoths, and all the territory lying between the Rhine and the Meuse, Metz being the capital. Clodomir became king of Orleans, comprising the fertile provinces in the centre of France, with the city of Orleans as their capital. Childebert inherits Normandy, Brittany, and all the country westward, including Paris, and he therefore historically takes rank in the line of the kings of France. Picardy, Artois, and all the country between Flanders and the ocean, fall to the share of Clotaire, the youngest son, who fixes his residence at Soissons—the three last being the children of Clotilda.

516.

After several years of peace, Childebert and Clotaire make a combined attack on Sigismund, king of Burgundy, whose brother, Gondemar, is put to flight, and Sigismund himself afterwards defeated and taken prisoner, and, with his wife and children,

put to death by being cast into a well, notwithstanding the remonstrances of St. Avitus, abbot of St. Mici. Gondemar, the brother of Sigismund, succeeds to him, and is the last king of the Burgundians, being entirely subdued at the battle of Voiron by Chlodomir, and his brother-in-law, Theodoric, where Gondemar is taken prisoner and put to death. Burgundy, after having been an independent kingdom during upwards of 120 years, becomes a part of the dominion of the Franks.

526.

Chlodomir dies of the wounds received by him in the battle of Voiron, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom was ten years of age; their cruel and ambitious uncles, Clotaire and Childebert, murder them with their own hands. The youngest, who escaped, became a recluse, and was afterwards canonised by the name of St. Cloud.

531.

Thierry, king of Metz, subdues Hermanfrid, and obtains possession of Thuringia. Childebert attacks and defeats Amalric, king of the Visigoths, who dies of his wounds in the fifth year of his reign.

533.

Death of St. Remi, bishop of Rheims.

534.

Thierry, king of Austrasia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Theodobert.

535.

The Emperor Justinian enters into a treaty of peace with Theodobert, and his uncles, to induce them to join with him against Theodat, king of the Ostrogoths. From this period, according to Procopius, the Franks became masters of the whole of Provence, and of the Phocæan colony of Marseilles.

537.

Vitiges, king of the Goths, relinquishes in favour of the Franks all the possessions of the Goths in France.

542.

Childebert and his brother Clotaire ravage Spain, and obtain possession of several places; but Childebert being defeated before Saragossa, retires from Spain.

543.

Death of Queen Clotilda, widow of Clovis, at Tours. She is buried in the church of St. Genevieve at Paris, and is in due time canonised.

550.

Bells first introduced into France.

555.

The Franks and the Allemanni invade Italy, where the latter possess themselves of an immense booty. Narses, the imperial general, defeats them in a battle in which all the Franks are slaughtered. Theodebalde, king of Metz, dies, and Childebert and Clothaire divide his kingdom between them.

558.

Clotaire alone.

Childebert, king of France, dies at Paris, and is buried in the church of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des Près, which he had built. Clotaire succeeds him, and remains sole king of France, although Childebert had left several daughters; and this is the first instance of the application of a fundamental law of the Salic code, disqualifying females from succession to land.

560.

Chramnes, natural son of Clotaire, after many rebellious demonstrations, is reconciled to his father; but soon after repairs to Conobre, count of Brittany, and declares war against his father. The king marches against Conobre, who is killed; and Chramnes, taking refuge, with his wife and children and others, in a cottage, Clotaire causes fire to be applied to it, and they are all burnt.

562.

Caribert.

Clotaire, king of France, dies at Compiègne, at the age of sixty-one, having reigned forty-nine years. He is buried in the Abbey Church of St. Medard at Soissons, which he had built. His kingdom is divided among his four sons:—Caribert, king of Paris; Gontran, king of Orleans; Chilperic, king of Soissons; and Sigebert, king of Austrasia, who transferred his residence from Metz to Rheims.

565.

France, Italy, and Germany are visited with pestilence, spreading death and desolation throughout those countries, and depopulating their chief towns and cities.

566.

Chilperic I.

Caribert dies after a wicked and disgraceful reign of five years, distinguished only for his profligacy, and contempt of all laws, human and divine, for which he was excommunicated by St. Germain d' Auxerre. Caribert left daughters, one of whom, Bertha, married Ethelbert, king of Kent. She was the first Christian queen in England, and she and her sisters afford the second example of the application of the Salic law, as affecting the succession to the throne. The three brothers of Caribert, not being able to agree as to the division or possession of Paris, determine to hold it in common, on the condition that no one of them should enter it without leave of the other two.

568.

Chilperic marries Galswinde, daughter of Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths. This princess was soon after found strangled in her bed, at the instigation of Fredegonde, the concubine, and afterwards the wife, of Chilperic; she was originally a peasant girl, from a village in Picardy, distinguished for her extraordinary beauty, and still more distinguished for her vices and her crimes. Brune-

haut, the sister of Galswinde, and wife of Sigebert, the only well-conducted prince in this dissolute age, determines to revenge her sister's death, and induces her husband to declare war against Chilperic.

575.

Civil war rages in France for some years between the several kings, excited by the ambition and envy of Brunehaut, wife of Sigebert, and, under the same influences, by Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic. Chilperic attacks his brother Sigebert, who gains the victory, but is murdered in his tent, by the order of the notorious Fredegonde. He was forty years of age, and had reigned fourteen years; he leaves one son, named Childebert, five years of age, who succeeds to the throne of Austrasia, at the instance of his uncle Gontran, and is crowned at Metz.

576.

Brunehaut being at this time imprisoned at Rouen, Meroveus, one of the sons of Chilperic, struck with her beauty, releases and marries her.

577.

Furious controversy between the clergy of France and Spain, as to the day on which Easter should be solemnized, the former contending for the 28th of April, and the latter for the 21st of March.

The kings of France enter into a truce for one year. Chilperic sends Brunehaut back to Austrasia, and causes his son Meroveus to be shaved, and confined in a monastery; he afterwards escapes, but being

again about to fall into his father's power, is killed, at his own earnest intreaty, by his friend Guilene.

581.

Fredegonde accuses Clovis, the last of her stepsons, of having poisoned her own three infant children, and has him murdered.

583.

Plague again in France, of which the two sons of Chilperic, and the wife of Gontran, die.

584.

Clotaire II.

A great portion of Paris consumed by fire. Chilperic is assassinated at Chelles, on his return from hunting, at the instance of Fredegonde, whom he had detected in an intrigue with Landri, mayor of the palace. He left one infant son, Clotaire II. Gontran, king of Orleans, protects Fredegonde and the young king against the just anger of Brunehaut and Childebert; but, soon alarmed by the perfidy and ingratitude of Fredegonde, he banishes her to the castle of Vaudreuil.

588.

Gontran undertakes a war against the Goths in Spain, but is defeated.

590.

Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, is assassinated while officiating at the altar, by order of Fredegonde; but surviving a few days, Fredegonde, to witness and enjoy her triumph, visits him while on

his death-bed, listens unmoved to his solemn accusations, and requests leave to send her own physician to him.

591.

Gontran takes up arms to suppress the revolt of Waroc, count of Brittany, who, being subdued, meets Gontran at Guerande, and does homage to him as his vassal.

593.

Death of Gontran; he has been canonised by the church. Having left no issue, he declared his nephew Childebert heir to the kingdoms of Orleans and Burgundy.

The Gascons, or Wascons, pass the Pyrenees, and establish themselves in Novempopulania, to which they give their name, and ultimately extend their power as far as the Garonne. Landri, in command of Clotaire's army, defeats Childebert near Soissons.

595.

A law, published by Childebert for the first time inflicting the punishment of death for murder, which until this time might be commuted for a fine.

596.

Childebert and his queen die of poison, within a few hours of each other, leaving two sons, Theodobert, aged ten, and Thierry, nine, under the tutelage of their grandmother, Brunehaut. Clotaire, the son of Fredegonde, was then only thirteen; and from the minorities of these young princes, may

be dated the commencement of the absolute power of the mayors of the palace.

597.

Fredegonde dies, at the age of fifty-five, and is buried in the church of St. Germain de Près, by the side of the king, her husband, whom she had caused to be assassinated. Her son, Clotaire II., succeeded to the throne.

598.

The Austrasians, wearied with the tyrannical dominion of Brunehaut as regent for her grandchildren, persuade Theodebert to interfere, which he does by pronouncing a decree of banishment against her. She takes refuge with Thierry, king of Burgundy, the other guardian of her grandchildren.

601.

Theodebert and Thierry defeat the Gascons, and place Genialis in command over them, who first assumes the title of Duke of Gascony.

This period is generally considered as the commencement of the feudal system in France, by the grant and sub-infeudation of lands by the sovereign and his great feudatories.*

* The above is the President Hainault's suggestion, although Somner was not able to find the word "feudum" before the year 1000, and Muratori, a higher authority, doubts whether it was used so early. Mr. Hallam on this observes, that he found the words "feum" and "fevum" in several charters about 950, but adds, that whatever may have been the name adopted, some word of barbarous origin must have existed in the vernacular language to answer to the Latin "beneficium." The practice of sub-infeudation is alluded to in the capitularies of Pepin and Charlemagne.

605, 6, 7, 8.

Brunehaut foments discord between her two grandsons, to revenge herself of Theodebert's consent to her exile, and persuades Thierri that Theodebert is a supposititious child, and not his brother.

612.

Theodebert is defeated and taken prisoner by Thierri, near Cologne. Being sent to his cruel grandmother at Chalons-sur-Saône, she first had his head shaved, and consigned him to a monastery, after which he was assassinated, with his two infant sons.

613.

Thierri died at Metz, of dysentery, leaving four sons. Two, including the eldest who had been recognised king of Austrasia under the title of Dagobert II., were murdered by order of Clotaire; the third escaped; and the fourth, who was his godson, had his life spared, was shaved, and shut up in a monastery.

The queen and late regent, Brunehaut, having been delivered up to Clotaire, he arraigns her before a tribunal of the peers and vassals of his kingdom. The aged queen appears, arrayed in her royal robes, and takes her trial for the commission of innumerable crimes, including the murder of ten kings and sons of kings; she was unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to die; in execution of which, after being placed and bound on a camel, she was led through the camp and the town of Autun for three

days, subject to every species of ignominy and insult from the soldiers and populace; (some authors affirm that she was previously tortured;) after which she was fastened by her hair and hands to the tail of a wild young horse, who, with one kick, happily for her, dashed out her brains; her body, being then dragged over the stones and briars, was soon torn to fragments. Her mutilated remains, it is related, were collected and burnt, and the ashes committed to the winds. However, her tomb is still shown at St. Martin's church in Autun, and recently, upon opening it, part of the rowel of an ancient spur was found mingled with the dust and bones, which would appear to have belonged to one of her executioners. This princess has found some apologists; and while it must be admitted that though her crimes may perhaps equal many of those of Fredegonde, the latter was in addition guilty of adultery, the petty treason of her husband's death, and the grossest licentiousness of moral conduct, yet she incurred no legal visitation for this black catalogue of crime; whereas Brunehaut incurred the severest retribution, although France is indebted to her for many useful institutions, and, in an especial manner, for those high roads which still bear the name of *chaussées de Brunehaut*.

Clotaire II. now becomes sole monarch of France.

614.

The absolute power of Clotaire having excited

the jealousy of the nobles, he is compelled to leave the government of Austrasia and Burgundy to their respective mayors of the palace, Radon and Warnahaire.

615.

Bells first used in churches in Burgundy, and which custom soon became universal in the West.

616.

Clotaire publishes his Capitularies, and soon afterwards establishes circuits of his judiciary parliaments, called *Placita*, from whence the term *plaid*, in French, and our pleas and pleading.

622.

Æra of the Mahometan Hegira.

Clotaire creates his eldest son Dagobert king of Austrasia and Neustria, with the concurrence of Pepin the Elder, mayor of the palace and duke of Neustria.

626.

Berthould, duke of Saxony, encouraged by the youth of Dagobert, invades his territories; Clotaire comes to the rescue of his son, pursues the enemy, slays Berthould with his own hand, and totally defeats the Saxons on the banks of the Weser.

Clotaire II. associates his son Dagobert with him in his kingdom.

628.

Dagobert I.

Death of Clotaire, at the age of forty-five, having reigned forty-four years. His love of justice and of

peace have merited for him the title of "le Grand," although his memory is deeply stained with the ferocity of the age he lived in.

He left two sons, Dagobert and Caribert. Dagobert became king of France, and Caribert, his brother, inherited a part of Aquitania.

The accounts handed down to us of the wealth and magnificence of Dagobert's court seem incredible. St. Eloy, a goldsmith from Limousin, wore a girdle of gold, set with precious stones in the time of Clotaire, and made for Dagobert a throne of pure gold. St. Eloy was first treasurer to the king, and afterwards bishop of Noyon.

630.

Death of Caribert. His son Childeric, who succeeded him, soon after died, poisoned, it is supposed, by his uncle Dagobert, and with him terminated the kingdom of Toulouse. Caribert, however, left two other sons, and Dagobert suffered the eldest to retain Aquitania, by way of family appanage, as an hereditary duchy.

631.

Dagobert divorces himself from his wife, on the plea of having no family by her, and marries a nun.

632.

War with Samon, a merchant, who had become king of the Slavonians, brought to a successful termination by Sigebert, who had been made king of Austrasia by Dagobert, his father.

633.

Foundation of the Abbey of St. Denis.

Dagobert having nominated his son Sigebert king of Austrasia, retains the principal nobles of that country at his court, nominally as councillors, but more correctly as hostages. Pepin, though still mayor of Austrasia, was one of them.

634.

Dagobert holds the Assises Générales at the palais de Gorges, near Versailles. He makes his will and bequeaths to the Abbey of St. Denis 8000 lbs. weight of lead for the roof.

638.

Clovis II.

Death of Dagobert at Epinay. He is buried in the Abbey of St. Denis, which he had founded; he left two sons, Sigebert II., king of Austrasia, and Clovis II., who ruled over the rest of France. Dagobert laboured successfully in revising the laws and codes of his kingdom, and on his death the mayors of the palace encroached still more upon the functions of royalty.

644.

Nantilde, the queen-mother, and Licin, mayor of the palace, conduct the affairs of government.

650.

Fairs instituted in France to protect goods from pillage by the barons. Pepin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Grimoald.

651.

The mayors of the palace abolish the general assemblies of the Champ de Mars.

Clovis, in a time of dearth, strips the tombs of St. Denis, and of others buried in the abbey, of their gold and silver ornaments, which had been bestowed on them by Dagobert his father, and appropriates them to the relief of the poor. By way of compensation to the abbey, he gives it a charter of exemption from all superior jurisdiction.

656.

Death of Sigebert, leaving an infant son under the tutelage of Grimoald, who imprisons the young prince in a monastery in Ireland, and proclaims his own son king; but Childeric, son of Clovis, attacks and defeats Grimoald, and takes possession of Austrasia.

660.

Clotaire III.

Death of Clovis II., succeeded by his infant son Clotaire III. to the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy; his mother, St. Bathilde, being regent, the kingdom is governed by her until Ebroin, mayor of the palace, usurps all authority, and Bathilde retires to the monastery of Chelles.

670.

Childeric II.

Death of Clotaire III. Thierry, his second brother, proclaimed king by Ebroin; but the hatred of the people towards the mayor of the palace having ex-

tended to his royal nominee, he is imprisoned in the abbey of St. Denis, and his brother Childeric II., already king of Austrasia, becomes sovereign of the whole of France.

673.

Thierry III.

Childeric II., his wife Bilihilde, and his son Dagobert, are murdered in the forest of Linn, by Bodillon, a noble Frank, from whom justice had been withheld by the king.

Thierry III. is released from confinement and placed on the throne, on the nomination of Ebroin, who leaves nothing to Thierry but the name, and the distinction of being the first of the Faineant kings.

687.

Pepin d'Heristal, and Martin, mayors of the palace in Austrasia.

690.

Ebroin causes his rival mayor St. Leger to be assassinated, and proceeds to attack Pepin, and is defeated and put to death by Pepin, who thus obtains entire dominion over France.

691.

Clovis III.

Death of Thierry III., succeeded by Clovis III., on the nomination of Pepin Heristal, who has subdued all opposition to his absolute power, but allows Clovis III., son of Thierry, to bear the empty title of king for five years.

695.

Death of Clovis III., succeeded by the like permission of Pepin, by Childebert III., his brother.

711.

Dagobert III.

Death of Childebert, at the age of twenty-eight, having reigned fifteen years. He is succeeded by his son Dagobert III.

714.

Pepin creates his grandson Theobalde mayor of the palace of Dagobert III. Death of Pepin. Charles Martel, his illegitimate son, is imprisoned by order of Pepin's widow, Gertrude, who administers the government for her infant grandson.

715.

Chilperic II.

Revolt of the people. Flight of Theodebalde. Raghenfred is mayor of the palace. Dagobert III. dies, leaving his son Thierry, an infant, in the cradle, to whom the name of Chelles was given, from the place of his birth; the barons refuse to proclaim him, and call from a monastery an ecclesiastic called Daniel, a son of Childeric, who is elected mayor, and takes the name of Chilperic II.

The Saracens invade and ravage France as far as Burgundy, and on to Poitou and Narbonne, and besiege Toulouse.

716.

Charles Martel escapes to Austrasia, where he is

proclaimed duke. He attacks Chilperic and Raghenfred, his mayor of the palace, over whom he obtains a victory, and nominates Clotaire IV. as king, and who is alleged to be a son of Clotaire III. He soon after dies very suddenly ; no inquest held.

720.

Thierry IV.

Chilperic II. is delivered up to Charles Martel by Eudes, duke of Aquitain, and dies, upon which Thierry IV. de Chelles, the infant son of Dagobert III., succeeds by permission of Martel.

723.

Charles Martel defeats the Saracens, and also Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, and from thence returns to the Belgic frontiers, and obtains a signal victory over the Saxons.

726.

The Pope Gregory II. implores of Martel to come to Italy to his aid against the Iconoclast Emperor Leo, who is excommunicated by the pope. Decisive victory at Tours, achieved over the Saracens by Charles Martel, on which occasion it is said about 365,000 Saracens were slain, the survivors driven back into Spain, and the experiment of planting the Crescent in France never renewed.

732.

Foundation, by Martel, of the earliest order of knighthood. "La genetted," or the badge, was a representation in gold of a small animal of the

ermine species, equally valuable for its fur, with the motto "Exaltat humiles."

733.

Charles Martel defeats the Frisons in a pitched battle, with immense slaughter, and compels the survivors and prisoners to be baptised, and annexes their country to France.

735.

Continuance of war between Martel and Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who dies, and is succeeded by his son Harold, who makes peace with Charles Martel, and submits to do homage to the crown of France for the duchy of Aquitania.

737.

Thierry IV. dies at the age of twenty-three, having borne the title of king during seventeen years. Martel, who still continued to govern, did not give himself the trouble of naming another king, and, during an interregnum of six years to the end of his life, contented himself with the title of duke of the Franks; in the meanwhile he subdues the Saxons, and extirpates the remains of the Saracens out of Provence and Aquitain.

739.

The pope again implores of Charles Martel to come to his assistance in Italy against the Lombards and Luitprand, their king.

740.

The manufacture of carpets first established in Europe by the Arabs in Provence.

741.

Charles Martel dies at his house of Quiercy sur l'Oise, and is buried at St. Denis. Carloman, his eldest son, succeeds him in Austrasia and Belgic France, and Pepin, his second son, in Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence.

742.

Childeric III.

Pepin places on the throne of France Childeric III., son of Thierry de Chelles, who bears the title ten years. A son to Pepin born this year, named Charles, afterwards justly denominated the Great.

743.

The system of Denys le Petit, of dating from the Incarnation, first adopted.

747.

Carloman resigns his estates, and confides his son Drogon to the care of Pepin, retires into Italy, and builds a monastery on Mount Soracte, now called Mount Silvester, embraces a monastic life, and passes the rest of his days in the monastery of Mount Cassin.

749.

Pepin obtains several victories over the Saxons and the Westphalians.

751.

Pepin sends Burchard, bishop of Wurtzburg, and Pulladius, his chaplain, as ambassadors to Pope Zachary, to learn whether he may be at liberty to take possession of the throne of France in conse-

quence of the incapacity of Childeric, the last of the Merovingians.

752.

Pepin, on knowledge of the pope's acquiescence, is declared king of the Franks by an assembly of the Estates of France held at Soissons, and is consecrated by St. Boniface, bishop of Mayence. This was the first instance of the consecration of a king in France. Childeric is degraded and sent to the monastery of Sithieu, now St. Berlin, in the city of St. Omer, and where he takes the religious habit, and with him, being the twenty-first sovereign, terminates the Merovingian race, which lasted during a period of 330 years, reckoning from Pharamond, or of 270 from the accession of Clovis.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS

held in France during the Merovingian dynasty :

420 to 752.

The accounts and lists of the councils of the Roman Catholic Church, have been written and collected by several learned ecclesiastics, and extend to many bulky volumes ; the following list, though still too numerous, applies only to the Gallican church, and has been chiefly extracted from the three principal sources of information :—*Collectio Conciliorum Regia*—printed at the Louvre, in 1644, in thirty-seven volumes folio.

Collectio Magna Conciliorum a Philippe Labbe—
eighteen volumes folio. Edition des Conciles
donnés par le Père Hardouin, Jesuite—twelve
volumes folio:—

A.D.

- 439. Of Riez, in Provence, on Discipline.
- 441. — Orange, on Discipline.
- 442. — Vaison and of Bazas, } The Records of these Coun-
- 443. — Arles, } cils are lost.
- 444. — Vienne, in Dauphiny, on Chelodonus, Bishop of Be-
 sançon.
- 442. — Arles, on Discipline.
- 442. — Narbonne, on false Accusations of Adultery.
- 443. — Angers, on Discipline.
- 444. — Bourges.
- 445. — Arles, upon Faustus of Larius.
- 460. — Lyons.
- 461. — Tours.
- 463. — Arles, against Mamertinus.
- 465. — Vannes, on Discipline.
- 470. — Chalons sur Sarone, upon the election of a Bishop.
- 472. — Bourges, for the election of Simplicius.
- 474. — Valence.
- 474. — Vienne, for establishing the Rogations.
- 475. — Arles, against the Predestinarians.
- 475. — Lyons, on the same subject.
- 482. — Tours, on Discipline.
- 496. — Rheims.
- 499. — Conference between the Catholics and the Arians, in
 the presence of Gondebaud, Arian king of Bur-
 gundy, and Avitus, bishop of Vienne, the chief of
 the Catholics.
- 501. — Orange.
- 507. — Toulouse.

A.D.

511. Of Orleans, on Discipline, and touching criminals retiring to the churches. This council was convened by Clovis, the first Christian king.
516. — Lyons—subject unknown.
517. — Vienne, for regulating the different states of the church.
517. — Lyons, on Discipline.
517. — Rheims, of Faith.
524. — Arles, touching Ordinations.
525. — Clermont.
529. — Orange, against the Messallians and Demi-Pelagians. In this council matters of grace were considered.
529. — Angers, on Discipline.
530. — Angers.
530. — Rheims, for the reformation of Manners.
533. — Orleans, on Discipline.
535. — Auvergne, on Discipline.
536. — Orleans.
538. — Orleans, on Discipline.
540. — Orleans, on Discipline.
541. — Orleans, on Discipline.
545. — Auvergne, for the preservation of the ancient Rights of the Church.
545. — Orleans, for the re-establishment of Mark Bishop.
549. — Orleans, on Discipline.
549. — Auvergne, where the proceedings of the Council of Orleans are received.
550. — Of Tulles, on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
550. — Metz, where Cautinus is consecrated Bishop of Auvergne.
551. — Paris.
552. — Orleans, against the Nestorians and the Eutycheans.
554. — Arles, on Discipline.
555. — Paris, where Saffaracus, bishop of that city, is deposed.
555. — Little Brittany, against Maclow, bishop of Vannes.

A.D.

- 557. Of Paris, against such as are wanting in respect to the Church, and who trouble it by their ambition.
- 563. — Saintes, where Emmerius, an intruding bishop, is deposed.
- 567. — Lyons, on Discipline.
- 567. — Tours, on Discipline.
- 570. — Lyons, for the peace and consolation of the Church.
- 570. — Tours.
- 573. — Paris, on a difference with the Bishop of Chartres.
- 575. — Lyons.
- 576. — Paris, of the differences between the kings since Goutran and Chilperic.
- 577. — Paris, against Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen.
- 578. — Auxerre, on Discipline.
- 579. — Chalons.
- 579. — Saintes.
- 579. — Maçon.
- 580. — Brennes—Gregory of Tours is absolved.
- 581. — Lyons, on Manners.
- 581. — Maçon, on Manners.
- 584. — Maçon, on Manners.
- 584. — Rouen, on the Abbey of St. Lucien of Beauvais.
- 584. — Valence.
- 586. — Auvergne, on the Bishop of Rhodéz.
- 587. — Lyons, in favour of the Poor Ladies.
- 588. — Normandy, on Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen.
- 588. — Embrun.
- 589. — Valence, on the goods of the Church.
- 589. — Narbonne, on Discipline.
- 589. — Saurine.
- 589. — Poitiers and Chalons, against religious Women.
- 590. — Autun, against refractory religious Women.
- 591. — Poitiers, against two contumacious religious Females.
- 592. — Metz, against Giles, bishop of Rheims.

A.D.

594. Of Chalons, on the Divine Office.
603. — Chalons, for the deposition of Didier, bishop of Vienne.
615. — Paris, on differences between the Bishops.
623. — Maçon.
627. — Maçon, in favour of the rule of St. Columbanus.
628. — Clichy.
630. — Rouen, on Discipline.
633. — Clichy.
634. — Orleans, against a Greek Heretic.
636. — Clichy.
638. — Paris.
645. — Orleans, against the errors that were spreading in France.
650. — Chalons, on Discipline.
650. — Rouen, on Discipline.
653. — Clichy, when Clovis II. confirmed the exemption of St. Denis.
657. — Sens.
658. — Nantes, against the plurality of Benefices.
661. — Autun, under the presidency of Bishop St. Leger.
670. — Autun, on Discipline.
670. — Sens, for the exemption of the Abbey of St. Peter.
678. — Morlay.
679. — the Gauls against the Monothelites.
682. — Rouen.
685. — the Gauls, where St. Leger and other Bishops are deposed by the intrigues of Ebroin.
688. — the Gauls, held in the Palace of Thierry.
693. — Rouen, for the exemption of Fecamp.
607. — Auxerre, on the Divine Office.
744. — Soissons, for the extirpation of Heresy.

CHAPTER III.

Chronological and Genealogical table of the Kings of France of the second or Carolingian race.

Wives.		Sons.
Bertha (Grand-pied).	22. Pepin le Bref. 752 to 768.	Charlemagne. Carloman. Gilles.
Sibilla (divorced). Hermangarde. Hildegarde. Tastrade. Luitgarde.	23. Charlemagne. 768 to 814.	Pepin le Batard. Rothais. Charles. Pepin (king of Italy). Louis le Debonnaire.
Hermangarde. Judith.	24. Louis le Debonnaire. 814 to 840.	Lothaire (emperor). Pepin (king of Aquitania). Louis (king of Bavaria). Charles le Chauve.
Hermautrude. Richilde.	25. Charles I. (le Chauve). 840 to 877.	Louis le Bègue. Charles. Carloman.
Ansgarde (divorced). Adelaide.	26. Louis II. (le Bègue). 877 to 879.	Louis III. Carloman. Charles le Simple.
	27. Louis III., and Carloman. 879 to 884.	
Richarda (divorced).	28. Charles II. (le Gros). 884 to 888.	

Wives.		Sons.
	29. Eudes (Dux Francorum, count of Paris, and son of Robert le Fort), elected king of the Franks. 888 to 898.	
Ogine, or Elgiva.	30. Charles III. (the Simple). 898 to 923.	
Emma.	31. Raoul, or Radolph (Duke of Burgundy, son-in-law of the brother of Eudes). 923 to 936.	
Gerberge, daughter of Henry the Fowler, sister of Otho, and widow of Lothaire.	32. Louis IV. (d'Outremer). 936 to 954.	Lothaire. Charles.
Emma.	33. Lothaire. 954 to 986.	Louis V.
Blanche, daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy.	34. Louis V. (le Fainéant). 986 to 987.	

His uncle, Charles of Lorraine, should have succeeded, but the great barons elected Hugh Capet to the vacant throne, and he accordingly became the founder of the third race.

The Carolingian dynasty, including only two strangers in blood, reigned 235 years.

CHAPTER IV.

Memorable events which occurred during the reigns of the second or Carlovingian race of the kings of France.

752.

Pepin.

Pepin crowned king of France by St. Boniface in the cathedral of Soissons.

754.

The pope Stephen III. comes to France to entreat the assistance of Pepin against Astolphus, king of Lombardy, who had invaded Ravenna. Pepin crosses the Alps, requires Astolphus to surrender Ravenna to the emperor, and to restore to the pope the towns he had taken from the Holy See. He in return induces the pope to crown him a second time at St. Denis, with full absolution for the guilt of usurpation. His queen Bertha and their two sons Charles and Carloman are crowned at the same time, on which occasion Stephen confers on Pepin the title of Defender of the Roman Church.

755.

Astolphus besieges Rome, upon which Pepin, with a large army, crosses over the Alps to Italy, de-

feats the Lombards, and compels Astolphus to raise the siege of Rome, and to relinquish the territories he had conquered from the emperor and the pope.

757.

The first organ ever introduced into France was presented to Pepin by the Emperor Constantine Copronymus; it was one of very elaborate construction, playing a variety of tunes, and was placed in the church at Compiègne.

Pepin subdues the Saxons, and exacts tribute from them. At this time the Franks still adhered to their ancient custom of witnessing combats of wild beasts, which constituted the favourite exhibitions in most of the great towns.

760.

The first clock is sent to France by Pope Paul I.

Pepin besieges and takes Narbonne from the Saracens. Cours Plenières held by the king at Christmas and at Easter.

767.

The duke of Aquitaine is defeated by Pepin, and afterwards treacherously murdered by Warston. Aquitania thereupon united by Pepin to the crown of France.

768.

Pepin having thus obtained possession of Aquitaine, is taken ill at Xaintes, removes to Tours, and thence to St. Denis, where he dies in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

He was called *le Bref*, or the Short, from his extreme diminutiveness of stature; he was also called *le Gros*, from his extraordinary corpulence. He was buried at St. Denis, his epitaph being “*Pepin, father of Charlemagne.*”

The general assembly of the Franks, heretofore held in March, and called the *Champ de Mars*, had been altered by Pepin to the month of May, and was now called the *Champ de Mai*, as in consequence of increased numbers, the fodder, at the early period of March, was not sufficient to supply the numerous cavalry which formed the bulk of the Frankish army.

768.

Charles and Carloman.

The two sons of Pepin agree to divide their father's dominion between them; they make war on Hunaud, duke of Aquitaine, and again reduce that duchy to union with France.

771.

Charlemagne alone.

Death of Carloman, who is buried at the abbey of St. Remy at Rheims. Carloman had married Gerberge, daughter of Didier, king of Lombardy, by whom he left two sons.

Charlemagne, taking no notice of the claims of his nephews, assumes the title of sole monarch of France, and is recognised as such.

772.

Charlemagne begins a war against the Saxons,

which lasted 33 years; he defeats them on the banks of the Weser, and destroys the temple of their god Irminsul. He is divorced from his queen Hermangarde, and marries Hildegarde, of a distinguished family in Suabia.

774.

Fall of the kingdom of Lombardy. Didier, the last king who had endeavoured to support the claims of his grandsons, the sons of Carloman, is defeated and taken prisoner by Charlemagne, who is crowned king of Lombardy, and proclaimed by Pope Adrian I. patrician of Rome and king of Italy.

776.

Rotgaut endeavours to obtain possession of the kingdom of Lombardy; Charlemagne obtains a victory over him, takes him prisoner, and causes him to be beheaded. After which Charlemagne again subdues the Saxons.

Charlemagne convenes a general assembly at Paderborn, which is attended by several Saracen chiefs, who implore his aid against their opponents in Spain.

778.

Charlemagne, in consequence, undertakes an expedition into Spain in support of the Saracen chiefs, and on his return takes possession of Navarre and of Saragossa, and demolishes Pampeluna. The Gascons place themselves in ambuscade against him in the pass of Roncevalles, plunder his baggage waggons,

and kill several of his principal officers, among others his nephew Roland.

Hildegarde, his wife, is confined with twins. He again quells the Saxons, many of whom join the Vandals, and call themselves Eastphalians.

779.

Charlemagne publishes his capitularies, requiring the payment of tithes, being the first legal endowment of them in France, according to Montesquieu.

780.

Triumphal march of Charlemagne to Rome, where he spends his Easter. Pepin, his eldest son, is baptised by his godfather Pope Adrian I., who anoints and crowns him king of Italy. Louis is crowned and anointed king of Aquitania, and ultimately succeeds his father, Pepin having previously died.

781.

The empress regent of the East, Irene, asks and obtains the betrothal in marriage of Rotilda, the daughter of Charlemagne, for her son, the Emperor Constantine, but it is never carried out, both parties being yet infants. The empress, in the meantime, sends to France the eunuch Stephen to instruct the young princess in the language and manners of the Greeks, he remains there four years, when Irene, being apprehensive that her influence over her son would be impaired by the proposed marriage, withdraws from the engagement.

782.

Charlemagne continues his campaigns against the Saxons, and destroys the great temple of Venus in Magdeburg.

783.

Hildegarde, the wife, and Bertha, the mother of Charlemagne, die this year; he marries Fastrade, the daughter of Raoul, count of the Franks.

785.

Defeat and entire submission of the Saxons, who, with Witikind, their chief, are converted to Christianity.

787.

Charlemagne revisits Rome for the purpose of obtaining the organist and performers of the Gregorian chant, with a view to the introduction of it in France instead of the Ambrosian.

He establishes a model school in his palace, from which others are copied throughout his dominions, and towards the promotion of this object he sends to England for the celebrated scholar Alcuin.

788.

Bavaria united to France on the defeat of its duke Tasillon, who is confined to a monastery by Charlemagne.

789.

Charlemagne causes to be issued the works against images, published under his name.

790.

An unsuccessful attempt made to join the Rhine and the Danube by a canal. The Saracens invade and ravage the Narbonese, but are defeated and driven back by Charlemagne.

792.

A Lombard priest divulges to Charlemagne a conspiracy against him by his son Pepin and some of the greater nobles, upon which Charlemagne causes several of them to be beheaded, and others to have their eyes put out.

794.

Charlemagne presides at an ecclesiastical council in Frankfort, where 300 bishops attended, when Nestorius and Felix of Urgel are declared to be in error, and the worship of images altogether condemned.

796.

The Saxons again revolting, 30,000 of them are massacred by the soldiers of Charlemagne, and the remaining population distributed by him throughout the different provinces of his empire.

The pope Leo III. sends legates to Charlemagne to obtain confirmation of his election as pope. They present to Charlemagne the keys of the basilica of St. Peter, the banners of Rome, and other considerable presents. The emperor, in return, sends Eginhart to Rome.

Charlemagne was then at Juliers for the benefit

of the warm baths. He built a palace and a chapel there, and the place was called Aix-la-Chapelle. A great chief, named Cranus, having fitted up the baths in a very handsome style, the Latins there gave the place the name of *Aquis Cranum*.

799.

Pope Leo escapes from a prison, in which he had been confined by the partisans in Rome of his rival Pope Adrian, after an insurrection, in which he had been treated with great indignity, not undeserved on his part. He implores the succour of Charlemagne, who sends him back to Rome with a powerful escort, by means of which he is reinstated, and takes signal and cruel revenge on the leaders and promoters of the insurrection.

The Avars are subdued in Pannonia or Hungary by the troops of Charlemagne, and immense treasure and booty collected by them brought into France; these Avars, who originally came from Great Tartary, were then first called Turks or Turcomans by the Greeks.

Charlemagne possesses himself of Majorca and Minorca.

800.

Charlemagne goes to Rome, where he is crowned Emperor of the West by Leo III., in the month of December.

The Empire of the West had terminated in the year 476, by the death of Romulus Augustulus;

its throne, which had subsequently been occupied in Italy by the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards, was now supplied in the person of Charlemagne, and uninterruptedly continued in his successors, with the titles of Emperor of Germany and King of the Romans, until the year 1806, when the style was altered to Emperor of Austria alone—no longer elective, but hereditary.

801.

The emperor leaves Rome in April for Spoleto, his fourth wife, Luitgarde, who had accompanied him to his coronation, having died at Rome in the preceding month of June.

Birth of an illegitimate son to the emperor by one of his concubines. He was called Drogo, and distinguished himself by the preparation of a code of canon law. He became afterwards bishop of Metz.

The emperor sends ambassadors to the Empress Irene at Constantinople, to effect a treaty of peace and alliance, and, as has been conjectured, to enter into a contract of marriage; if proposed, it failed, and he had a fortunate escape, as Irene, although canonised by the Greek church, was as notorious for crime as either Fredegonde or Brunehaut.

803.

The Emperor Nicephorus, who had caused the deposition of the Empress Irene, sends ambassadors to Charlemagne to propitiate his friendship and

support by a treaty of alliance, and to ascertain and define the boundaries of the two empires.

804.

The Saxons, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Charlemagne to reduce them into obedience by a succession of severities, deportations, and massacres, are farther visited with a law for depriving them of all rights of succession and inheritance.

The emperor institutes the order of the cross.

The pope comes into France on a visit to Charlemagne, and returns to Italy.

805.

A grand code of capitularies prepared and published at Aix-la-Chapelle by order of Charlemagne, and remarkable for the fact, that many of the enactments were revived eight hundred years afterwards by Louis XIV.

806.

Charlemagne, at the age of sixty-four, convokes an assembly of the magnates of his empire at Thionville, and makes known to them the contents of his will, by which he divides his states among his three sons. This, his disposition, is approved and signed.

807.

The Caliph Haroun al Raschid sends an embassy to Charlemagne charged with magnificent presents, and a formal cession to him of the holy places, and of the sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem.

First invasion of France by the Northmen; preparations for defence made by the emperor, who defeats Godfrid, king of Denmark, and compels him to re-embark.

809.

Charlemagne holds a council at Aix-la-Chapelle on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and as to the particle or clause filioque.

810.

Death of the two elder sons of Charlemagne, the eldest, Pepin, at the age of thirty-three, leaving Bernard, an illegitimate son, who is created king of Italy. Charles left no issue.

812.

Amalarius Fortunatus, archbishop of Treves, and several bishops, return to Charlemagne answers to his inquiries on the subject of the ceremony and effect of baptism.

The emperor of the East, Michael Curopalatus, sends ambassadors to Charlemagne, to confirm the treaties entered into with Nicephorus, and to ask his daughter in marriage for Theophilades, who had been crowned by Michael.

813.

Charlemagne associates his son Louis with him in the empire.

The metallic currency and coinage of the empire is established by a renewed and standard issue of

coin, by the denominations of livres, sous, and deniers (£ s. d).

814.

Louis I.

Charlemagne, weakened by several attacks of fever, dies of pleurisy at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 28th day of January, in the seventy-second year of his age, in the forty-seventh of his reign as king, and fourteenth as emperor. He is buried in the church built by him at Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis, his son, called the Debonnaire, succeeds to the empire and kingdom.

815.

Louis conciliates the Saxons, and restores to them the right of succession.

Sedition at Rome caused by the gross misconduct of Pope Leo, who suppresses it, and puts a vast number of the insurgents to death. Louis instructs his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, to inquire into it, and Leo sends a deprecatory embassy to Louis.

816.

Pope Stephen IV. comes to France, and Louis meets him at Rheims, where the pope crowns Louis as emperor, with Hermangarde his wife, and then returns to Rome.

817.

Louis holds an assembly of the states at Aix-la-Chapelle, when he associates Lothaire in the empire

and kingdom with him; he gives Aquitania to his second son, and Bavaria to Louis the youngest.

Ordeal by fire and water recognised as a means of deciding in matters of law and in criminal proceedings.

818.

Death of Hermangarde, wife of the Emperor Louis.

819.

Bernard, king of Italy, grandson of Charlemagne, conspires against his uncle Louis, who marches an army into Italy, defeats Bernard, who, with the other conspirators, is tried by his peers, and all found guilty of high treason, and condemned to die. Bernard's sentence is commuted for the loss of his eyes, which he survives only for a few weeks, on which the kingdom of Italy is united to that of France.

The title of viscount first bestowed. Louis marries Judith, daughter of the duke of Ravensburg in Bavaria. She brings him a large dowry of misfortune caused by his rebellious sons.

822.

The emperor performs public penance at Attigni for the death of his nephew Bernard.

823.

The emperor causes his son Lothaire to be crowned by the pope, Pascal, at Rome. The Empress Judith has a son, afterwards Charles the Bald.

Fearful hail storm, followed by the plague.

824.

Michael, emperor of the East, sends ambassadors to France; Louis gives them audience at Rouen; they bring, among other presents, the writings attributed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, which are placed in the abbey church of St. Denis.

827.

Inigo Urista founds the kingdom of Navarre; his posterity succeed in rescuing the whole of it from the possession of the Moors of Spain.

828.

The Bulgarians commit great ravages in Dalmatia. Louis convenes a general assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, by whom he causes Baudrik, the duke of Dalmatia, to be deposed for not having sufficiently protected his duchy. Louis sends an army into Africa to compel the Saracens to abandon Sicily.

830.

Louis gives Rhetia and a part of the kingdom of Burgundy to his son Charles the Bald, then only six years of age. The three elder sons of Louis, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, are greatly displeased, retire with many adherents from the court, declare openly against their father, and compel his wife Judith to take shelter in a convent.

The three princes pursue hostilities against their father, and succeed in causing him to be shut up for nearly a year in the abbey of St. Medard, in

Soissons; he is restored by a general assembly held at Nimeguen. The Empress Judith establishes her innocence by touching a bar of red-hot iron.

833.

The brothers renew their hostile proceedings against their father, and send him again on terms of penance and degradation to the abbey of St. Medard, under charge of Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims. Soon after he again recovers his liberty and authority.

Pope Gregory IV. arrives in France for the purpose of excommunicating Louis, but is informed by a large body of Gallican bishops that should he proceed to do so, he might himself return to Rome an excommunicated man.

834.

A general assembly or council is convened by the bishops at St. Denis, when a solemn act of re-establishment of Louis as emperor is pronounced and recorded.

837.

Louis declares his youngest son Charles king of Neustria, and induces the great peers of the realm to swear fealty to him, which occasions another revolt of his elder sons.

Pepin, king of Aquitaine, the eldest son, dies, and is buried at Poitiers.

839.

Louis declares his intention of giving his whole kingdom to Charles the Bald; this is resisted by Pepin, the now king of Aquitaine.

840.

Charles I.

Louis le Debonnaire falls ill at Worms, is removed to Ingelham, an island on the Rhine, near Mayence, where he dies. He was engaged in an expedition against his son Louis, king of Bavaria. He died of a broken heart, occasioned by the conduct of his three elder sons; but his end was accelerated by the alarm felt by him at a total eclipse of the sun. He was in the sixty-second year of his age, and twenty-seventh of his reign, and was buried at Metz, near his mother.

Lothaire is elected emperor, and is desirous of reigning in France, but the nobles prefer Charles the Bald, and proclaim him king accordingly.

841.

Charles and his half brother, Louis of Bavaria, unite their forces against the Emperor Lothaire, who is defeated at Fontenay, in Burgundy; 100,000 men are said to have perished in the engagement.

842.

Charles the Bald marries Hermantrude, daughter of Duke Adelard.

The three sons of the late emperor, after a sanguinary and lengthened civil war, in the course of which a great proportion of the nobility of France had perished, particularly in the fatal field of Fontenay, come to an agreement of partition among themselves, according to which Lothaire retains

the title of emperor, the kingdom of Italy, with Lorraine and Burgundy; Louis, all Germany; and Charles, Western France from the river Meuse.

843.

Judith, widow of Louis le Debonnaire, dies in the convent in which she had been secluded.

846.

Nominoe, a Breton chief, who had hitherto yielded nominal allegiance to the emperors of the West as their lieutenant-general, assumes the title of king of Brittany, and takes possession of the entire province, with the assent of the great nobles; he replaces all the bishops by ecclesiastics of his own nomination, and defeats the forces sent against him by Charles of France. He then dies, and is succeeded by his son Erispoe, who shortly afterwards is assassinated by a rival chief.

The Emperor Lothaire associates his son Louis with him in the empire.

The Northmen or Danes, and others of the Scandinavian race, had during about thirty years repeatedly invaded France, ravaged the country, and plundered and burnt many towns; they this year advanced to the gates of Paris, and their abstaining from entering that city was purchased by an immense treasure of gold and silver given to them by Charles. Their retreat was marked by the devastation of the countries of Picardy, Flanders, and Friesland;

they ultimately laid siege to Hamburg, but the Germans rallied and drove them back to their ships.

855.

Lothaire makes a final partition among his three sons: to Louis, his eldest, the empire and Italy; to Lothaire, his second, Lorraine; and to Charles, his youngest, Provence and Burgundy. He then retires into a monastery and dies.

856.

Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, marries Ethelwolf, king of England.

The Norman chief, Lodbrog, takes Paris, and plunders and burns all the churches there except the cathedral, St. Germain des Près, and St. Denis; thus Charles enjoyed a respite of ten years only for the costly sacrifice he made in 846.

858.

Louis, of Bavaria, comes to the aid of Charles against the Normans, who had again invaded Neustria. Charles defeats them, and they enter into a treaty of peace and forbearance.

859.

At the council of Langres, Charles le Chauve is styled Most Christian; but the title was not regularly adopted or recognised until the reign of Louis XI. in 1469.

861.

Robert le Fort, great-grandfather of Hugh Capet, the founder of the third race, obtains the govern-

ment, with the title of count of Anjou, and duke, of what was then called the Isle of France.

863.

Baldwin, great forester of Flanders, carries off Judith, daughter of Charles le Chauve, and dowager queen of England; the king, her father, pardons him, consents to their marriage, and creates Baldwin count of Flanders.

Capitulary issued, establishing the hereditary tenure of all fiefs held under the crown.

868.

Charles, king of Provence, dies without issue; Charles le Chauve possesses himself of the kingdom, and divides it with Louis of Bavaria; he soon afterwards takes possession of Lorraine, and is crowned king of it at Metz by Hincmar, the bishop.

870.

Pope Adrian threatens Charles le Chauve with excommunication, on account of his having taken possession of Provence and Lorraine. Hincmar writes to the pope to deter him from his intention.

Charles le Chauve arrests his son Carloman for conspiring against him, brings him to trial before his peers, who condemn him to death; his father mitigates the sentence to the loss of his eyes, and close imprisonment for life.

873.

France is visited with a cloud of locusts, or grass-

hoppers, devouring every species of vegetable, even to the young branches and bark of trees; they themselves then died of famine, and the stench in consequence occasioned the most destructive pestilence which had ever yet prevailed in France.

875.

Charles le Chauve goes into Italy on the death of the Emperor Louis, and is crowned emperor of the West in the church of St. Peter; after which he receives the crown of Lombardy, at Pavia, from the hands of Archbishop Anspart.

877.

Louis II.

Charles le Chauve, in crossing the Alps, on his way to Italy, dies in the cottage of a peasant near Mount Cenis,—supposed to be poisoned by his Jew physician, Sidonius. He is buried at Mantua, and seven years afterwards his body is removed to St. Denis; he was fifty-four years of age, thirty-eight years king of France, and about two years emperor. The empire remains vacant; but Louis is acknowledged as king of France, and crowned as such at Compiègne by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, by the title of Louis II.

878.

Pope John VIII. comes to France, on being driven out of Rome, and crowns Louis emperor of the West; but his title is disputed by Carloman, eldest son of Louis of Bavaria.

879.

Louis III. and Carloman.

Louis le Begue, or the Stammerer, dies at Compiègne, thirty-five years of age, having reigned eighteen months. He is buried in the abbey of St. Corneille. He leaves his second wife, Adelaide, pregnant of a son, who was afterwards Charles the Simple. Charles le Gros succeeds as emperor.

Louis III. and Carloman, sons of Louis II. and of Ansgarde, a woman of low birth, whom his father had compelled him to repudiate, succeed as kings of western France, Burgundy, and Aquitania.

Boson, son-in-law of Louis II., establishes himself as king of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné, notwithstanding the opposition of Louis and of Carloman.

882.

Carloman alone.

Death of Louis III. Carloman remains sole king of France.

884.

Charles VI.

Death of Carloman, by a wound received from a wild boar when out hunting. Charles le Gros, his father's cousin, son of Louis of Bavaria, inherits the kingdom of France, to the prejudice of Charles the Simple, the posthumous son of Louis le Begue.

885.

Siege of Paris by the Normans; bravely defended by Eudes, son of Robert le Fort. Charles

the Simple, however, enters into a disgraceful treaty with the Normans. He is solemnly deposed by his people. The Normans make use of the ancient artillery, the balista and catapult, at the siege of Paris.

887.

The mind of Charles le Gros becomes impaired, his German subjects abandon him, and elect in his stead, as emperor, Arnoul, the illegitimate son of Carloman, his brother. Charles assembles a few troops to oppose Arnoul, to whom they desert, and not one servant or attendant remains with him, nor had he sufficient money left wherewith to purchase provisions, which would have wholly failed him, but for the bounty of Luitprand, archbishop of Mentz.

888.

Eudes.

Charles le Gros dies this year in this destitute condition, after having reigned six years over an empire and kingdom as extensive as those of Charlemagne. He is buried in the monastery of Reichnau, near Constance, leaving a nominal inheritance of one empire and five kingdoms.

Eudes, count of Paris, and son of Robert le Fort, proclaimed at Compiègne king of Western France and of Aquitania.

892.

Eudes encounters the Romans, but is obliged to purchase peace with them on very disadvantageous conditions.

893.

Charles III. (le Simple), who had been proclaimed king in 888, is now called to the throne, being thirteen years of age, and is crowned at Rheims.

894.

Eudes marches against the young king, who escapes to Arnoul, emperor of the West, and king of Germany and Italy, and claims his support.

898.

Charles III.

Eudes, king of France, dies at La Fare, in the fortieth year of his age, having reigned six. He is buried at St. Denis; and Charles the Simple is now universally acknowledged sole king of France.

901.

Foundation of public schools in Paris for grammar, elocution, and music.

906.

The Northmen take possession of Rouen, and establish themselves in Neustria, and from thence extend their conquests over the Cotentin, Maine, Brittany, Picardy, and Champagne.

910.

William, count of Auvergne, and duke of Aquitania, founds the monastery of Cluny, which he endows with his own vast possessions; the monks were of the Benedictine order, and had the privilege of electing their own abbot.

913.

Fresh invasions of the Normans. Treaty of St.

Clair sur Epte, by which Charles abandoned Neustria to Rollo their chief, and gave him his daughter Giselle in marriage, on condition of his being converted to Christianity, and doing homage for his territories to the king of France.

921.

Robert, brother of the late King Eudes, forms a powerful party of nobles against Charles le Simple, is elected king by them, and crowned at Rheims by the archbishop.

922.

Charles heads an army against Robert, who is defeated and killed in a battle near Soissons; but his son, Hugh the Great, and also called the Abbot, son of Robert, rallies his party, and puts the royal army to flight. Charles is compelled to take refuge with Herbert, count of Vermandois, at his castle of Peronne, from whence he is taken and imprisoned at Chateau Thierri.

923.

Raoul.

Ogine, daughter of King Edward of England, and wife of Charles the Simple, goes to England with her son Louis, then about eight years of age, afterwards surnamed d'Outremer, and places herself under the protection of her brother Athelstan.

Hugh the Great, having refused the crown, causes his brother-in-law Raoul, duke of Burgundy, to be elected king, and who is crowned on 13th July, at Soissons.

The great men of France at this time held enormous territorial districts on very independent terms, being the price paid for their influence in the election of a sovereign, and thus disturbing the regular order of hereditary succession. The origin of the great fiefs may be traced to this period. Then the duke or governor of a city or a province, and the counts or governors of towns, owned a merely formal or nominal allegiance to the crown.

926.

Inroad of the Hungarians into France, and their withdrawal from it purchased by a considerable sum.

927.

Herbert of Vermandois enlarges Charles the Simple from his prison with a view to his restoration, but Raoul conciliating Herbert by a grant of the county of Laon, Charles is again detained in the castle of Peronne, where he dies on 7th October 929, at the age of fifty.

936.

Louis IV.

Raoul dies at Auxerre, after a disturbed reign of thirteen years.

Hugh the Great sends to England for Louis IV., or d'Outremer, so called from his coming from beyond sea, being then sixteen years of age, and he is crowned at Laon by the archbishop of Rheims.

938.

Marriage of Louis IV. with Gerberge, daughter

of Henry the Fowler, and sister of Otho, his successor as emperor of Germany. Louis attempts to take possession of Lorraine, but is defeated by Otho the Great.

The Hungarians again make their appearance in France.

940.

The subjects of Louis rebel against him, and offer the crown of France to the emperor Otho the Great, who magnanimously declines the offer, and assists Louis in regaining his authority.

942.

Murder of William Longsword, duke of Normandy, at the instigation of Arnold, count of Flanders. Louis d'Outremer, taking advantage of the youth of Richard, the son and heir of Duke William, seizes Normandy.

943.

A tempest, which destroys the vineyards on Montmartre.

945.

Hugh the Great compels Louis to relinquish Normandy.

946.

Hugh the Great, with the assistance of Otho, and the Count of Flanders, makes war against Louis. The pope puts an end to it by excommunicating Hugh.

954.

Lothaire.

Death of Louis d'Outremer at Rheims, by a fall from his horse, at the age of thirty-nine, of which he had reigned eighteen years.

Accession of Lothaire, his eldest son, who confers the duchies of Burgundy and Aquitania on Hugh the Great, duke of France, and father of Hugh Capet.

On the recommendation of Hugh the Great, the right of primogeniture in the crown is established, with the consent of the peers.

956.

Death of Hugh the Great, the son, uncle, brother-in-law, and father of kings, having ruled upwards of twenty years, without bearing the title; he was called the White, from his complexion,—Great, from his stature and his actions,—and the Abbot, because he held the wealthy abbeys of St. Denis, of St. Germain de Près, and of St. Martin de Tours. His son, Hugh Capet, succeeds to his authority.

959.

Lothaire creates Hugh Capet duke of France, and at the same time gives him Poitou. The whole actual possession of the king being now restricted to the city of Laon. He took no part in the feuds and wars of his barons, and exercised no controlling power whatever over them.

966.

The king, at the age of twenty-three, marries Emma, the daughter of Lothaire, formerly king of Italy.

978.

Lothaire attempts to take Lorraine, but being successfully opposed by Otho, ultimately resigns it to him on condition of its being held as a fief under the crown of France.

Dignity of grand seneschal created.

985.

Lothaire, king of France, causes his son Louis to be crowned.

986.

Louis V.

Lothaire dies at Rheims. His wife Emma has been charged with causing him to be poisoned. His son Louis V. succeeds.

987.

Death of Louis V., called le Faineant, *qui nihil fecit*, after an inglorious reign of one year; it is supposed he was poisoned by his wife Blanche. Hugh Capet takes possession of the throne, to the exclusion of the rightful heir, Charles, son of Louis d'Outremer, and uncle of the late king.

End of the Carolingian race, comprising thirteen sovereigns, who reigned 236 years.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS

*held during the reigns of the Sovereigns of the
Carlovingian Dynasty.*

752 TO 986.

A.D.

- 753. Of Metz, on Discipline.
 - 754. — Verneuil, in the palace of Pepin, on Discipline.
 - 756. — Compiègne, on Discipline.
 - 758. — Compiègne, on Discipline.
 - 761. — Volvie, near Riom, in Auvergne.
 - 764. — Worms, at the instance of Pepin, to condemn the treachery of Gaifre, and of Tasillion, duke of Bavaria.
 - 761. — Attigni, on Discipline, and other Ecclesiastical matters.
 - 766. — Orleans, at the instance of Pepin, against Gaifre, duke of Aquitania.
 - 767. — Geutilly, near Paris, by King Pepin, on the Holy Trinity, and on the clause or particle *Filioque*, and as to Images.
 - 767. — Bourges.
 - 769. — Bourges.
 - 788. — Narbonne, against the heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgel.
 - 791. — Narbonne.
 - 799. — Urgel, against the heresy of Felix.
 - 800. — Urgel.
 - 800. — Mantes, on Discipline.
 - 800. — Gaul, on the justification of Priests.
 - 800. — Tours, to sanction the partition, by Charlemagne, of his empire among his Sons.
 - 806. — France, to the same effect.
 - 813. — Arles,
 - 813. — Tours,
 - 813. — Chalons sur Saone,
- } On Discipline.

A.D.

813. Of Rheims, } On Discipline.
 813. — Rouen, }
 814. — Thionville, in favour of injured Priests.
 814. — Noyon and Troyes.
 814. — Lyons, where Agobard is elected Archbishop.
 818. — Vannes, on the foundation of the Abbey of Redon.
 821. — Thionville, on Discipline.
 822. — Attigni, where Louis le Debonnaire expresses his con-
 trition for having ill-treated Bernard, and for having
 misgoverned his Kingdom.
 823. — Compiègne, upon the Misuser of holy Things.
 823. — Portes, near Nismes.
 825. — Paris, touching Images, and in opposition to the
 seventh General Council.
 828. — Lyons.
 828. — Toulouse.
 829. — Paris, on Discipline.
 829. — Lyons.
 829. — Toulouse.
 830. — Langres, on the foundation of an Abbey (Bexvensis).
 831. — Noyon, against Jesse, the bishop of Amiens.
 832. — Paris, relating to the Monks of St. Denis.
 833. — Compiègne, for the deposition of the Emperor Louis.
 833. — Sens.
 834. — Metz, when the Emperor is absolved from the Ex-
 communication pronounced against him by Ebbo,
 archbishop of Rheims.
 834. — Attigni, on the conduct of Louis le Debonnaire.
 835. — Metz.
 835. — Thionville, when Ebbo is deprived of his Archbishopric
 for conspiring against Louis.
 836. — Straminiac, near Lyons, on Differences which had
 arisen between the Churches of Lyons and of Vienne.
 837. — Chiersi (Carisiacum).

A.D.

839. Of Chalons sur Saone, on Ecclesiastical matters, and relating to Louis le Debonnaire.
841. — Auxerre, where a Fast of three days is enjoined in consideration of the present affairs of State.
842. — Germigny, in Orleans, on the requirements of Church and State.
842. — Bourges, when the deposition of Ebbo is approved.
843. — Germigny.
843. — Coulaïne (Coloniense).
844. — Thionville, when the children of Louis le Debonnaire attended.
844. — Verneuil, Palace of the Kings, on Discipline.
845. — Beauvais, Hincmar is elected Archbishop of Rheims.
845. — Meaux, on Discipline.
846. — Paris, where the proceedings of the Council of Meaux are finished and promulgated.
846. — Lyons.
846. — Vannes, by Noménoé, prince of the Bretons.
847. — Paris, confirming Hincmar in his Archbishopric of Rheims, and for the exemption of the Abbey of Corbie.
848. — Vannes.
848. — Lyons, where the priest Godelcaire is absolved.
848. — Limoges, where the Canons of St. Martial require to be put under rule.
849. — Tours, against Noménoé, enemy of the Church.
849. — Chartres, where the Tonsure is conferred on Charles, the younger brother of Pepin, king of Aquitaine.
849. — Chiersi, against Gottescalq, who has relapsed.
850. — Murrit.
851. — Soissons, where Pepin, the young king of Aquitaine, is deposed and shut up in the monastery of St. Medard.
853. — Sens, on the exemption of the Abbey of St. Remy.
853. — Sens, for the ordination of the Bishop of Chartres.

A.D.

853. Of Paris, on Discipline.
853. — Soissons, to annul ordinations by Ebbo.
853. — Chiersi, against Gottescalq.
853. — Verberie, on Discipline.
855. — Bonnœuil on the Marne, near Paris, on Discipline.
855. — Valence, against the Scotch Heretics, and on Discipline.
856. — Chiersi, on Discipline.
858. — Soissons, convened by Louis, king of Germany.
858. — Chiersi.
858. — Tours, on Archbishop Girard.
859. — Toul, against Venillon, bishop of Sens.
859. — Metz, to reconcile Louis of Germany and Charles le Chauve.
859. — Langres, on Discipline.
860. — Toussi, on Discipline.
860. — Verberie.
861. — Pistes, upon the calamities of Church and State.
861. — Soissons, Rothard is deposed.
861. — Senlis.
862. — Sens, where Herman, bishop of Nevers, is deposed.
862. — Savonieres, near Toul, where peace is concluded between Louis, Charles, and Lothaire, in the presence of the Bishops.
862. — Soissons, against Baldwin, count of Flanders, for abduction of Judith, daughter of Charles le Chauve.
862. — Soissons, where Rothard is excommunicated.
863. — Metz, where the Legate of the Pope confirms the marriage of Lothaire with Valdrade, his concubine.
863. — Aquitaine, against Stephen, count of Auvergne.
863. — Verberie, upon a difference with the Bishop of Mans.
863. — Senlis, Hincmar deposes Rothard, bishop of Soissons.
864. — Pistes, on the affairs of Church and State.
866. — Soissons, on the affair of Wulfrad, bishop of Bourges, and on the ordinations by Ebbo, a deposed bishop.

A.D.

- 866. Of Toul.
- 866. — Verberie.
- 867. — Troyes, on Wulfrad and Ebbo.
- 868. — Chiersi, for the examination of Willebert, bishop of Chalons.
- 869. — Pistes, on Discipline.
- 869. — Metz, where the crown is conferred on Charles, to the prejudice of Louis II.
- 870. — Verberie, Hincmar, bishop of Laon, is deposed.
- 870. — Attigni, Hincmar has his eyes put out.
- 870. — Vienne, on the Monastic privileges.
- 871. — Douzi, Hincmar is again deposed.
- 873. — Toulouse, on the complaints of the Jews against the Christians.
- 873. — Chalons sur Saone, touching the Church of St. Marcel.
- 873. — Senlis, at which a son of King Charles, who had been a deacon, was reduced to lay communion.
- 873. — Douzi, against incestuous Marriages, and the depredations on the property of the Church.
- 874. — Rheims, on Discipline.
- 875. — Chalons sur Saone, touching the property of the Abbey of Tournus.
- 876. — Pontyon, where the election of Charles le Chauve is confirmed.
- 877. — Compiègne, against Idolatry.
- 878. — Neustria, against Hugh, the natural son of Lothaire.
- 878. — Troyes, when the Pope, being present, excommunicates all the enemies of the Holy See, and restores Hincmar to the Bishopric of Laon.
- 878. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 879. — Mentala, diocese of Vienne, when the title of King of Arles is conferred on Boson.
- 879. — Rheims.
- 879. — Toulouse.
- 880. — Chalons sur Saone.

A.D.

881. Of Macra, diocese of Rheims, on the authority of Princes and Bishops.
883. — Toulouse, against the complaints of the Jews.
886. — Chalons sur Saone, for the exemption of the Abbey of Charlieu.
886. — Nismes, against Selva, a Spaniard, who had insulted the Archbishop of Narbonne.
887. — Chalons sur Saone, touching the goods and immunities of the Church.
888. — Metz, on Discipline.
888. — Agaune, at which Rodolph is elected and crowned king of Burgundy.
890. — Valence, when Louis, the son of Boson, is recognised as king of Arles.
891. — Meun, on Loire, for the election to the Abbey of St. Peter of Sens.
892. — Vienne, on Discipline.
892. — Rheims, in favour of King Charles the Simple.
894. — Rheims.
894. — Chalons sur Saone, where the monk Gerfroy purges himself of an accusation of assassination.
894. — Jonquieres, in the diocese of Montpellier.
894. — Nantes, on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
897. — Portes, near Nismes, on the subject of the Parish of St. John.
899. — Soissons.
900. — Rheims, where the assassins of Archbishop Foulques are excommunicated.
900. — Normandy, on Discipline.
900. — Narbonne, on the Abbey of Quarante.
902. — Attili.
906. — Narbonne, against the Archbishop Arnoul.
907. — Vienne, on Discipline.
907. — Vienne, on the differences between certain Abbots.
907. — Cessero, diocese of Agde.

A.D.

- 909. Of Soissons, on Discipline.
- 909. — Maguelone, against Arnoul, archbishop of Narbonne.
- 909. — Trosley, diocese of Soissons.
- 909. — Jonquieres.
- 911. — Narbonne, against the Archbishop Arnoul.
- 911. — Fontis Cooperti, diocese of Narbonne.
- 912. — Tours, on the Feast of St. Martin.
- 915. — Chalons sur Saone, on the differences between some Priests.
- 921. — Trosley, absolution granted to a dead Man.
- 923. — Rheims, relating to Charles the Simple and Robert.
- 924. — Trosley, in favour of the Bishop of Cambrai.
- 925. — Tours, on Tithes.
- 926. — Charlieu, in favour of the Abbey there.
- 926. — Duysburg, in favour of the Bishop of Metz.
- 927. — Trosley, against the plurality of Wives.
- 933. — Chateau Thierry, in Champagne.
- 935. — Fismes, near Rheims, on Discipline.
- 937. — Poitiers.
- 940. — Narbonne, prescribing the limits of some of the Dioceses.
- 941. — Soissons, on the Pretenders to the Church of Rheims.
- 944. — Tournus, in favour of the Abbey there.
- 944. — Elne, relating to the Bishops of Gironne and Urgel.
- 947. — Fontanis, in the diocese of Elne, on Discipline.
- 947. — Verdun, on the subject of the Church of Rheims.
- 947. — Narbonne.
- 948. — Mouson, on Discipline.
- 948. — Tournus.
- 953. — Rheims, on the goods of the Church.
- 955. — Burgundy, on the goods of the Church.
- 962. — Meaux, relating to the Church of Rheims.
- 971. — Mont St. Marie, diocese of Rheims, on the reformation of the Abbey of Mouson.

A.D.

975. Of Rheims, against the usurper of the Bishopric of Amiens.
980. — Sens, on the goods of the Church of St. Peter le Vif.
983. — Carrofé.
986. — Sens, on Discipline.
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SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

In the absence of any judicial tribunal, or court of justice, for redress of wrong, and with no other appeal than to the will and pleasure of the sovereign, or his great feudatories, the Councils exercised a beneficial influence in the adjustment of public affairs and private differences, temporal as well as spiritual.

Many of these supposed ecclesiastical councils were in fact general assemblies, consisting always of the bishops and clerical dignitaries of any province, diocese, or city, convened by the bishops when ecclesiastical matters were alone to be considered, or by the sovereign, duke, or prince, when public affairs were to be discussed; the meeting then assumed the character of a general assembly, at which selected barons and laymen were permitted to attend.

So long as the Pepins, Martel, and Charlemagne held sway, both council and assembly yielded implicit obedience to the ruling power, and in later times the same influence of the strongest party invariably prevailed.

In exercise of this power, Charles Martel, to meet the expenses of some of his expeditions, forcibly obtained grants of considerable portions of church lands in consideration of rent-charges reserved from them; these were trifling, and irregularly paid while the lands were in the possession of the crown, but altogether discontinued when, as was commonly the case, the lands had become alienated.

Pepin, with a view to conciliate the clergy to his assumption of the royal title, convened, in 743, a council to meet at his palace of Leptine, or Lestine, near Binche, in the Cambresis, ostensibly for the purpose of condemning the errors of one Adelbert, a heretic, and to grant a small subsidy towards the expense of a war Pepin was then waging; but substantially for the purpose of conferring an important boon on the church, by causing an edict or canon to be enacted for enforcing the payment of tithes for all those appropriated church lands, in whose possession soever they might be, together with a liquidated sum for each house.

Mention of this council, or rather assembly, is accidentally omitted in the list of councils, held during the Merovingian period, in p. 128.

CHAPTER V.

Chronological and Genealogical Table of the Kings of France of the third or Capetian race.

HOUSE OF CAPET.

Robert le Fort (count of Anjou),
married to Adelaide, widow of Conrad, duke of Germany.

Robert le Fort was great-grandson of Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace, who died A.D. 714, and of his wife Alpaide through their descendants Childerand (half-brother of Charles Martel), Nebelong, and Theodebert, and maternally Robert le Fort descended from Clovis, thus uniting in his own person the Merovingian and Carlovingian races, and transmitting their joint claims to his great-grandson, Hugh Capet.

Robert, the son of Robert le Fort,
elected king 923, but did not retain the throne, being superseded by Raoul, and by Charles the Simple, by whom he was slain.

Hugh the Great, his son,
(count of Paris and of the Isle of France, Dux Francorum), married to Hedwige, daughter of the emperor Henry I., and sister of Otho the Great.

Queens.	Kings.	Sons.
Adelaide of Guyenne.	35. Hugh Capet, or Chapet, his son. 987.	Robert.
Bertha. Constance of Provence.	36. Robert, his son. 996.	Hugh. Henry I. Robert. Eudes. Henry II. (em- peror).
Anne of Russia.	37. Henry I., his son. 1031.	Philip I. Robert. Hugh.

Queens.		Sons.
Bertha of Holland. Bertrade.	38. Philip I., his son. 1060.	Louis VI. Henry. Charles.
Adelaide of Savoy.	39. Louis VI. (le Gros), his son. 1108.	Philip. Louis VII. Henry. Hugh. Robert.
Eleanor of Aquitaine (divorced) Constance of Castille. Alice of Champagne.	40. Louis VII. (le Jeune), his son. 1137.	Philip II.
Isabella of Hainault. Ingerburge of Den- mark. Agnes de Meranie.	41. Philip II. (Augus- tus), his son. 1180.	Louis VIII. Philip.
Blanche of Castille.	42. Louis VIII., his son. 1223.	St. Louis IX. Robert. Alphonsus. Charles.
Margaret of Provence.	43. Louis IX., his son (Saint). 1226.	Philip III. John (Tristan). Peter. Robert.
Isabella of Arragon. Mary of Brabant.	44. Philip III. (le Hardi), his son. 1270.	Philip IV. Charles (count of Valois). Louis.
Jane of Navarre.	45. Philip IV. (le Bel), his son. 1285.	Louis X. Philip V. Charles IV.
Margaret of Burgundy. Clemence of Hungary.	46. Louis X. (le Hu- tin), his son. 1314.	

Queens.	
Jane of Burgundy.	47. Philip V. (le Long), his brother. 1316.
Blanche of Burgundy.	48. Charles IV. (le Bel), his brother. 1322.
Mary of Luxemburg.	
Jane of Evreux.	

Termination of the House of Capet, after a lineal succession, from father to son, of thirteen sovereigns—from 987 to 1328.

HOUSE OF VALOIS, AND BRANCHES OF ORLEANS AND ANGOULEME.

Queens.		Sons.
Jane of Burgundy.	49. Philip VI., son of Charles, count of Valois, the son of Philip III. 1328.	John. Philip.
Blanche of Evreux.		
Bonne of Luxemburg.	50. John le Bon, his son. 1350.	Charles V. Louis. John. Philip.
Jane of Bourbon.	51. Charles V. (le Sage), his son. 1364.	Charles VI. Louis of Orleans.
Isabella of Bavaria.	52. Charles VI., his son. 1380.	Charles VII.
Mary of Anjou.	53. Charles VII., his son. 1422.	Louis XI. Charles.
Margaret of Scotland.	54. Louis XI., his son. 1461.	Charles VIII.
Charlotte of Savoy.		
Anne of Brittany.	55. Charles VIII., his son. 1483.	

Termination of the direct lineal succession, from father to son, of the House of Valois—seven sovereigns—1328 to 1483.

BRANCH OF ORLEANS.

Queens.		Sons.
Jane of France. Anne of Brittany. Mary of England.	56. Louis XII. (Père du Peuple), grandson of Louis, duke of Orleans, son of Charles V. 1498.	

BRANCH OF ORLEANS-ANGOULEME.

Claude of France, daughter of Louis XII. Eleanor of Austria, sister of the emperor Charles V.	57. Francis I. (Père des Lettres), son of Charles of Orleans, count of Angouleme, and great-grand- son of Louis, duke of Orleans, son of Charles V. 1515.	Francis. Henry II. Charles.
Catherine of Medicis.	58. Henry II., his son. 1547.	Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III.
Mary Stuart of Scot- land.	59. Francis II., his son. 1559.	Francis (duke of Alençon and of Anjou).
Elizabeth of Austria.	60. Charles IX., son of Henry II. 1560.	
Louisa of Lorraine.	61. Henry III., son of Henry II. 1574.	

Termination of the Branch dynasties of the Houses of Orleans and Angouleme—six sovereigns, who reigned 91 years.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

Queens.		Sons.
Margaret of Valois. Mary de Medicis.	62. Henry IV. (le Grand), descendant, in the tenth generation, from St. Louis—see next page. 1589.	Louis XIII.
Anne of Austria.	63. Louis XIII., his son. 1610.	Louis XIV. Philip.
Maria Theresa of Austria.	64. Louis XIV., his son (le Grand, l'Auguste, le Conquerant). 1643.	Louis (dauphin). Louis (duke of Burgundy). Philip (duke of Anjou). Charles (duke of Berri).
Mary Leczinska of Poland.	65. Louis XV., his great grandson. 1715.	Louis (dauphin, and duke of Anjou).
Marie Antoinette of Lorraine (arch-duchess of Austria). Died 16th October 1793.	66. Louis XVI., his grandson. 1774. Died 21st January 1793).	Louis Xavier (dauphin). Died 4th June 1789. Louis Charles (duke of Normandy).
	67. Louis XVII., his son (an infant). Died 8th June 1795.	

Six sovereigns—reigned 206 years

In a future page will be given the particulars of Louis XVI., and his family.

DESCENT OF HENRY IV.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Louis IX. (king of France). | Margaret of Provence. |
| 1. Robert of France, his sixth son
(count of Clermont).
Died 1317. | Beatrice of Burgundy (dame
de Bourbon). |
| 2. Louis (duke of Bourbon), his
son.
Died 1341. | Maria of Hainault. |
| 3. Jacques de Bourbon, his third
son.
Died 1361. | Jane of Chatillon St. Paul. |
| 4. John, his son (count de la
Marche).
Died 1393. | Catherine of Vendome. |
| 5. Louis, his second son (count
de la Marche).
Died 1446. | Blanche of Roucy.
Jane of Laval. |
| 6. John II. (count of Vendome,
de Bourbon).
Died 1477. | Elizabeth of Beauvais (dame
de Champigny, and de la
Roche sur Yon). |
| 7. Francis (count of Vendome).
Died 1495. | Mary of Luxemburg (countess
de St. Paul, dame d' Eng-
hien). |
| 8. Charles (duke of Vendome).
Died 1537. | Frances of Alençon (widow of
Francis of Orleans, duke of
Longueville). |
| 9. Antony of Bourbon (king of
Navarre, and prince of Béarn,
in right of his wife).
Died 1562. | Jane d'Albret (queen of Na-
varre).
Died 1572. |
| 10. Henry IV., their son (king of
France and of Navarre). | |

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS AND GENERAL ASSEMBLIES
OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH,

*from the commencement of the Capetian dynasty, to the
commencement of the Eighteenth century :—*

987 TO 1727.

A.D.

- 989. Of Carofé, in the diocese of Poitiers, in favour of that Monastery.
- 989. — Rheims, election of Arnoul, the son of Lothaire, as Archbishop.
- 990. — Narbonne, against the usurpers of the property of the Church.
- 990. — Senlis, in favour of Arnoul, archbishop of Rheims.
- 990. — Anse, on the Saone, on the subject of the property of the Abbey of Clugny.
- 990. — Puy.
- 991. — Urgel, on Discipline.
- 992. — Rheims, at the Abbey of St. Basle, for the deposition of Arnoul, and the election of Gerbert.
- 994. — Narbonne, against the usurpers of the property of the Church.
- 994. — Limoges.
- 994. — Anse, on Discipline.
- 994. — Puy.
- 995. — Mouson, against Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims.
- 995. — Rheims, against Gerbert.
- 995. — St. Denis, on Tithes.
- 997. — St. Denis, on Tithes.
- 997. — St. Paul of Cormery, on Discipline.
- 1000. — Poitiers, on Discipline.
- 1002. — Divers Councils of France, on the Fast of Pentecost, the Hymn Te Deum, and other Ecclesiastical matters.
- 1005. — Toulouse.
- 1008. At the Palace of Chelles in the presence of King Robert, in favour of the Abbey of St. Denis.
- 1010. — Poitiers.
- 1015. — Rheims, on the property of the Church, and in favour of the Abbey of Mouson.

A.D.

1017. Of Orleans, against two Manichean Heretics, burnt by order of King Robert.
1020. — Airiac, in the diocese of Auxerre, in the presence of King Robert, on the presentation of the Relics of various Saints.
1020. — Toulouse, against certain Sorcerers.
1022. — Rhodéz.
1022. — Orleans, against some Heretics.
1023. — Poitiers, on the subject of St. Martial.
1024. — Paris, on the same subject.
1025. — Puy.
1025. — Anse, on the ordination of the Monks of Clugny.
1025. — Arras, on Discipline.
1027. — Elne, in Roussillon, on Discipline.
1028. — Carofé, on the Catholic Faith.
1029. — Limoges, on the apostleship of St. Martial.
1030. — Poitiers, on Ecclesiastical property.
1031. — Limoges, on the apostleship of St. Martial, and on Discipline.
1031. — Narbonne, in favour of the Abbey of St. Martin of Mount Cauigou, in Roussillon.
1031. — Bourges, on the apostleship of St. Martial, and on Discipline.
1031. — Beaulieu, near Limoges.
1032. — Narbonne.
1032. — Poitiers, on the Catholic Faith, and on the protection of Ecclesiastical property.
1035. — Tremaignes (inter ambas aquas), in Roussillon, respecting the Abbey of St. Michael of Cuxa.
1036. — Poitiers, on Discipline.
1040. — Bourges, for the Abbey of St. Sulpicius.
1040. — Vannes, on Discipline.
1040. — Tuluges, in Roussillon.
1042. — St. Gilles.
1043. — Narbonne, relating to the property of the Abbey of St. Michael of Cuxa, in Roussillon.
1043. — Narbonne, on a donation made to the Church of Carcassone.
1045. — Narbonne, on the rights of the Abbey of St. Michael of Cuxa.
1048. — Sens, to confirm the foundation of the Abbey of Provins.
1048. — Senlis, in favour of St. Médard of Soissons.
1049. — Rheims, } On Discipline.
1049. — Rouen, }
1050. — Avignon.
1050. — Narbonne, as to the effects of the Abbey of Arles.

A.D.

1050. Of Rouen, on Discipline.
1050. — Brionne, in Normandy, against Berenger.
1050. — Paris, against Berenger.
1052. — Limoges, on the ordination of a Bishop.
1052. — St. Denis, to verify the Relics of that Saint.
1054. — Narbonne, on Discipline.
1055. — Autun, as to Robert, duke of Burgundy.
1055. — Narbonne.
1055. — Lyons, to depose several Bishops.
1055. — Tours. }
1055. — Angers. } Against Berenger.
1055. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1055. — Lizieux, against Malgerius, archbishop of Rouen.
1056. — Toulouse, against the simony of the Archbishop of Narbonne.
1056. — St. Gilles, in Languedoc, on Peace and a Truce.
1056. — Toulouse, in favour of the Abbey of Clugny.
1056. — Chalons sur Saone, in favour of the Canons of the Collegiate Church of Romans in Dauphiné.
1059. — Rheims, for the Coronation of Philip I., king of France.
1059. — Arles.
1060. — Tours, on Discipline.
1060. — Vienne, against simoniacal Individuals.
1061. — Caen, }
1061. — Autun, } On Discipline.
1063. — Châlons sur Saone, in favour of the Abbey of Clugny.
1063. — Rouen, against Berenger, and on Discipline.
1064. — Châlons sur Saone.
1064. — Cambrai.
1065. — Autun, for the reconciliation of the Bishops with the Duke of Burgundy.
1065. — Elne, in Roussillon, for the confirmation of Peace.
1066. — Lillebonne, in Normandy, concerning the expedition of William the Bastard to England.
1068. — Auch, on the Tithes of the Cathedral Churches of Gascony.
1068. — Toulouse, to establish the Bishopric of Lectoure.
1068. — Bordeaux, in favour of the Abbey of the Trinity of Vendôme.
1069. — Rouen, for the election of an Archbishop.
1070. — Anse, on a donation made to the Abbey of Isle-barbe.
1070. — Normandy, on the consecration of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.
1071. — Autun.
1072. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1072. — Châlons sur Saone, in favour of the Canons of the Collegiate

A.D.

Church of Romans in Dauphiné (a town considered to resemble Jerusalem).

1073. Of Guyenne (Novempopulania), on divers complaints made to the Pope.
1073. — Châlons sur Saone.
1074. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1075. — Poitiers, against Berenger.
1077. — Anse, near Lyons, }
 1077. — Autun, }
 1077. — Auvergne, } On Discipline.
 1078. — Poitiers, }
 1078. — Bordeaux, }
1078. — Poitiers, against Simony.
1079. — Brittany, against the external pretences of a false Repentance.
1079. — Bordeaux, where Berenger explains himself as to his creed.
1080. — Lyons, against Manasses, an intruder into the Church of Rheims.
1080. — Sens.
1080. — Meaux, where Arnoul is made Bishop of Soissons.
1080. — Avignon, where Hugh is elected Bishop of Grenoble.
1080. — Langres, against Investitures by Laymen.
1080. — Saintes, in favour of the Abbey of Fleury.
1080. — Lillebonne, on Discipline, and on Political Conduct.
1080. — Bordeaux.
1081. — Issoudun (Exoldunense), near Bourges.
1082. — Carofé, in the diocese of Poitiers, against Boson, bishop of Saintes, who is deposed.
1082. — Meaux, for the ordination of Bishop Robert.
1082. — Oissel (Oxella), near Rouen, on the disputes between the Archbishop of Rouen and the Abbé of Fontenelles.
1083. — Saintes, to establish a Bishop in that city in the stead of Boson.
1085. — Compiègne, in favour of the Abbeys of St. Corneille of that city, and of St. Acheul, in Amiens.
1088. — Bordeaux and Saintes, in favour of the Abbey of St. Maixant.
1089. — Saintes, to appoint an Archbishop for Bordeaux.
1090. — Narbonne, in favour of the Abbey of Grasse, and against Simony.
1090. — Toulouse.
1090. — Beziers, on the property of the Church.
1091. — Rouen, for the election of a Bishop of Séez.
1091. — Soissons, against the Tritheism of Roscelin of Compiègne.

A.D.

1092. Of Rheims, against Robert, count of Flanders, who possessed himself of the goods of all the Ecclesiastics who died in his province.
1092. — Estrampes, against the ordination of Ives of Chartres.
1092. — Paris, as to the Abbey of St. Corneille of Compiègne.
1093. — Bordeaux.
1094. — Rheims, on Discipline.
1094. — Brives, on the Abbey of Marmoutiers, near Tours.
1094. — Dol, on the same subject.
1094. — Poitiers.
1094. — Autun, on Discipline.
1095. — Clermont, in Auvergne, against King Philip, on Discipline, and when the Crusade was determined on.
1095. — Limoges, for the Crusade.
1095. — Auvergne, to establish a truce throughout the Kingdom.
1096. — Tours, King Philip absolved, and the Crusade determined on.
1096. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1096. — Saintes, on the Fast for the eve of the Feast of the Apostles.
1096. — Nismes, on a donation made to the Abbey of Clugny, and on Discipline.
1096. — Clermont, on Monastic Discipline.
1097. — Bari, for a re-union with the Greek Church.
1097. — Gironne, for Ecclesiastical Liberty.
1098. — Bordeaux.
1098. — Lyons.
1099. — St. Omer, for the Preservation of Peace.
1099. — Estampes, on Discipline.
1100. — Valence, against Nerigand, bishop of Autun, and Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, guilty of Simony.
1100. — Poitiers, on Discipline, and against King Philip, who had taken back Bertrada.
1100. — Anse.
1103. — Marseilles, on the subject of Clugny.
1104. — Troyes, the Bishop of Senlis justifies himself from the crime of Simony imputed to him.
1104. — Beaugenci, on the Loire, on the re-union of King Philip and Bertrada.
1105. — Rheims, to appoint a Bishop for Cambray.
1105. — Paris, when King Philip and Bertrada are absolved.
1106. — Poitiers, on sending out aid to Palestine.
1106. — Lisieux, for the Peace of Normandy.

A.D.

- 1107. Of Troyes, on Discipline, and against the Simonists.
- 1108. — Rouen, on the Necessities of the Church.
- 1109. — Rheims, in the matter of Godfrey, bishop of Amiens.
- 1109. — Poitiers, when Robert of Arbrissel submits the Monastery of his new order to the Bishop.
- 1110. — Clermont, on behalf of the Church of Mauriac.
- 1110. — Fleury, on the same subject.
- 1110. — Toulouse.
- 1112. — Vienne, on Investitures, and against the emperor Henry.
- 1112. — Anse, against Investitures.
- 1112. — Aix, on Discipline.
- 1114. — Beauvais, against the emperor Henry V.
- 1114. — Dalone, in Limosin.
- 1114. — Elne, on the differences existing between the Abbays of St. Michael de Cuxa and of Arles.
- 1115. — Rheims, against the emperor Henry V., and to enforce residence against Godfrey, bishop of Amiens.
- 1115. — St. Gilles.
- 1115. — Soissons.
- 1115. — Chalons-sur-Marne, against the emperor Henry V.
- 1115. — Dijon.
- 1118. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1118. — Toulouse, for a Crusade in Spain.
- 1118. — Angouleme, for the Confirmation of some Bishops.
- 1119. — Vienne.
- 1119. — Toulouse, Peter de Bruyr delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt; and on Discipline.
- 1119. — Rheims, against Investitures, Simony, and the emperor Henry V.
- 1119. — Rouen, against the Incontinence of Priests.
- 1119. — Beauvais, on Discipline.
- 1120. — Soissons, against Abelard.
- 1120. — Nantes, respecting the Abbey of Marmoutiers.
- 1123. — Bourges.
- 1124. — Toulouse, on the Holy Sacraments.
- 1124. — Chartres,
- 1124. — Clermont,
- 1124. — Beauvais,
- 1124. — Vienne.
- 1125. — Narbonne.

} On Doctrine and Discipline.

A.D.

- 1127. Of Nantes, }
- 1127. — Orleans, } On Discipline.
- 1127. — Nantes, on Marriage between Relations.
- 1128. — Troyes, the White Garment or Cloak, by way of distinction,
is given to the Knights Templars.
- 1128. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1128. — Dol, in Brittany.
- 1128. — Bordeaux.
- 1129. — Paris, relating to the Priory of Argenteuil.
- 1129. — Orleans.
- 1129. — Toulouse, against the Heretics.
- 1129. — Chalons, against Henry, bishop of Verdun.
- 1129. — Narbonne.
- 1129. — Rheims.
- 1130. — Clermont, on Discipline.
- 1130. — Puy and Etampes, }
- 1131. — Rheims, } Against the Anti-Pope, Anacletus.
- 1132. — Cressi, near Narbonne.
- 1132. — Rheims, in favour of Marmoutier.
- 1132. — Thionville, in favour of the Chapter of Saint Die, in Lor-
raine.
- 1133. — Jouarre.
- 1133. — Redon, in Brittany.
- 1134. — Narbonne, On the inroads of the Saracens in Roussillon.
- 1134. — Montpellier.
- 1135. — Nantes, in favour of some Monasteries.
- 1137. — Bordeaux, on Discipline.
- 1139. — Uzès.
- 1140. — Sens, against Peter Abelard.
- 1140. — Narbonne.
- 1142. — Lagni, on the disputes between the Bishop of Arras and the
Abbey of Marchienne.
- 1146. — Vezelay, in Burgundy, }
- 1146. — Laon, } For the Crusade against the Turks.
- 1146. — Chartres.
- 1147. — Rheims, respecting Gilbert de la Porrée.
- 1147. — Etampes, on the Crusade.
- 1147. — Paris, }
- 1148. — Rheims, } Against Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poi-
tiers, and on Discipline.
- 1149. — Bordeaux.

A.D.

1151. Of Beaugenci, where the marriage of Louis the Young, of France, with Eleanor, his queen, is cancelled.
1151. — Rheims.
1154. — Soissons, upon the Peace of the Land.
1157. — Rheims, on Discipline.
1158. — Rheims, on a difference with the Bishop of Laon.
1159. — Embrun.
1161. — Toulouse, in favour of Pope Alexander III.]
1161. — Beauvais,
1161. — Toulouse,
1262. — Montpellier, } Against the Anti-Pope, Victor.
1163. — Tours,
1163. — Clermont,
1164. — Rheims, to promote the recovery of Palestine.
1165. — Lombez.
1167. — Chinon, on the differences which had arisen between Henry II. of England and St. Thomas of Canterbury.
1167. — S. Felix, in Lauragais, convened by Nequinta, the pretended Pope of the Albigenses.
1167. — Pelicience, or S. Felix de Carman, diocese of Toulouse.
1168. — Lavaux.
1170. — Paris, against a proposition of P. Lombard.
1170. — Angouleme, on a donation made to its Church.
1172. — Avranches, where Henry II. of England is absolved from the charge of assassinating St. Thomas of Canterbury.
1173. — Caen, relating to Henry II. of England.
1176. — Lombez, against the Albigenses.
1176. — Albi.
1178. — Toulouse, against the Albigenses.
1182. — Caen, for the maintenance of Peace between England and Normandy.
1186. — Paris, in favour of the Crusade.
1186. — Charron, on Discipline.
1188. — Gisors, for the reconciliation of the Kings of France and England, and to induce them to assume the Cross against the Infidels.
1188. — Mans, where the Bishops and Barons of England determine on granting succour for the recovery of the Holy Land.
1188. — Paris, for the levies necessary for the expense of the Holy War.
1189. — Rouen, on Discipline.

A.D.

1190. Of Rouen, in favour of the Crusade.
1195. — Montpellier, on Discipline, and for carrying on the war against the Saracens.
1196. — Paris, on the marriage of Philip Augustus.
1198. — Sens, against the Publicans, a description of Albigenses.
1199. — Dijon and Vienne, on the marriage of Philip Augustus.
1200. — Nivelles, on the interdict on France.
1201. — Soissons, on the marriage of Philip Augustus.
1201. — Paris, against Bigaud.
1204. — Meaux, on the peace between the Kings of France and England.
1205. — Arles, on Discipline.
1207. — Narbonne.
1208. — Narbonne, against the Albigenses.
1209. — Montil (Montiliensis), in Narbonne, when a penance is imposed on the Count of Toulouse, the protector of the Albigenses.
1209. — Avignon, on Faith and Discipline.
1209. — Paris, against the errors of Amauri.
1210. — Avignon, against the Albigenses.
1210. — St. Gilles, against Raymond, count of Toulouse.
1210. — Arles, on the proposals fruitlessly made to Raymond, count of Toulouse, for his absolution.
1210. — Narbonne, assembly on the differences between the Counts of Toulouse and de Foix.
1212. — Paris, on discipline regarding the different orders of the Church.
1212. — Pamiers, when the Bishops and great men make submission to Simon, count of Montfort.
1212. — Narbonne.
1212. — Lavaur.
1213. — Lavaur, on the matter of Peter, king of Arragon, protector of Raymond, count of Toulouse.
1213. — Muret, in Languedoc, on the means of appeasing Peter, king of Arragon.
1214. — Montpellier, on Discipline.
1214. — Rouen, on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
1215. — Bordeaux.
1215. — Montpellier, Simon of Montfort is declared Sovereign Count of all the lands from whence he had driven the Albigenses.

A.D.

1217. Of Melun, } On Discipline.
 1219. — Toulouse, }
 1220. — Maguelone.
 1222. — Puy.
 1223. — Rouen, on acknowledging the Twelfth General Council of
 Lateran.
 1223. — Toulon.
 1223. — Paris, against the Albigenses.
 1224. — Paris, on the matter of Raymond, count of Toulouse, pro-
 tector of the Albigenses.
 1224. — Montpellier, on the same subject.
 1224 & 1225. Three Councils at Paris, against the Albigenses, and on
 differences between France and England.
 1225. — Beziers.
 1225. — Melun, on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.
 1225. — Bourges, at which the County of Toulouse is restored to
 Raymond, chief of the Albigenses.
 1225. — St. Quentin, on the relics of St. Quentin.
 1226. Two Councils at Paris, against the Albigenses.
 1226. Of Foix, at which Bernard, count of Foix, is absolved of Heresy,
 on a feigned contrition expressed by him.
 1226. — Narbonne.
 1227. — Narbonne, against Raymond, count of Toulouse.
 1228. — Bassege, continued at Meaux, and terminated at Paris, when
 Raymond, count of Toulouse, is admitted into Communion,
 and restored to favour with St. Louis, king of France.
 1228. — Bourges, when the Archbishop is suspended from Metro-
 politan Jurisdiction.
 1229. — Toulouse, against Heretics, and on Discipline.
 1229. — Orange, To admit to penance the Albigenses, and those who
 were suspected of Heresy.
 1230. — France, upon the Wars of the Kingdom.
 1231. — Rheims, held at St. Quentin, on Discipline, and on the
 matter of Milo, bishop of Beauvais.
 1231. — Rouen, } On Discipline.
 1231. — Château Gontier, }
 1231. — St. Quentin, in favour of Milo, bishop of Beauvais.
 1231. — Tours, on Discipline.
 1232. — Melun, against Raymond of Toulouse.
 1233. — Beziers, against the Albigenses Heretics.
 1234. — Arles, on Discipline, and acknowledging the Twelfth General
 Council of Lateran, held in 1215.

A.D.

1235. Of Narbonne, where measures are adopted for extirpating the Heresy of the Albigenses.
1235. — Rheims, at St. Quentin, on the liberty of the Church.
1235. — Rheims, at Compiègne, to present a remonstrance to the King.
1235. — Rheims, at Senlis.
1236. — Arles, on Discipline.
1236. — Rheims, at St. Quentin, for Ecclesiastical Immunities.
1236. — Tours,
1238. — Cognac, in Angoulême, } On Discipline.
1239. — Sens,
1239. — Tours,
1239. — Rheims, at St. Quentin, on the immunities of the Church.
1240. — Senlis, to grant pecuniary succour to the Pope.
1240. — Metz, against the emperor Frederick.
1242. — Laval, on Discipline.
1243. — Beziers.
1244. — Narbonne.
1245. — Lyons, Thirteenth General Council under Innocent IV., to effect an expedition to the Holy Land, when it was suggested to depose the emperor Frederick, and the red hat was conferred on Cardinals.
1246. — Arles, on Discipline.
1246. — Beziers, for the extirpation of Heresy.
1248. — Paris, on Discipline.
1248. — Valence, in Dauphiné, on Faith and the Immunities.
1248. — Embrun.
1251. — Lille, in Arles.
1251. — Provins, on Excommunication.
1251. — Rheims.
1252. — Sens, to compel Count Tibalt of Champagne to restore the goods of the Church.
1253. — Paris, on the Chapter of Chartres.
1253. — Saumur,
1253. — Château Gontier, } On Discipline.
1254. — Coignac,
1255. — Paris, upon the assassination of a singer of the Church at Chartres.
1255. — Bordeaux, on Discipline.
1255. — Beziers, on the extirpation of the Heresies of the Albigenses, and for the reformation of Manners.
1256. — Compiègne.
1256. — St. Quentin.

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1256. Of Sens, upon the homicide of an Ecclesiastic.
 1257. — Pontaudemer, in Normandy, on Discipline.
 1257. — Rheims, at Compiègne.
 1258. — Montpellier, on the Liberty of the Church.
 1260. — Coignac, on Discipline.
 1260. — Paris, to oppose the Tartars.
 1260. — Arles, against the Abbé Joachim, and on Discipline.
 1260. — Bordeaux, for resisting the Tartars.
 1262. — Coignac, on Discipline.
 1263. — Bourges.
 1263. — Clermont.
 1263. — Paris, to assist in the recovery of the Holy Land.
 1263. — Bordeaux, upon Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies.
 1264. — Nantes, on Discipline.
 1264. — Paris, against Swearers and Blasphemers.
 1264. — Boulogne sur Mer, in favour of Henry, king of England.
 1266. — Montluçon.
 1267. — Sedan.
 1267. — Seines, in Dauphiné,
 1267. — Pontaudemer, in Normandy, } On Discipline.
 1268. — Château Gontier, on Discipline.
 1269. — Angers, on the correction of Manners.
 1269. — Sens.
 1269. — Montpellier.
 1270. — Compiègne, against the usurpers of the goods of the Church.
 1270. — Avignon,
 1271. — St. Quentin,
 1271. — Noyon,
 1271. — Beziers,
 1272. — Narbonne,
 1273. — Rennes, } On Discipline.
 1274. — Lyons, Fourteenth General Council under Gregory X., against
 the errors of the Greeks, for a re-union of the Churches,
 and recovery of the Holy Land.
 1274. — Narbonne.
 1274. — Beziers.
 1275. — Arles, on Discipline.
 1276. — Saumur, relating to the Abbey of St. Florentius.
 1276. — Saumur,
 1276. — Bourges, } On Discipline.
 1277. — Beziers.
 1277. — Narbonne.

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- 1277. Of Compiègne, on the Singers in the Cathedral.
- 1278. — Langés, on Doctrine and Discipline.
- 1278. — Aurillac, against Exemptions.
- 1279. — Beziers, for the holding of a Parliament.
- 1279. — Auch, on the rights of the Church of Bazas.
- 1279. — Pontaudemer, on Discipline.
- 1279. — Avignon, on the Crusade, and the privileges of religious Persons.
- 1279. — Angers, on Discipline.
- 1280. — Narbonne.
- 1280. — Beziers, on the metropolitan claims of Narbonne.
- 1280. — Saintes, on divers Ecclesiastical matters.
- 1280. — Poitiers, } On Discipline.
- 1280. — Noyon, }
- 1280. — Sens, on some violence committed in a Church in the diocese of Chartres.
- 1282. — Avignon, }
- 1282. — Saintes, } On Discipline.
- 1282. — Tours, }
- 1282. — Bourges.
- 1284. — Paris, on Discipline, but no record remains.
- 1284. — Nismes, on the Holy Sacraments, and Discipline.
- 1284. — Poitiers, on Discipline.
- 1285. — Maçon.
- 1285. — Riez, in Provence, on Discipline.
- 1286. — Bourges, against Exemptions.
- 1287. — Rheims, in favour of the Dominicans and Franciscans.
- 1287. — Rheims.
- 1288. — Lille, in the province of Arles, on Discipline.
- 1289. — Vienne, in Dauphiné, on Discipline.
- 1290. — Nougaro, in the diocese of Auch, against the usurpers of the goods of Ecclesiastics.
- 1290. — Paris, }
- 1290. — Ambrun, in Dauphiné, } On Discipline.
- 1290. — St. Léonard le Noblat (Nobiliacum), diocese of Limoges, on Ecclesiastical Revenues.
- 1292. — Lyons, for Discipline.
- 1294. — Saumur, }
- 1294. — Aurillac, } On Discipline.
- 1294. — Beziers.
- 1294. — Pont, near Saintes, on granting a tenth to Philip le Bel.
- 1295. — Clermont, in Auvergne.

A.D.

- 1295. Of Beziers.
- 1296. — Paris.
- 1297. — Lyons, against such Princes as levied impositions on Ecclesiastics.
- 1298. — Saintes, }
- 1299. — Rouen, } On Discipline.
- 1299. — Beziers, }
- 1299. — Lyons and Anse.
- 1299. — Maçon.
- 1299. — Toulon, on the termination of the Century.
- 1300. — Melun, on Manners.
- 1300. — Bayeux and Ausch, on Discipline.
- 1301. — Compiègne, on Discipline.
- 1302. — Paris, on the differences between Pope Boniface VIII. and King Philip le Bel.
- 1302. — Pamafiel and Nismes.
- 1303. — Nougaro, on Discipline.
- 1303. — Montpellier, general assembly of the entire Church of France.
- 1303. — Ausch.
- 1304. — Ruffec, under Bernard Got, afterwards Pope Clement V.
- 1304. — Compiègne, for the reformation of Manners.
- 1304. — Pinterville, in Normandy, on Discipline.
- 1304. — Beziers and Poitiers.
- 1305. — Pontaudemer, on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.
- 1308. — Ausch, on Discipline.
- 1309. — Narbonne.
- 1310. — Paris, }
- 1310. — Senlis, } On the affairs of the Knights Templars.
- 1310. — Rouen, }
- 1310. — Beziers, on Discipline.
- 1311. — Vienne, in Dauphiné, Fifteenth General Council under Pope Clement V., consisting of upwards of 300 Bishops, and the Kings of France and Arragon, when the Order of Templars is abolished, and the Heresies of the Fratricelles, the Dulcimistes, and of Bogardus, are condemned; and the solemn Procession of the Holy Sacrament instituted.
- 1311. — Bourges.
- 1312. — Bourges, on recognising the proceedings of the General Council of Vienne.
- 1313. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1313. — Senlis, for the condemnation of the Templars.
- 1314. — Paris, on Discipline.

A.D.

1314. Of Nongaro, in favour of the Ecclesiastics.
1315. — Saumur, on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.
1315. — Senlis, on the matter of Peter de Latilli, bishop of Chalon, suspected of causing the death of Philip le Bel.
1315. — Auch and Beziers.
1317. — Senlis and Beziers.
1318. — Senlis.
1319. — Toulouse, of which no record appears to have been kept.
1320. — Sens, on Discipline.
1320. — Beziers.
1321. — Lizieux, under Hugh of Harcourt.
1321. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1321. — Montpellier.
1323. — Paris, on Discipline.
1325. — Lodeve (Leutevense).
1326. — Avignon,
1326. — Marsiac, in Guienne, } On Discipline.
1326. — Senlis, on the reformation of Manners.
1326. — Beziers.
1326. — Ruffec, in Guienne.
1327. — Toulouse, at which the celebration of Funerals previous to death is prohibited.
1327. — Beziers.
1327. — Avignon.
1328. — Narbonne.
1329. — Compiègne, on Discipline.
1329. — Paris, assembly of Bishops on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.
1329. — Marsiac, on the assassination of the Bishop of Aire.
1334. — Avignon, on the Tenth.
1335. — Rouen, in favour of religious Mendicants.
1336. — Rouen, on Discipline.
1336. — Bourges.
1336. — Château-Gontier, on Ecclesiastical Immunities.
1337. — Avignon, on Discipline.
1339. — Montpellier.
1342. — Beziers.
1344. — Noyon, to prevent the publication of new Miracles without the sanction and approbation of the Bishops.
1346. — Paris, on certain practices of Piety.
1349. — St. Quentin.
1351. — Beziers, on several points and controversies relating to Discipline.

A.D.

1363. Of Rheims, under the archbishop, John de Craon.
1363. — Marseilles.
1364. — Nismes.
1364. — Auch, on Discipline.
1365. — Angers, on the reformation of Manners.
1365. — Apt, in Provence, on Discipline.
1365. — Périgueux.
1367. — Poitiers, on sundry Abuses.
1368. — Lavaur, upon Faith.
1369. — Beziers.
1370. — Beziers.
1374. — Narbonne, on Manners.
1374. — Aix, on Discipline.
1375. — Beziers.
1379. — Paris, in favour of Pope Urban VI.
1383. — Cambray, on existing Schisms.
1387. — Poitiers.
1391. — Paris, for the extinction of Schism.
1395. — Paris, against the Anti-Pope Benedict.
1396. — Poitiers, under Thierri de Montreuil.
1398. — Paris, against the Anti-Pope.
1402. — Senlis, on Schism.
1404. — Langres, under Louis of Bourbon.
1404. — Paris, upon privileges in the time of Schism.
1405. — Poitiers, on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
1406. — Paris, assembly to vindicate the liberties of the Gallican Church.
1408. — Rheims, on Discipline.
1408. — Paris.
1409. — Perpignan, by Peter de Lune.
1409. — Beziers.
1411. — Orléans, against John, duke of Burgundy, on the death of the Duke of Orleans.
1414. — Digne.
1415. — Bourges, on the tax upon Wine.
1416. — Aix, on the report of the General Council of Constance.
1424. — Lyons, for the exposure of some Impostors.
1426. — Beziers.
1429. — Paris, on the Reformation.
1430. — Narbonne, on Discipline.
1432. — Bourges, in support of the determinations of the Council of Basle.
1441. — Avignon, on Manners.

A.D.

- 1442. Of Beziers.
- 1445. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1448. — Angers, or Tours, on Manners.
- 1449. — Lyons, on the abdication of the Anti-Pope, Felix V.
- 1452. — Langres, under Philip of Vienne.
- 1455. — Langres, on Discipline.
- 1455. — Vannes, or Tours, on the translation of St. Vincent Ferrier.
- 1456. — Soissons, on Manners.
- 1457. — Avignon, on Discipline.
- 1461. — Sens, on Discipline and Manners.
- 1475. — Sens, on the Church.
- 1490. — Toulouse, under the Cardinal of Joyeuse.
- 1490. — Arras, under the bishop, Peter Ranchicourt.
- 1495. — Besançon, under Charles of Neufchatel.
- 1509. — Avignon, on Discipline.
- 1510. — Tours, on the ill-treatment which the French received from Pope Julius II.
- 1511. — Mans.
- 1511. — Lyons.
- 1522. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1523. — Meaux, under William Briçonner, against Luther.
- 1527. — Lyons, against the Heresies of Luther; on Discipline; to grant the King a subsidy; and to obtain from Spain the children of France, hostages for Francis I.
- 1527. — Rouen, on Doctrine and Discipline.
- 1528. — Bourges, on the errors of Luther, and the reformation of Manners.
- 1528. — Sens, against the Lutherans, and for the reformation of Manners.
- 1535. — Agde.
- 1548. — Boulogne.
- 1551. — Narbonne, on Discipline.
- 1557. — Vienne, in Dauphiné, on Manners.
- 1564. — Rheims, for the reformation of Manners.
- 1565. — Cambray, on Faith, and the correction of Manners.
- 1569. — Avignon, on Discipline.
- 1581. — Rouen, on Discipline.
- 1583. — Rheims, on Discipline, and in concurrence with the Council of Trent.
- 1583. — Bordeaux, on Seminaries.
- 1583. — Tours, transferred to Angers, on Faith and Discipline, and against Simony.

A. D.

- 1583. Of Embrun.
- 1584. — Bourges, on Faith and Manners.
- 1585. — Aix, on the reformation of Manners.
- 1586. — Cambray, on Faith and Manners.
- 1590. — Toulouse, on Discipline.
- 1594. — Avignon, in favour of the Council of Trent.
- 1606. — Avignon, on Discipline.
- 1609. — Narbonne, on Faith and Manners.
- 1610. — Grasse, or Embrun.
- 1612. — Sens, or Paris, against the Treatise on Ecclesiastical Power,
by Edmund Richer.
- 1612. — Aix, against the same book.
- 1624. — Bordeaux, on Discipline.
- 1635. — Narbonne.
- 1668. — Avignon, on Discipline.
- 1671. — Narbonne.
- 1727. — Ambrun, on the acceptation of the Constitution Unigenitus,
and on other Ecclesiastical matters.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

The foregoing list sufficiently develops the miscellaneous nature of the subjects, affecting both church and state, submitted to the decision of the councils, during the first two races. Until the end of the fourteenth century, they occasionally partook of the mixed character of council and general assembly, attended by some of the nobles, convened by the king, count, or bishop, and acting under the immediate influence of the convener in all political matters, but at the same time exercising a beneficial influence in repressing the oppressive claims and conduct of the barons.

From the fourteenth century, the councils kept within the bounds of their ecclesiastical duties, their temporal jurisdiction being gradually superseded by the establishment of the parliaments and other judicial tribunals of the kingdom.

It is interesting to remark the persevering astuteness with which, in all ecclesiastical matters, the councils effected, for church and churchmen, a progressive accession of power and of wealth.

CHAPTER VI.

Review of the condition of France during the reigns of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings—The most distinguished type of each, Clovis and Charlemagne—Constitutional and Legal Polity of France at the period of the accession of Hugh Capet.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, endeavoured to trace an outline of the several elements contributing to the formation of the dominion and monarchy of France, and to its consequent rise as one of the most ancient among the kingdoms of Europe, we have now arrived at the second phase of its existence—its progress to a foremost rank among the nations of the world.

The original and limited site first obtained by the valour of the Franks in the plains of Tournay and the Cambresis, in Belgic Gaul, was at an early period extended to the Isle of France, and all the intermediate country; while Paris, the Lutetia of the Emperor Julian, was selected by Clovis to be the capital of his newly acquired kingdom, and the residence of a long line of its future sovereigns.

The selection was justified by the event, and

Paris has, during nearly fourteen centuries, maintained its position as the unrivalled metropolis of continental Europe.

We have already passed in review the first five hundred years of the authentic history of Gaul, from the period of its conquest by Julius Cæsar (B.C. 52), to the assumption of its sovereignty by Clovis the Frank, at the same time that his fellow-barbarian, Odoacer, put an end to the Roman empire of the West, by deposing Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor, taking and sacking Rome, and establishing the seat of his new kingdom of Italy in Ravenna—A.D. 476.

A farther period of five hundred years has been the subject of our annals of the Merovingian and Carlovingian lines of the same Frankish race, and we have adopted the method of the President Hainault in his *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, as best calculated for recording the series of isolated crimes and atrocities, of all descriptions, which mark the conduct of the sovereigns, and of their associate and almost independent chieftains, with no regular principle of coherence or advance on their part, or of improvement in the condition of their serfs, attached to the soil as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and apparently incapable of higher aspirations.

The nation then consisted of three classes only,

—the chief, the soldier, and the slave; gradually a fourth arose, and obtained paramount dominion over all: the church, with many abuses, and deviations from its primitive simplicity and truth, still exercised a rude control suitable to the rude habits of its converts, and, by alternate warnings and encouragements, interposed a salutary check upon the otherwise unbridled passions of the victor Franks.

Modern historians, among the French, contend that the Franks still constitute a distinct people, comprising the nobility and privileged classes, as contradistinguished from the Roturiers, the descendants of the Gauls; that these distinct tribes are still animated by mutual rivalry and jealousy; and that Jacquerie, Revolution, Emeutes, and War to the Chateau, have been the successive watchwords and symbols of the oppressed majority.

The entire period of the first two races of sovereigns was one of *rise* only, the *progress* was reserved for the third race, when first arose from among the Roturiers, another class or subdivision, chiefly the growth of cities, towns, and commerce—the Bourgeoisie—attached to their order, and partaking of its origin, but, by industry and intelligence, acquiring great stores of knowledge and of wealth.

Notwithstanding the censure we have passed upon the first two royal races, we must not be unmindful

that the list of each contains a hero's name, —Clovis and Charlemagne.

The one the founder, the other the conqueror and legislator, of the most extensive empire which has existed in Europe since the fall of Rome. The dominion of Charlemagne extended from the Baltic to the Atlantic and Mediterranean, from the Vistula to the Adriatic and the Ebro,—an extent renewed, and then only for a short time, in the reign of his great-grandson, Charles le Gros, in the latter part of the ninth century. Charlemagne, with all his great qualities, was tainted with some of the most degrading vices of his age,—his wives, concubines, daughters, and grand-daughters, lived in indiscriminate companionship with him and their paramours in his residence; and the most meritorious act of his son and successor, Louis le Debonnaire, on his accession, was expelling the men with ignominy from the polluted precincts of the palace, visiting some with exile, and others with mutilation, or with death.

The extraordinary ability and good fortune of Charlemagne, during his long reign of forty-seven years, enabled him to acquire a complete ascendancy over the ecclesiastical as well as the baronial authorities; and this power was rendered irresistible by the success of fifty-three military expeditions, and the gain of twenty pitched battles, without incurring any other repulse than that by the Saracens

at Ronscevalles. The weight of authority thus acquired, was in most instances exercised by him for the benefit of his people, in his endeavours to promote their education by the establishment of schools, and to introduce, by his capitularies, a uniformity in the laws, as he also attempted to effect in the coinage, and the weights and measures of his empire. With these two eminent exceptions—of Clovis and of Charlemagne; and of two well-meaning princes, Sigebert of Austrasia, and Dagobert the First—we are doing no injustice to the first two lines of princes, in pronouncing their entire cycle of five hundred years as having been one of dense and universal darkness, ignorance, and superstition, alike disgraceful to the sovereign and debasing to the subject, with no indication of progress or improvement on the part of either.

The House of Capet, with its adherents and retainers among the nobility of France, although of pure Frank descent, had, in a great measure, identified itself with the feelings, manners, and language of the Gallo-Roman class of subordinate proprietors, and, in common with them, kept aloof from the genuine teutonic Frank, who, retaining his original warlike propensities, held his horse and his francisque as affording a sufficient title to the possession of whatever he should covet.

The mayors of the palace, for their own sinister purposes, fostered these feelings and jealousies be-

tween the two classes; and, by bringing the throne and its occupier into contempt with the people, dissolved all bonds of clanship and affection for their king.

The schism thus created, was developed by the great barons renouncing their allegiance to Charles II. and Charles III., and electing, in their stead, Eudes, the powerful duke of the Franks, and count of the Isle of France, which, including Paris as its capital, has always commanded the sovereignty of France.

Eudes, with a strong hand, but with much demand on its efficiency, succeeded in maintaining his royal authority, to which his brother Robert, and Raoul, his kinsman by marriage, were in turn elected to succeed. The Carolingian kings, true to their teutonic predilections, applied for protection to the successive emperors of Germany, Arnoul and Otho the Great, princes of much ability, and more ambition; by them the claims of the Carolingian kings were recognised, and, after many severe encounters between the conflicting interests, Otho made a rapid advance upon Paris, and effected the re-establishment of Charles the Simple on the throne of France.

The nobles acquiesced in the government of Charles the Simple, and, in direct lineal succession from him, of Louis IV. (d'Outremer), Lothaire, and Louis V. During these reigns, the government had

virtually been administered by Hugh the Great, and his son Hugh Capet, as the mayors of the palace; they were also the nearest descendants of Eudes, and possessed of the same extensive domains, while Louis V. had nothing left to him but the city of Laon; on his death, therefore, without issue, the great, and now almost independent, barons elected Hugh Capet to be their king, to the exclusion of Charles of Lorraine, the uncle and collateral heir of Louis V.

Charles of Lorraine appealed, as his ancestor Charles II. had done, to the teutonic sympathies of the emperor; but, after a few inconsequent skirmishes on the frontiers, Hugh Capet was left in the peaceable possession of the throne which he had often defended, and now acquired by the unanimous election of his peers.

Hugh was himself of a distinguished family, being the great-grandson of Robert le Fort, a descendant, on the side of his father, of Pepin Heristal, and on his mother's, of Clovis,—thus Capet might boast of his connection with each of the great Frankish lines. And so securely, to all appearance, was his throne established in himself and his heirs, that they succeeded in lineal succession, from father to son, for thirteen generations from the original founder, extending over a period of 341 years,—a circumstance unparalleled in any other dynasty recorded in authentic history.

Hugh Capet appears to have had some vague presentiment of the successful result of his assumption of the crown, and of his thus becoming the progenitor of a national race of kings, instead of the mere representative of a teutonic tribe standing in the invidious position of stranger and of conqueror.

From this period the history of France is simply that of a nation going through the ordinary process of improving manners and progressive civilisation, founded upon a national identity, and a unity of royal succession. In aid of the popular feeling in favour of the new dynasty, it was the universal belief of the people that St. Valeri,*—whose body Capet, when count of Paris, had removed to the chapel of the Hermitage in which the saint had died—appeared to him in a dream, and solemnly addressed him in these words:—"By reason of thy having done this, thou and thy descendants shall be kings until the seventh generation, that is, for ever and ever, in *sæcula sæculorum*. Amen."

This popular tradition is repeated by all the contemporary chroniclers, even by such as did not approve of the change of dynasty it had anticipated; while it influenced, if it did not con-

* St. Valeri, a native of Auvergne, died, in 622, in the cell of a chapel he had built at Vienne, near Ponthieu, where a monastery was afterwards founded, to which Capet had the body of the saint removed, which he purchased from Arnoul, marquis of Flanders, who had, in 952, caused it to be interred in the abbey of St. Bertin.

ciliate, those who still considered Hugh as a usurper, and accused him of treason against his sovereign, and of rebellion against the church. An opinion, by no means injurious to his cause, also prevailed among the better sort of the inferior classes, that he was himself of plebeian origin;* although, as has been before observed, this was far from being the case. Capet had the discretion, towards the promotion of his object, to secure the friendship and alliance of the duke and people of Normandy, and

* This delusion as to the obscurity of Capet's birth, as it tended to promote his popularity and power, he and his supporters took no pains to dispel; and some currency to the error has been given by Dante, who, in the twentieth canto of his *Purgatory*, makes Capet give the following account of himself to his friendly questioner:—

Chiamato fui di la Ugo Ciapetta
Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi
Per cui novellamente e Francia retta
Figliuol fui d'un beccajo di Parigi.

Thus translated by Cary:—

“Hugh Capet was I hight; from me descend
The Philips and the Louis, of whom France
Newly is govern'd; born of one, who ply'd
The slaughterer's trade at Paris.”

And in a note it is observed, that this reflection on the birth of his ancestor, caused Francis I. to forbid the reading of Dante in his dominions; and some of the poet's commentators have been misled by these lines to a supposition that the father of Hugh had been a butcher; upon which Mr. Cary justly observes, that the words, *Beccajo di Parigi*, can only refer to the sanguinary disposition of Hugh the Great, the father of Capet, of whose illustrious descent from Pepin Heristal and Robert le Fort, no doubt can be entertained.

to compel Lothaire—who, availing himself of the minority of Duke Richard, had endeavoured to recover the possession of that great province, by marching with a considerable force into it, and laying siege to Rouen—to withdraw his troops, and relinquish his pretensions to the duchy.

We will close this short review of the monarchy of France during the continuance of the two first races, with a brief summary of the constitutional and legal condition of the mingled population which voluntarily submitted to the rule of Hugh Capet and his posterity, for the long period of upwards of eight hundred years.

The population of France was composed, during that period, of the clergy, of the nobility, and of all the remaining undefined and undefinable portion of the inhabitants denominated, *en masse*, the *tiers état*; and which, at the close of the eighteenth century, was the subject of a celebrated pamphlet by the Abbé Sieyès, propounding three awful questions, and suggesting three equally portentous answers:—"Qu'est-ce que le Tiers état?—Tout. Qu'a-t-il été jusqu'à présent dans l'ordre politique?—Rien. Que demande 't-il?—A être quelque chose."*

During the first, or Merovingian race, the general

* The two privileged classes were justly so designated, having not only exclusive rights, but enjoying also immunity from all imposts of every description; they consisted of about 200,000

assemblies of the people at the Champ de Mars, or the Champ de Mai, took cognizance of all affairs, civil as well as military, and administered summary but corrective justice; these meetings were abolished or discontinued by Charlemagne.

In the meantime, the Salic and Ripuarian codes prevailed, in common with the Roman law, throughout the northern portion of Gaul, as the codes of the Burgundians and Visigoths did in the south, with an option given to the inhabitants to declare upon oath by which law they elected to be governed. In addition to which, each province, and all the lesser districts, had a customary or common law, which was of mere local obligation.

Charlemagne, soon after his accession, issued a series of capitularies in emendation or substitution of the existing codes, laws, and customs.

The great barons, whose lands had heretofore been held by them for life only, contrived, during the imbecility of the later sovereigns, to extort from the mayors of the palace, as the price of their continuance in that office, the grant of an hereditary title, rendering them virtually independent of the crown.

The members, or rather classes, of the Frankish community, as they successively existed from their first settlement in Gaul, to the termination of the second race of their kings, and the tribunals

individuals; while the remaining population of 26 millions had no privilege whatever, other than that of paying all the imposts.

established for the administration of justice among them, may thus be recapitulated:—

The rank of chieftain, duke, or king, as he was latterly called, was originally elective, regard being had only to the line of male descent, but none whatever to legitimacy of birth, or seniority of age. The same irregularities prevailed throughout the first two lines, while the reverse was remarkably the case with the Capetian race. It may here be observed, that on the election of Charles the Bald by an assembly of the nobles, he designated himself, in his coronation oath, as constituted king “by the grace of God, and the election of the people,”—a form recently adopted on an occasion of a like nominal election to the same crown.

The Franks being in a state of constant warfare, their king, or commander-in-chief, was necessarily possessed of extensive domains, and of great influence, which, with the addition of his military dictatorship, rendered his authority almost irresistible, and only amenable to the great annual general assembly of the Champ de Mars, afterwards the Champ de Mai—a tumultuous meeting of the whole tribe,—abolished at an early period of the reign of Charlemagne.

Next to the king were the great chieftains, who, individually, were equal to him in their ducal rank and possessions, and only yielded obedience to him in his military capacity; these were the Antrustians

(*qui in trusté domini sunt leudi fideles*); these, as the great vassals of the king, formed his immediate council.

It is doubted whether their dignity was for life only, or hereditary; if the latter, we might, with Mably, date the origin of nobility in France from A.D. 625, in the reign of Clotaire II.; yet it was at a much later date that the feudal system reached its complete organisation, when, in 876, Charles the Bald legally established the hereditary succession of fiefs; and when the baronial power, which had been kept in check during the despotic rule of Pepin and of Charlemagne, obtained exclusive and almost independent authority within its local limits.

Next in order of nobility were the Leudes, called the companions of the king; they possessed considerable landed property, some holding direct from the crown, but chiefly from the great feudatories, who, at the close of the tenth century, did not exceed six in number, being the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guienne, and the counts of Champagne, Flanders, and Toulouse. The seventh great fief, and the most important, because it was considered as conferring the crown on its possessor, was the city of Paris and the county of the Isle of France, the patrimony of the Capets,—possessed by Hugh the Great when mayor of the palace (*prefectus prætorio*) to Louis V., the last of the Insensati.

The smaller fiefs, Maine, Anjou, Artois, and others,

making at first about thirty in number, were the property of so many dukes, counts, and barons, holding independent sway over them; and, by subdivisions, and otherwise, continually on the increase.

The bishops, who ranked equal with the Leudes, formed another powerful class, and exercised the greatest influence in all matters of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

In their immediate sphere, the bishops convened councils, and controlled the affairs of the church and the conduct of its large estates; deciding also on the multifarious disputes and appeals in respect of doctrine, discipline, and the conflicting claims of their ecclesiastical subordinates.

In their civil capacity, they, with the Leudes, and some selected barons, attended the meetings of the general assemblies, convened by the sovereign, on the affairs of the state, or by any great feudatory, on matters arising in his own province; in which assemblies the exclusive learning and superior intelligence of the bishops gave them a preponderating influence, too frequently exercised as partisans, but occasionally as moderators, though always in subservience to the mandate of the ruling power, which, in the time of Pepin and of Charlemagne, was conclusive and without appeal.

Charlemagne, during the greater portion of his reign, held general assemblies in the spring and autumn of each year.

It is not easy to define the line of demarcation between the jurisdiction of the general assemblies and that of the ecclesiastical councils ; each frequently interfered at the pleasure of the convener, whether prince or bishop, in matters apparently not within the scope of its apparent duties. The subjects brought before them exhibited sometimes a singular medley of secular and spiritual affairs—deposing or restoring emperors, or archbishops, hurling excommunications against contumacious dukes, or burning heretics, and verifying relics. The general assemblies were rarely held after the time of Charles the Bald ; but whether civil or ecclesiastical, they are all included in one common list in the ponderous folios of Labbé, Hardouin, and other ecclesiastical historians.

The foregoing were the supreme tribunals for the affairs of church and state ; while, for the ordinary administration of justice, adequate to the primitive condition of society at that period, a court of *malla* or *plucita* was constituted for each considerable district, consisting of the lesser proprietors, and presided over by the count, or his deputy. Originally these were held weekly, afterwards once a month, and even this attendance becoming irksome, Charlemagne reduced the number of meetings in the year to three, under the conduct of judges appointed by the crown, called *Echevins*, or *Scabins*, who acted in the capacity of assessors to the count, viscount, or other presiding officer.

In addition to the *mall*, a court of inferior jurisdiction, in the nature of a county court, was held in the smaller baronial districts, where justice was administered by the *Rachenburgers*, or free tenants of the barony.

These inferior courts, in cases of conflicting evidence, resorted occasionally to the various tests of the ordeal, or judgment of God, trial by battle, or by the oaths of compurgators. In ordinary cases, justice was administered according to the enactments of the Roman law in the *Pays de droit civil*; and in other cases, by the particular customs or common law of each district, called *Pays de coutume*, rudely recorded in the memories of the inhabitants, rather than in any written form, and essentially varying in each barony and lesser district; these were called *les coutumes*, and the entry, if any, of them, *le coutumier*,—the most perfect of which, and the only one originally written in the French language, was *le grand coutumier de Normandie*, which is still, in many instances, referred to, and prevails in that province.

With a view to introduce a system of uniformity in the decisions of these several courts, the sagacious mind of Pepin suggested to him, towards the close of his reign, the creation of an ambulatory judicial commission, for the superintendence and instruction of all the tribunals and their judges and officers, throughout his extensive dominions.

This plan was improved and perfected by Charlemagne, and mainly contributed to the permanence of his institutions, and the security and welfare of his subjects, of all classes.

These royal commissioners, called *Missi Domini*, were forty-three in number, divided into thirteen courts, having a bishop to preside at the head of each; in addition to the thirteen bishops, there were five abbots, and the remaining twenty-five were laymen.

They held their circuits throughout the empire four times in each year,—their duty being to superintend the proceedings of the *malla* and other courts—to ascertain the qualifications of the *echevins*—to confirm or remove them—and to report their proceedings to Charlemagne in person, with such recommendations as were considered expedient.

The powers of the *Missi* were very extensive; controlling the legal proceedings in the several provinces and districts within their circuits, with authority to displace all wrong doers, from the barons to their successive subordinates and officials, and to report from time to time to the crown.

This important commission continued in practical efficiency during the reign of Charlemagne, and for upwards of half a century after. It then gradually fell into disuse, owing first to the diminished power of the crown, and the consequent independence of

its feudatories; and afterwards, to the contrary cause, —of the absolute authority of the sovereign,—by the annexation or subjugation of the provinces, the establishment of a local magistracy throughout the kingdom, and of the high judicial tribunals of the metropolitan and provincial parliaments.*

* A court of justice, from the earliest period, followed the person of the king, until the reign of Philip le Bel, to whom the pleadings in his presence becoming irksome, he, in 1302, issued an edict, establishing permanently at Paris such court, or parliament, as it then began to be called. Eleven provincial parliaments were afterwards added :—

- I. Parliament of Paris, 1302. In 1343, Philip of Valois conferred the title of president on the principal members who had before been called masters.
- II. — Toulouse, established by Philip le Bel in 1332, and declared permanent by Charles VII. in 1443.
- III. — Grenoble, by Charles VII. in 1453.
- IV. — Bordeaux, 1462, by Louis XI.
- V. — Dijon, 1476, by Louis XI., and rendered permanent by Charles VIII. in 1497.
- VI. — The Sovereign Court of Normandy, established at Rouen, as a Court of Exchequer, by Philip le Bel, in 1302, rendered perpetual by Louis XII. in 1499, and declared a parliament by Francis I. in 1515.
- VII. — Provence, at Aix, created by Louis XII. in 1501.
- VIII. — Brittany, established by Henry II., at Rennes, in 1553, and transferred to Vannes in 1675.
- IX. — Pau, established in 1519 by Henry II. of Navarre, prince of Bearn, and confirmed by Louis XIII. in 1621.
- X. — Metz, by Louis XIII. in 1633.
- XI. — Franche Comté, at Dol, and afterwards at Besançon, by Louis XIV. in 1674.

CHAPTER VII.

ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET, FOUNDER OF THE
THIRD RACE.

Progress of the Monarchy in France during the reigns of the
Sovereigns in the direct line of the House of Capet.

987—1328.

ON the death of Louis V., without issue, after a reign of little more than twelve months, and the termination in him of the Carlovingian race, at the end of two hundred and thirty-six years, the schism* which had existed for nearly a century

HUGH CAPET.

A.D.

987.

* M. Thierry, who, by his learned and elaborate researches in elucidation of the constitutional history of France, especially during the Merovingian period, has entitled himself to the respect and gratitude of all engaged in the same pursuit, attaches, in our opinion, too much importance to the alleged schism above adverted to, and to the consequences he deduces from it. He more plausibly follows out the same theory of classes in his very able work on the Norman conquest of England, as exhibited in the long-enduring schism between the Norman and the Saxon people, involving the essential differences of their being distinct nations, and not, as in the case of the Franks, sections only of the same original stock. He also most unaccountably entertains the erroneous impression of Hugh Capet being a stranger in blood to the Frankish sovereigns, although, in fact, he derived his descent from each of the two races.

between the Teutonic and Gallic sections of the Frankish family, broke out into open collision. Charles, duke of Lorraine, the uncle of the last king, and son of Louis IV. (d'Outremer), was the rightful heir to the crown of France, and, true to the German predilections of his family, claimed the aid of the emperor, Otho the Great, in support of his right of succession to the throne. He had already incurred the displeasure of the nobles by submitting to become a homager to the emperor as his vassal for the duchy of Lower Lorraine. This compromise of the dignity of the crown of France, was the ostensible reason for inducing the barons of the central provinces to elect Hugh Capet, the most influential of their order, to be their king. He was, by descent, and extent of territory, in every respect equal to the position. His father, Hugh the Great, the representative, in blood, alike of Pepin Heristal and of Clovis, died in 956, having been, during twenty years, mayor of the palace to the feeble remnants of the Carolingian race; he, at his death, bequeathed his son, then only fifteen years of age, to the special protection of Richard I., duke of Normandy, by whose influence Hugh Capet succeeded his father as mayor of the palace to Lothaire, and to his son; and, in addition to the power conferred by this high office, he inherited the largest and most desirable domain in France, as count of Paris

and of the Isle of France, and also duke of the Franks, of Burgundy, and Aquitaine, including Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, and la Maine. The limit of his provinces was from the Loire to the Seine, on the south, and all the country lying between the Seine and the Meuse, on the north-east. These considerations, and the pride of advancing one of their own body to the throne, determined the greater barons in their choice, and he was accordingly crowned at Rheims, by Adelberon, the archbishop, on the 3d day of July.

A.D.

In the following year, in order to secure the succession, Capet caused his son Robert to be proclaimed his associate in the kingdom, and to be crowned at Orleans.

988.

Charles of Lorraine, to whom Hugh had offered terms of peace, and partial sovereignty, declined all treaty, and prepared to enforce by arms his right of succession to the throne. He besieged the city of Laon, defeated Hugh under its walls, and took possession of the town; but his friend and favourite, Bishop Ascelin, on the night of Holy Thursday, 2d April, delivered it up to Hugh, who entered it with his troops, making Charles and his wife, together with Arnoul, archbishop of Rheims, prisoners, and transferred the royal pair to safe keeping in his castle of Orleans. There Charles died, leaving two sons who were born in the prison; they left no posterity, and thus ended the rule in France of

992.

994.

the direct race of Pepin and of Charlemagne. On the death of Charles, and the consequent improbability of dethroning Hugh, the Dukes of Guienne and Vermandois, and the Count of Flanders, who were of the German faction, sent in their adherence to the new dynasty, and acknowledged the supremacy of Hugh Capet. Adelbert, count of Perigord, another dissentient chief, obtained possession of Tours; and Hugh, not deeming it expedient to attack him, sent a message to him in these terms,—“Who made thee count of Perigord?”—to which the count immediately replied,—“Who made thee king?” The parties appear to have understood one another, for a treaty was concluded between them on very independent terms, Hugh obtaining, however, the important, although then only nominal, acknowledgment from Adelbert, that he held Perigord as a fief of the crown of France.

Hugh derived essential support, in establishing his power, from his brother-in-law and faithful ally, the Duke of Normandy, and from his brother, the Duke of Burgundy. Soon after his accession, he formally annexed to the crown the county of Paris and the Isle of France, which had been granted to Hugh the Great by Charles the Simple, retaining alone of its officers a viscount to preside at the local tribunals, and to administer justice.

By this union, the number of the first class of

nobles or peers of France was reduced to six,* A.D.
being such only as held immediately from the
crown.

One of the first public acts of Capet was to deprive Arnoul of his archbishopric of Rheims, to which he had been appointed by Hugh Capet, and had requited him with the basest treachery and ingratitude, by causing Laon to be surrendered to Charles of Lorraine. Gerbert was appointed in his stead; but Pope John XV. annulled the appointment, after much discussion in several councils. Hugh succeeded in retaining Gerbert in his see during his reign, but his son and successor, Robert, was not equally successful in his controversy on the same subject with the pope.

In order to repel the incursions of the Danes and Norwegians, Hugh raised fortifications on the banks of the Somme, and erected, on the site of an ecclesiastical farming establishment there, a fortress, from whence the town of Abbeville arose, and derived its name of Abbatisvilla. 995.

Hugh died on 24th October, and was buried at St. Denis; he is the first sovereign of France who is represented on his great seal holding a globe and the hand of justice. He had, in imitation of Clovis, and of the Merovingian kings, fixed his permanent 996.

* These six were the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guienne, and the counties of Champagne, Flanders, and Toulouse.

abode in Paris, and it so continued under his immediate successors; but Charlemagne, and the teutonic sovereigns, held their courts at Aix-la-Chapelle, Rheims, Laon, and other cities nearer the Belgic provinces.

Little, if any, improvement in king or people took place during the reign of Hugh, or of his immediate successors, to relieve the deep gloom in which France, in an especial manner, was involved during the tenth century, forming unquestionably the darkest of the dark ages of France, unilluminated by any one individual of eminence in arts, arms, or literature; the only distinction claimed for it being, that Archbishop Gerbert introduced the use of Arabic numerals into France on his return from a mission into Spain, and that he patronised and promoted an improvement in clocks, by adopting the lever or balance movement, which continued in use until superseded by the pendulum in 1650. The art of writing was unknown to the laity, including the king and his nobles, hence great irregularities took place in establishing the claims of marriage, and the legitimacy of the issue; the contract was stated at the door, or in the porch, of the church previous to the celebration of the ceremony within it, all depending, therefore, on the memory of the witnesses as to the validity of both: thus great facilities were afforded for divorces, on pretence of the marriages being within prohibited degrees, or

lighter causes of displeasure or caprice. Pasquier compares the clergy of his period to their predecessors, the Druids, as the sole depositaries of the religion and letters of the people; during the tenth and eleventh centuries, it was the custom to designate all who could read or write, *grand clerics*, and such as could do neither, *maudercs*; while so much of science as did not amount to sorcery, was called *clergie*. The church had already recovered from the pillage inflicted on it by Charles Martel; and, possessed of from a third to one-half of the land of the kingdom, the prelates threw off all regard to the duties of their station, while many of them were noted for the profligacy of their manners, and occupied their time not only with the chase, but in the fiercer encounters of battle; some led the lives of freebooters, and more than one council was held for the deposition of two bishops who had been captains of banditti; the sentence of deposition was appealed against, and both bishops were restored by the pope, on the ground that the crime of robbery might be expiated by penance; at a subsequent council, they were convicted of high treason, and deprived of their sees.

The great nobles, over whom the king had little or no control, were engaged in perpetual civil wars, carried on with unmitigated and savage ferocity, the unhappy inhabitants and tillers of the soil enjoying no respite from the alternations of pillage

and oppression by the barons, and the rapacity and pious frauds of the bishops.

Few notices have come down to us of the public conduct of Hugh Capet, and little, if any thing, is known of his personal character. He was, at an early and critical age, left in a situation of great influence and much temptation; while, doubtless, he received useful admonitions from the Duke of Normandy, and credit should be given to him for docility in attending to them. He thus became qualified for his duties of mayor of the palace,* a situation he occupied during thirty years, until, by the death of Louis V., when the plans he had, with great prudence and discretion, devised for the attainment of the crown, being sufficiently matured for appealing to his vassals,

* The mayor of the palace, or viceroy over the royal *Insensati*, or *Faineans*, was an office probably borrowed from the *Prefectus Prætorio*, under the Roman emperors, who, uniting the whole executive civil power with the military command of the Pretorian guards, disposed at pleasure of the Roman diadem, and on one occasion exposed it to public sale. Constantine reduced its power by separating its military from its civil functions, which were always combined by the Martels, the Pepins, and Hugh the Great, and his son Capet. The Latin designations of the office, used in the charters and chronicles of the Franks, are,—*Major domus regiæ*, *palatii gubernator*, and *præfectus*. In the last stage of the degradation of the Merovingian kings, they were so entirely superseded by the mayor of the palace, that they were only allowed to dwell in a small farm-house (*villa*), and were driven by a cow-herd, with oxen, to the palace, when ordered by the mayor to attend and receive ambassadors, or sanction edicts, and were only otherwise distinguishable from the rest of the people by wearing long hair and a beard.

they recorded their suffrages in his favour; this elevation, we have seen, he obtained at the opportune moment of the death of the last lineal heir, and of the absence and unpopularity of the legitimate successor. The great barons had been conciliated by the non-interference of Hugh Capet with their high privileges, while their nominal allegiance laid the foundation for that extensive dominion and substantial power which his successors ultimately succeeded in establishing. Content with his large patrimonial possessions, he made no conquests, and appears to have had no warlike propensities, having been defeated in the only battle in which he is reported to have been engaged. He acted with great policy towards the neighbouring princes and his powerful feudatories, and the only warfare he undertook was for the purpose of repelling the invasions of the rude barbarians from the far north.

Capet had married Adelaide, putative daughter of William III., called Duc tête d'etoupe, duke of Guienne, and count of Poitou; by her he had one son, Robert, who had been associated with his father in the kingdom, and, at his death, remained sole king of France. The first years of his reign were disturbed by a controversy with Pope Gregory V., who required him to repudiate his queen, Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Blois, and distantly related to Robert, who married her without a dispensation. Robert endeavoured to conciliate the

ROBERT.

A.D.

996.

- A.D. pope by displacing Gerbert from the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, and restoring Arnoul, who had been taken prisoner by Hugh in Laon, and kept in confinement ever since. Gerbert, stripped of his preferment, sought refuge at the court of the Emperor Otho, became bishop of Ravenna, and afterwards Pope Sylvester II. Gregory would not be ap-
998. peased; he convened a council at Rome, in which he caused the marriage to be annulled. To this sentence Robert refusing to submit, Gregory excommunicated* the king, his queen Bertha, Archimbault, archbishop of Tours, who had married them, and the bishops who had assisted at the ceremony. These ecclesiastics were required to repair immediately to Rome, to make submission to the pope. The kingdom was in the mean time laid under an interdict, and the king was in conse-

* The excommunication was fulminated against the king and Bertha in the city of Rheims; and the following extract from it has been preserved and given by Millot in his history:—"Let them be cursed in the city, cursed in the country! Let their children, their lands, their flocks, be cursed with them! Let their entrails gush out, as did those of the heretic Arius! May all the maledictions denounced by Moses against liars, fall upon their heads! May they be overwhelmed by the horrors of eternal death! Let no Christian salute them on meeting them! Let no priest say mass in their presence, or confess them, or give them the communion, even in the article of death, unless on the expression of a full purpose of amendment of life! Let them have no other burial than that of an ass, that they may be an example, to present and future generations, of opprobrium and cursing."

quence abandoned by the people, and shunned by his courtiers ; his very domestics would not touch any article that had been used by him, or receive any thing from his hands, without first purifying it by fire ; they also committed to the flames whatever food came from his table. A.D.

Robert, thus forsaken, had no alternative but to submit to the penance imposed upon him, by separating himself from Bertha, and afterwards marrying Constance, daughter of William, count of Provence and Arles. 1010.

Henry, duke of Burgundy, brother of Hugh Capet, dying at this time without issue, his nephew, King Robert, claimed the duchy as next heir, and took possession of it. Landri, count of Nevers, and the son of Adelbert, king of Italy, disputed his title, and a civil war ensued, which lasted five years. At length, by the help of Richard, duke of Normandy, Robert vanquished his two opponents, and united Burgundy to the crown of France, investing it in his second son, Henry. He afterwards associated his eldest son, Hugh, in his kingdom. He then convened a council at Orleans, to convince some heretics for presuming to question certain miracles recently promulgated by the church. The unhappy culprits could only allege, in their defence, their inability to believe facts upon evidence so imperfect. At the head of these heretics, called Manicheans, for want of any other name, was Ste- 999.
1007.
1008.

- A.D. phen, a priest, the queen's confessor. They were convicted of heresy, and handed over to the secular arm to be burnt. While Stephen and his associates were proceeding to the stake, the queen, who, with the king and court, was a spectator, struck out one of his eyes with a cane. At another council, held in Languedoc by order of the king, a number of victims were also sacrificed on the charge of Manicheism.
1016. Robert, availing himself of the peaceful and prosperous condition of the kingdom, and to secure its continuance, and the succession in his line, caused
1022. his son Hugh to be crowned as king jointly with himself.

His unmitigated zeal for the extirpation of heresies, and for establishing a uniformity of religious faith and worship, induced him, at the instance of the bishops, to meet the emperor Henry II. (the Saint, or the Pious) at Yvoie, to devise measures for suppressing various heresies spreading in their dominions, and for establishing a permanent alliance between France and the Empire; terms were there agreed upon for promoting both objects, and were confirmed and

1023. ratified by treaty in the following year. Hugh, the associate of his father in the kingdom, dying without issue, Robert promoted his next son, Henry,

1026. to the vacant position. By so doing, he incurred the displeasure of his malignant queen, Constance, who was desirous of ensuring the succession to

her younger son, Robert; and, failing in her endeavour to excite discord between the two brothers, she persecuted both until they fled the court, and appeared in arms against their father. The king was affectionately attached to them, and soon succeeded in reclaiming them to obedience. He died at Melun, at the age of sixty-one, and was buried at St. Denis. Constance survived him; her vindictive and cruel disposition having before rendered her a scourge to her husband, she now proved equally inveterate against his sons. The reign of Robert, of thirty-one years, was one of peace and prosperity—feeble, but mild and amiable, except in allowing the persecution of heretics; he was beloved by his subjects; and while he occupies no high place in history, his reign was one of progress. He extended the territory and power of the crown, and contributed to its grandeur, by founding the château or palace of St. Germain en Laye, completed during the reign of Francis I., and afterwards the asylum of James II. of England. Robert was the first sovereign of France who touched for the evil; and from his reign most historians date the origin of the peerage of France. The chroniclers also notice successive years of famine, followed by a visitation of the plague. Perhaps, in consequence of these inflictions, a considerable emigration took place from Normandy into Italy and Sicily. Among the leaders of the

A.D.

1031.

movement, were some of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville, William de Fier à bras, Drogon, and Robert Guiscard, the latter of whom expelled the Greeks from Apulia, assumed the title of count of that province, and duke of Calabria; he then drove the Saracens out of Sicily, and bestowed it on his brother Roger, who thus became the founder of the united kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

Robert of France promoted the erection of cathedrals, churches, and ecclesiastical buildings; and the styles in architecture, of the early Norman and Saracenic, date from the later years of his reign, and originated with the increased communication, by conquest and otherwise, between Normandy and Italy.

HENRY I.

A.D.
1031.

Henry I., having been, in his father's lifetime, crowned at Rheims in 1026, succeeded, by survivorship, to the throne of France, notwithstanding the vindictive opposition of his unnatural mother, Constance, who favoured his next brother, Robert. She raised the standard of rebellion, supported by Eudes, count of Champagne, and by Baldwin, count of Flanders. Henry was driven from Paris, and fled to Rouen to solicit the aid of Robert, duke of Normandy, who placed at his disposal a considerable army, with which he obtained three signal victories over the rebels, and recovered possession of Paris, and of his kingdom. In requital for this success, he granted to the Duke

1032.

of Normandy the cities of Gisors, Chaumont, Pontiou, and the whole of the Vexin. On the death of Queen Constance, and the restoration of peace, Henry not only pardoned his brother, but received him into favour, and conferred on him the duchy of Burgundy, as a fief of the crown; and Robert became the founder of the first House of Burgundy of the blood-royal of France. Eudes, the king's youngest brother, neither daunted by the ill success of Robert, nor won by Henry's clemency, was incited to revolt by Tibault, count of Champagne. They were defeated; and Galatan, count of Meulan, and Renard, count of Sens, who had joined them, were convicted by their peers of felony; their counties were confiscated to the crown, and permanently united to it; and thus continued the gradual extension of the nominal supremacy of the sovereign.

A.D.

Eudes, the youngest brother of Henry, dying without issue, the king was assailed by no further domestic feuds.

The truce of the Lord was instituted, to prevent the growing evil of duels and private combats, in which the friends and seconds of each party frequently engaged. By the terms of this truce, the king, or the ecclesiastical authorities, were authorised to forbid, under the severest penalties, temporal as well as spiritual, any such combats from taking place, from Wednesday afternoon until Monday morning, in commemoration of the last days of the Saviour's life.

1040.

A.D.
1046.

Robert of Normandy, having died on his return from the Holy Land, bequeathed his duchy to his illegitimate son William, afterwards the Conqueror, and obtained from the king of France a promise of aid in confirmation of the bequest. Henry, in accordance with his engagement, supported the youthful William by an army, and defeated his competitors for the duchy at the battle of Val du Dunes. Afterwards, jealous of the growing power and importance of Duke William, he assisted William of Arques, and other claimants of the title, in their pretensions. These were successively overthrown, and Duke William was left at liberty to pursue his great scheme of the conquest of England.

The first indication of reform in the Gallican church, or of schism and heresy, as it was then designated, took place towards the end of King Robert's reign, by certain writings of Berenger, or Berengarius, a very learned doctor of the church, and archdeacon of Angers, in which he ventured to impugn the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist,—in other words, to deny the staple article of Popery, transubstantiation. Bruno, the bishop of Angers, in vain endeavoured to reclaim him; and his writings being taken to Rome, were condemned at two councils held by Leo IX. in 1050, and himself excommunicated. Berengarius withdrew into Normandy, in hopes of conciliating the protection of the duke, who caused a council to be

convened of his bishops, by whom Berenger was unanimously condemned; and, at another council held at Paris, was deprived of all his benefices: this, more than the effect of any spiritual conviction, induced him to submit to the correction of a council at Tours, upon which he was restored to church communion. He was again cited to Rome by Pope Nicholas II., when, being confuted by Ebbo and Lanfranc, he abjured his errors, and burnt his books; but no sooner did he return to France, than he protested against his recantation, and resumed his studies in the same spirit of inquiry. At length, Hildebrand, Gregory VII., a pope not to be trifled with, cited him once more to Rome, and enforced a more solemn abjuration of his opinions. Berenger then returned to France, and spent his remaining years in privacy and penance. He died, at the age of ninety, in 1083.

Henry caused his eldest son, Philip, at the age of seven, to be acknowledged his successor; and he was crowned at Rheims by the archbishop. In the next year the king died at Vitry, leaving his three sons, Philip, Robert, and Hugh, under the guardianship of their uncle Baldwin, count of Flanders, whom he also appointed regent of the kingdom. In ordinary circumstances, his widowed queen, Anne, should have held that station; but, as daughter of Jaroslaf, grand duke of Kief, a foreign prince, she

had excited no such sentiment of confidence or attachment on the part of the nobles and people of France, as to justify her in assuming so responsible a position. It has been surmised that this Russian alliance was formed by Henry to escape persecution, such as his father endured for having entered into a marriage within the limits of consanguinity, remote indeed, but difficult to disprove in the state of relationship existing among the sovereigns and noble houses of Western Europe. To have sought a dispensation from the pope, would have incurred an inconvenient obligation.

Anne had become a convert from the Greek to the Latin ritual, and was in consequence much courted by the pope, and the Gallican hierarchy. She was a liberal contributor to the building of churches,—that of Senlis among others,—and endowed several monasteries and convents. After the death of Henry, she married Rodolph, count of Crespy and of Valois, retaining the style of queen-dowager of France, with the respect due to her amiable and inoffensive conduct. Some historians have asserted that, after the death of her second husband, she was sent back, with discredit, to her father, and died in Russia; while, in truth, her own merit, and the high character and actions of her father, were appreciated as they deserved. She appears to have been consulted by her son, after the regent's death, on more than one occasion,

—some charters and other documents still existing, bearing her signature. The king was then only fifteen years of age, his legal majority being attained at thirteen, at which early age the advice of the nearest relation to the sovereign was occasionally resorted to.

Jaroslaf, in his own person, and that of his children, was related to all the crowned heads of Europe, and his alliance was courted and cultivated, not only by the French, but by our own Saxon sovereigns. Casimir, king of Poland, who had been a monk at Cluny, married a sister of Jaroslaf. Vladimir, prince of Novogorod, his eldest son, who died before his father, had married a daughter of the gallant Harold, the last of the Saxon kings. His third son married a sister of Burchard, prince-archbishop of Treves. His fourth son married a daughter of Constantine Monomachus, emperor of the East. And we have seen that the three daughters of Jaroslaf married the kings of France, of Norway, and of Hungary. Such was the sovereign whom Voltaire, in his history, has designated, with wonted flippancy and inaccuracy, as *le duc inconnu d'une Russie ignorée*.*

Philip, at the age of seventeen, married Ber-

* Jaroslaf was eighth sovereign of Muscovy in succession from Ruric, the founder of the Russian empire, who died in 879; his title, and that of his successors, for many generations, being Veliki Knez, Great Prince, and not Duke, of Kief,—the word

A.D.
1069.

tha, the daughter of Floris, count of Holland; and afterwards made his first essay in arms in Flanders, on behalf of the grand-children of the late regent, when he was defeated at St. Omer by Robert, the younger son of the late count, who had possessed himself of the duchy to the prejudice of his nephews, the sons of his elder brother, who had been killed in battle.

The young king withdrew from this conflict only to enter upon one of a more annoying and enduring nature, which lasted, at intervals, throughout

“Duke” being more recently applied to them by their Greek and German neighbours. Jaroslaf began to reign in 1029, and was one of the most illustrious of the Russian sovereigns; but, like Charlemagne, he compromised the value and stability of his acquisitions and institutions, by making partition of his dominion among his six sons, who adopted the usual course of civil war and mutual spoliation, to the advantage only of their common enemy, the Tartar.—*History of Russia, by the Rev. W. TOOKE, F.R.S., vol. i., p. 14.*

Henry I., by Anne his wife, had three sons, the eldest of whom, Philip, succeeded his father, and became the parent stock of twenty-nine kings, to Louis XVI. From Anne sprung the two houses of Anjou, which reigned at Naples. It is from this Russian princess that the present royal houses of Naples and Spain are descended. Anne was an ancestor of three Courtenays, who were emperors of Constantinople after the capture of that city by the Latins in the time of the Crusades. From her, also, several queens of England were descended:—Margaret, wife of Edward I.; Isabella, married to Edward II.; another Isabella, wife of Richard II.; Catherine, queen of Henry V.; and Mary, queen of Charles I. In Scotland, Magdalene, wife of James V.; Isabella, wife of Philip IV., king of Spain; Beatrice, wife of John, king of Bohemia; Charlotte, wife of John II., king of Cyprus.

his long reign, and became the inheritance of several of his successors. This originated with the claim of the notorious Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII., to the payment of an annual tribute from France, in the nature of the Peter pence exacted from England, and similar payments from Spain, Hungary, and other countries. The papal requisitions also extended to a virtual relinquishment by the king of his right to grant complete investiture to the bishops of his appointment. Gregory, and his successors, contended that the appointment was nugatory, unless confirmed by the grant of the ring and crosier by the pontiff.

The Count of Flanders had fulfilled, with fidelity and wisdom, the trust reposed in him. He successfully repressed a revolt of the Gascons, and rendered efficient aid to William of Normandy in his invasion of England. The expediency, however, of concurring in that important measure, became, in the event, more than doubtful, as the possession of Normandy by England was the fruitful source of war with France; and by fomenting the disloyalty and ambition of the Dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, and other powerful chiefs, inflicted the greater calamity of civil discord. The regent died before Philip had attained his sixteenth year; but as, by the law and custom of France, the sovereign is considered of full age at thirteen, it did not become necessary to renew the regency.

A.D.

Gregory, bent on the attainment of his object, and sensible that his opponent, young, feeble, and frivolous, was incapable of offering adequate resistance to the encroachment, wrote letters to the Gallican bishops, expressing his displeasure against the king, and intimating that, unless he could be induced to consent to the payment of a tribute, and a surrender of his ecclesiastical prerogatives, he would be excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict. These letters were couched in most offensive terms, although received with deference by the bishops, who convened councils and general assemblies on a subject about which the episcopate of France was much divided. Ives of Chartres, and some of the most pious and eminent of the bishops, expressed strong opinions in favour of the royal prerogative to confer complete episcopal investiture.

1079.

While this controversy raged, Philip, true to the policy of his race, obtained from Foulques, count of Anjou, the nominal cession to the king of the province of the Gatinais, as a fief held by homage from the crown.

The king, at the same time, apprehensive of the growing power of William of Normandy, assisted Robert, the duke's eldest son, in his unnatural rebellion against his father, and sent a body of troops on the occasion; these were defeated in several engagements, after which Robert made his re-

luctant submission, and the royal forces were with-
drawn. A.D.

A jest uttered by Philip to his courtiers, in
reference to the corpulence of the Conqueror,
inquiring when he would be delivered, was met
by an oath from the duke, that he would go to be
churched at Notre Dame of Paris, with ten thou-
sand lances, by way of wax-tapers. In execution
of this threat, he invaded France, ravaged the
French portion of the Vexin, and burnt the city of
Mantes, where he was seized with sudden illness,
and died on his return to Rouen, on 9th September
in the same year. 1087.

Philip, who had divorced his queen Bertha, 1091.
on pretence of consanguinity, after having had
several children by her, married Bertrade of Mont- 1092.
fort, the wife of Foulques Rechin, count of Anjou,
who had himself divorced two wives successively
before he married Bertrade, and one of the two
had married again. Philip was excommuni-
cated for his offence by Pope Urban II., at a
council held at Autun; but, Bertha dying at 1094.
this time, the pope convened a council at Plais-
ance, to which Philip sent ambassadors, by whom
a respite of the sentence was obtained. At an- 1095.
other council held at Clermont, the pope in person
presiding, the excommunication was renewed,
upon which Philip undertook to put away Ber-
trade, and was absolved from the sentence at a

- A.D. council held at Nismes; immediately after which,
1096. he brought back Bertrade to his court, and was again excommunicated.

- These ecclesiastical censures, and the contempt entertained for him by all classes of his subjects, imposed on Philip the necessity of associating his
1099. eldest son Louis with him in the kingdom; the first exercise of whose authority was to repress the disorders and seditious demonstrations which pervaded the kingdom; and, on a renewed excommunication, fulminated by a council at Poitiers, against Philip, for his open defiance of all decency and propriety,
1102. he was superseded by his son in the functions and duties of government.

- This assumption of power by Louis, so far excited the jealousy of Bertrade on behalf of her children, that she entered into various cabals and intrigues
1103. against him; and, on a visit paid by him to Henry I. of England, she suggested to the English sovereign the expediency of getting rid of Louis by poison; and prevailed upon Philip to issue an edict declaring her two sons capable of succeeding to the throne.

In no instance was the weakness and incapacity of Philip more displayed than in his yielding to the influence of this intriguing woman, and his indifference to the events which agitated France, in common with the rest of Europe, during his reign. Of these, the most important was

the first crusade, originated, in 1090, by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. The chief leaders in this movement were the great feudatories of the crown of France:—Hugh, count of Vermandois, the brother of the king; Raymond, count of Toulouse; Robert, duke of Normandy; Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard; Baldwin of Flanders; Godfrey of Bouillon; Stephen of Boulogne, father of Stephen, king of England. Raymond of Toulouse little contemplated that he would himself become the victim of a fiercer and more unnatural crusade than that in which he now engaged, as the chief of the populous and wealthy provinces of Provence and Languedoc.

The fate of another eminent crusader was more disastrous, though less entitled to sympathy, than that of Raymond of Toulouse. Robert, the eldest son of the Conqueror, of feeble understanding and licentious habits, was the dupe of his dissolute companions, by whom he was plundered, and involved in debt to an immense amount. He had rebelled against his father, and, on his death, was prompted by his unscrupulous uncle, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, to join the crusade. To defray the expense of the outfit of himself, and of a large body of retainers, as well as to satisfy his pecuniary engagements, he pawned his duchy to his brother Rufus, with actual possession of a large portion of it. On his re-

- A.D. turn, after the death of Rufus, from his bootless expedition, he sold his claim on England to his youngest brother, Beauclerc, with whom he still contested Normandy, and, after many alternations of war and truce—of wild attacks and abject submission—
1106. he was defeated, on 27th September, at the battle of Tinchebray. The duchy was then united to England, and he was carried captive into Wales; his eyes were seared out by the application of a plate of red-hot copper, and he was immured in the castle of Cardiff, where he died, after an imprisonment of thirty years; and was buried in the cathedral of Gloucester, where his tomb and wooden effigy are still extant.

- One of the latest measures of Philip's reign, was
1107. a formal prohibition, by a council held at Troyes, of the marriage of ecclesiastics,—a practice then prevailing, though long discountenanced by the church of Rome.

- The long reign of Philip I. terminated with his
1108. death, at Melun, on 29th July, at the age of fifty-seven, after a reign of forty-eight years, being the longest of any preceding king of France, except Clotaire; or of any succeeding one, except Louis XIV. and Louis XV.

LOUIS VI.
(le Gros).

—
A.D.

1108.

Louis VI., on his accession to the throne, was the possessor of no other territory than the duchy of France, including the city of Paris, with a few towns, and about thirty lordships. The

rest of the kingdom was parcelled out among a few large feudatories, nominal homagers to the crown of France, who had, during the imbecile reign of Philip, wrested from the king every vestige of substantial power. A.D.

Louis was engaged in a long course of warfare with these great barons, and experienced the fatal consequences of allowing Henry I. of England to possess Normandy. He declared war against England,—the first of a series of hostilities which lasted, with few intermissions, during nearly three centuries, until the reign of Charles VII. Peace was made by the surrender of the fortress of Gisors to the English, with the empty form of homage for the duchy. Louis, still uneasy at the increasing power of Henry, took under his protection William Cliton,—called Courtecuisse, son of Robert, still a prisoner at Cardiff,—on whose behalf he claimed the duchy, invaded it with a large army, but was defeated by Henry at the battle of Brenneville; and another peace, with renewed homage, was the consequence. 1113. 1116. 1118. 1119.

The king then engaged in hostilities with the Emperor Henry V., leading to no results; and, according to the custom of his ancestors, with a view to secure the allegiance of his nobles to his son Philip, he associated him in his kingdom; but that prince, being killed by a fall from his horse at the age of fifteen, was succeeded by his brother Louis, who 1124. 1129.

A.D.
1131.

was crowned at Rheims by Pope Innocent II. He afterwards married Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine, Guienne, and Poitou.

By the wise counsels of the Abbé Suger, and of the brothers Garlande, Louis succeeded in his object of extending the royal dominion and authority.
1137. He died at Paris, in the sixtieth year of his age, having reigned twenty-nine years.

Louis had married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy, and by her had seven sons* and one daughter. The queen survived, and married Mathieu de Montmorenci, constable of France; she died in 1154.

The following memorable injunction was addressed by Louis, on his death-bed, to his son and successor, Louis VII. :—" My son, bear constantly in mind that the royal authority is but a public duty, for the right fulfilment of which you will, after death, be called to a strict account."

This fact indicates a considerable improvement in the character of the sovereigns of the Capetian race, and favourably contrasts with the debased moral standard of most of the predecessors of Louis VI. He acted with energy and decision; was brave

* Peter, the youngest of these sons, and great-grandson of Anne of Russia, married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Reginald, lord of Courtenai; and thus continued the succession of that noble house,—considered by Gibbon as one of the four most illustrious for descent in Europe—d'Este, Montmorenci, Courtenay, and Bourbon.

in battle, and prudent in council. Still, he did not escape the penalty of excommunication, which, notwithstanding his general attachment and devotion to the church, was inflicted on him, in 1127, by a council at Sens, in consequence of his resisting some exorbitant exactions by the bishops of that province; but, on his appeal to Pope Honorius II., the sentence was annulled, and the king absolved from blame.

He was the first king of France who was preceded in battle by the banner of the Oriflamme, borrowed from the shrine of St. Denis, on the invasion of France by the Emperor Henry V., and restored afterwards to the saint, with costly offerings. From this period it accompanied the royal standard whenever the sovereign in person took the field.

Louis, although invariably worsted, in peace as well as in war, by the superior policy of Henry I. of England, yet effected great improvements in his kingdom, by restraining the power of the barons; and for that purpose originating the ceremony of liege-homage, first adopted in the grant of investiture to Foulques, count of Anjou. He also improved the administration of justice, on the suggestions of his minister, the Abbé Suger, and the four brothers Garlande, by reviving the circuits of the Missi Dominici, or commissioners, also called *Juges des Exempts*, from whom an appeal

lay to the grand assize of the king, or the parliament, designated in the capitularies of Charlemagne as the Mallam Imperatoris. In this reign, moreover, towns and commercial municipalities, created by royal charter, acquired influence, in some degree promoted by the enfranchisement of the class of serfs,—producing changes in the habits and position of the commonalty calculated to check the encroachments of the nobility, and the oppression of their local courts.

LOUIS VII.
(le Jeune).

—
A.D.
1137.

Louis VII. acceded to the sole dominion of France on the 1st of August; and the succession in the line of Capet was so firmly established, that it was not deemed necessary to renew either consecration or coronation; and, for the same reason, Philip Augustus discontinued the practice of causing, in his lifetime, his son to be associated with him.

The nobles, who had been brought under subjection by Louis VI., now renewed their attacks on the royal authority; and the king, at the age of eighteen, had neither ability nor experience to resist their encroachments.

Tibalt, count of Champagne, the representative of a family ever at variance with the crown, irritated by an endeavour of the king to dispossess him of the county of Toulouse, with several other barons, withdrew from his allegiance, and supported Pope Innocent II. in his claim to elect an archbishop of

Bourges in opposition to a nomination by the king. A.D.

Louis was much displeased at this interference with the royal prerogative, viewing it as an act of ingratitude on the part of the pope, whom the king, at a council at Etampes, had caused to be acknowledged in preference to his rival, Anaclet II. The pope, unmindful of the obligation, put the kingdom under an interdict; for which Louis exercised signal vengeance upon Tibalt, by taking the town of Vitry, in Champagne, and giving it up to his troops for plunder and devastation. The inhabitants were indiscriminately massacred, and thirteen hundred of them having taken refuge in a church, it was surrounded and set fire to, and all perished in the flames. 1143.

This tragical event caused deep remorse and unhappiness to the king, who expressed his willingness to submit to whatever penance might be imposed upon him in expiation of his crime. St. Bernard persuaded him to join the second crusade to the Holy Land, which he undertook with zeal. He assumed the cross, after having assembled a national council at Bourges. He there re-instated the pope's nominee, Pierre de la Châtre, as archbishop; and set out on his expedition with an army of 80,000 men, accompanied by Queen Eleanor, leaving the Abbé Suger regent of the kingdom. The Emperor Conrad departed at the same time; and the 1145.
1147.

- A.D. troops of these two sovereigns would have been sufficient to subjugate the Levant, had not the perfidy of the Greeks, more to be dreaded than the arms of the barbarians, destroyed their armies. That of Louis was the most fortunate at the beginning; the king, on all occasions, evincing great intrepidity. He proceeded to Antioch, and thence to Jerusalem, where he was received by Baldwin III.; but, during the year that this war lasted, he was repeatedly defeated by the Saracens; his troops perished miserably; and the king with difficulty
1148. escaped being made prisoner by the Greeks, and returned to France. In the meantime, the Christians undertook the siege of Damascus, but failed in the attempt.

- The queen had, during the campaign in the East, given Louis cause for dissatisfaction; and he, immediately on his return, held a council at Beaugenci-sur-Saone, and obtained from it a sentence of divorce.
1152. He then committed the imprudence of restoring to her the provinces of Guienne and of Poitou; upon this, Eleanor was sought and obtained in marriage by the Count of Anjou, afterwards Henry II. of England, six weeks only after the divorce, and brought with her a rich dowry of provinces,—giving to the English a preponderating influence in France.

During a short truce, Louis restored to Henry the town of Vernon, which he had taken; and, at

the same time, compelled acknowledgment of vassalage from William, count of Auvergne; and deprived the Count of Châlons of his possessions, for refusing to submit to the same ceremony. A.D.
1168.
1170.

Louis again engaged in war with England, but it terminated soon afterwards by a peace concluded at St. Germain-en-Laye; notwithstanding which, he covertly supported the English princes in their revolt against their father, and made a voyage to England by way of a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. On his return, he caused his son Philip to be crowned at Rheims. He died in Paris, of paralysis, having reigned since the death of his father—forty-three years; and was buried in the church of the Abbey of Barbeau, near Fontainebleau, which he had founded. His tomb, erected by Alice de Champagne, his third wife, may still be seen. He had two daughters by Eleanor,—Mary and Alice,—who married two brothers, Henry, count of Champagne, and Thibaud, count of Chartres and Blois. The king afterwards married two other wives. By the second,—Constance, daughter of Alphonso VIII., king of Castile,—he had Margaret, married first to Henry le Fecue, surnamed Count Martel, son of Henry II., king of England,—and subsequently to Bela III., king of Hungary; and Alice, who died young. The third wife of Louis was Alice, sixth daughter of Thibaud the Great, count of Cham-

pagne, of Blois, and of Chartres, by whom he had Philip Augustus.

Robert, count of Dreux, who had returned to France from Jerusalem previous to the arrival of the king his brother, endeavoured to supplant him by attributing the failure of the crusade to his mismanagement, and occasioned some disturbances, which were repressed by the Abbé Suger with his usual promptitude and discretion. Too much praise can scarcely be awarded to this great minister for his administration of the affairs of the kingdom during the latter years of Louis VI., and the first fifteen years of the reign of Louis VII. Born of humble origin—so humble as to elude inquiry—he was educated in the monastery of St. Denis, of which he was a simple monk, and rose by talent to be the head of the establishment. Louis VI., who was educated in that seminary, became acquainted with Suger, appreciated his merit, and, on his accession to the throne, entrusted him with all his affairs. The same favour and confidence were extended to him by Louis VII., in whose service he remained until his death in 1152. St. Barnard, a zealous and uncompromising churchman, acknowledged Suger's talents, and could only reproach him with the too secular application of them. He maintained a princely state, and had a numerous train of retainers and official subordinates, receiving the cordial support of the four brothers of

the distinguished house of Garlande, who filled some of the highest offices of the state, cheerfully assisting in carrying out the judicious and liberal regulations of the prime-minister,—presenting a creditable instance of the deference paid to roturier talent by men of illustrious birth, at that period of its highest exaltation. The Garlandes were allied to all the first families of France, and, through the Dame de Gournai, were connected with the great houses of Yvery and Luvel, and with those of the Percevals and Egmonts in Ireland and England; the rank of Suger was derived solely from himself. It might be said of him, as by Tacitus of Curtius Rufus: *Mihi videtur ex senatus*. He was a scholar, and compiled the Chronicles of St. Denis, in which he introduced a life of Louis VI., included in the publication of French Chronicles by Duchene; was the author of some theological treatises; and obtained much credit for rebuilding the church of St. Denis, retaining the more ancient portion of it, erected by Pepin and Charlemagne. He was small of stature; and distinguished for the unaffected simplicity of his character, amid all the splendour of his establishment, and the power and patronage he possessed. He died in the seventieth year of his age,—having no parallel in French history but Sully; like him, enjoying the implicit confidence and friendship of his master, and, in a more difficult

position, retaining the same influence over a succeeding sovereign.

Suger, however, failed in dissuading Louis VII. from divorcing Eleanor, predicting the injurious consequence to France, should her large provinces fall to the sovereign of England and of Normandy.

The principal and most favourable indications of the reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII., and of the twelfth century generally, were the endowment of a number of schools in Paris and its neighbourhood, and also in the provinces. The monks greatly contributed to this work; and were themselves laudably employed in rescuing from destruction the precious remains of Grecian and Roman literature, by transcribing manuscripts, and compiling chronicles. In this—their patient and incessant labour, in a close, cold, and barely-furnished cell, their time computed only by the hour-glass—they occupied every moment not bestowed on their meals and their devotions, and unconsciously earned the gratitude of successive generations.

PHILIP II.
(Augustus).

A.D.
1180.

Philip II. had been associated by his father in the kingdom in 1179, and became sole sovereign, at the age of fifteen, on the death of Louis VII. No renewed coronation took place; and that at Rheims, in 1179, was memorable as the first in which the order of precedence, of the dukes and peers, and great officers of state, was arranged. Philip commenced his reign under the guardianship

of Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, his god-
father; and, much to the displeasure of his mother,
married Isabella, daughter of Baldwin, count of
Hainault. The kingdom was still distracted by
the spirit of revolt which animated the greater
barons, and had occasioned constant vigilance, on
the part of the father and grandfather of Philip,
to repress. The great lords of Beaujeu and Cha-
renton, and the Count of Chalons, had, with other
nobles, formed a league against the crown; and
only after many sanguinary engagements were con-
strained to acknowledge its supremacy. The king
next undertook the less praiseworthy, but lucrative,
task of expelling the Jews from France, confiscating
their possessions, and cancelling all debts owing to
them by Christians. With the resources thus ob-
tained, and the favour of the church, Philip declared
war against England, and commenced hostilities by
invading Normandy, and possessing himself of the
Vexin, and the towns of Issoudun, Tours, Mans,
and other places. At the same time, by entering
into alliance with Richard in his rebellion against
his father, Henry II. of England, Philip acquired the
county of Vermandois, and gained a footing in the
important provinces of Aquitaine and Guienne.

The war between France and England continued
with its usual vicissitudes,—Philip gaining the
Vexin, but losing ground elsewhere,—when, after
mutual concessions, he effected a peace with Henry

A.D.

1182.

1187.

1188, 9.

A D. II. ; and employed himself, to better purpose, in causing the streets of Paris to be, for the first time,
1187. paved—surrounding the city with walls—and building the fortress and dungeons of Vincennes.

On receiving intelligence of the loss of Jerusalem
1189. by the Christians, Philip determined on joining the third crusade with Richard of England, and assumed the cross. Having established peace by the submission of his vassals, extended his kingdom, and replenished his coffers by the plunder of the Jews, he placed the government under the charge of the Queen-Mother, jointly with her uncle, the Cardinal of Champagne, assembled a gallant army, and
1190. proceeded to meet Richard in Syria.

This expedition had various success. Philip took possession of Acre; and defeated 17,000 Saracens; when, jealous of the ascendancy gained by the romantic heroism of Richard, now king of England, he returned to France, and arrived at Fontaine-
1191. bleau at Christmas. In the following year, he obliged Baldwin VIII., count of Flanders, to yield to him the county of Artois, as the dowry of Queen Isabel; and enforced the submission of the counts of Boulogne, Guienne, and St. Paul. He also profited by the absence of Richard in Syria, and his subsequent captivity in Europe, to declare war against him; and acquired the Vexin, while he failed in an attempt against Rouen.

The war entailed much misery upon France;

and was terminated by a truce of five years with John of England.

Philip, immediately on the death of Isabella, married Ingerburge, daughter of Valdemar, king of Denmark, repudiating her the next day. The pretence for this divorce was the plea of consanguinity, for which there was no ground; although it received the sanction of his bishops, the parliament, and Pope Celestin III. The next pope, Innocent III., of sterner temper, excommunicated Philip, laid his kingdom under an interdict, ultimately removed only by the king restoring Ingerburge to her title, which she was permitted to enjoy in the seclusion of a castle.

On the death of Arthur, heir and grandson of Henry II., Philip summoned John to answer for the murder of the young prince. On his not appearing, he was convicted of that crime by a court of peers; his duchy confiscated to the crown, and possession taken of it accordingly; together with Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, and Bosin,—Guienne being the only province then left to the English in France.

The pope excommunicated John, and bestowed England upon Philip, who assembled 1,300 ships to invade it, and enforce his claim; but the whole armament was destroyed by the combined fleets of England and Flanders.

Philip farther extended his dominion by depriv-

- A.D. ing of their territories the Counts of Auvergne and of Boulogne. The year after, he carried his arms into Flanders, taking Ypres, Tournai, Canel, Douai, and Lille; and reached the summit of his ambition on the glorious day of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, when encountered by the Emperor Otho IV., the Count of Flanders, and their allies, with an army of 150,000 men. The king, having no more than 50,000 men, gave them battle, and gained the
1214. victory, on 27th July. Ferrand, count of Flanders, Renaud, count of Boulogne, and three other counts, were taken prisoners, with twenty-two standard-bearers. On the same day, his son Louis gained a battle in Poitou against the English. The king fought valiantly at Bouvines, having a horse killed under him; and, in memory of his success, founded the abbey of Notre Dame de la Victoire, near Senlis.*

The reign of Philip Augustus was one of marked advance in all the elements of sovereignty. The acquisition of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Auvergne, Poitou, Vermandois, Artois, Montargis, and other lordships, held by the

* The victory of Bouvines, like that of Tours, under Charles Martel, was one of the great battles decisive of the fate of France, if not of Europe. That of Tours preserved France from the dominion of the Moors; while the victory of Bouvines prevented the dismemberment of the kingdom. This measure had been determined on by Otho and his allies, of whom Ferrand was to have been king of Paris and the central provinces; and it was intended that the ancient kingdoms of Arles and Burgundy should be restored. The array of troops was gorgeous in the extreme,

English, together with the strict tenure of liege-homage required from the barons, and the crown no longer submitting to any form of vassalage, in respect of its own possessions, gained more respect for the royal authority than any sovereign since Charlemagne had enjoyed. Philip promoted the third crusade in 1089; and personally engaged, with Richard, in the fourth, of 1204, under the leadership of the Count of Montserrat; but made a precipitate retreat after the siege of Acre, leaving to Richard all the peril, as well as the glory and the damage, which that ill-fated enterprise entailed.

The result of the fourth crusade was, that the crusaders, chiefly barons of France, obtained Constantinople, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor. The Franks, or Latins, retained possession of the empire fifty-eight years, until driven out by the Greeks; and so ended the fourth crusade, having failed in its avowed object, of assisting the Greeks against the Saracens.

In 1206, the inquisition was established by Pope Innocent III., at whose instance, and under the in respect of armour, harness, and colours,—the emperor was drawn to the field of battle, seated under the imperial eagle, on a magnificent car, drawn by sixteen horses. The royal army was commanded by Henry Clement, the first, and then only, marshal of France. The Commons of Paris, and other municipalities, for the first time furnished their contingent, having charge of the sacred Oriflamme. They greatly distinguished themselves by plunging into the thickest of the fray, loudly calling on the barons and their men-at-arms to follow.

guidance of St. Dominic, a ferocious crusade was set on foot against the Albigenses, or Manicheans, as they were indifferently called, the subjects of Raymond, count of Toulouse, by whom they were protected, until the province was consigned, on the forfeiture of Raymond, to Simon of Montfort, who perpetrated the most atrocious massacres; his troops and priests chanting *Veni Creator* on occasion of each engagement. Beziers was taken by storm; and—as M. Chateaubriand writes—“There took place the most fearful massacre the world had ever known; they spared nor old, nor young, nor infants at the breast; those who could, both men and women, sought refuge in the great church of St. Nazaire; and the priests were commissioned to ring the bells when all the victims had been killed; but no bell was rung—no priest or clerk survived.”

Philip, meanwhile, experienced more difficulty in resisting the papal power, than in subduing his contumacious barons. He for the present set at nought the excommunication fulminated against him by Pope Celestin for repudiating Ingerburge, and marrying Agnes of Meranie; and matters proceeded no further during the pontificate of Celestin.

On the succession of Innocent III., the question was revived, and was the source of misery to two amiable and unoffending women, the most favourable patterns of female royalty that our annals have hitherto recorded.

Ingerburge of Denmark, the second affianced bride of Philip, immediately on her arrival in Paris, was introduced to the king, and the marriage ceremony was solemnised, when he was at once seized with such instantaneous repugnance towards his wife, that, on the spot, he expressed his intention of separating from her,—refusing to be left with her, except in the presence of the male and female nobles of the court, who attributed this extraordinary demonstration to sorcery, or the malign influence of some incantation,—nothing being observed to her prejudice, except a certain *gaucherie* of manner, arising from foreign and northern habits, and ignorance of any language but the Danish.

The next day the king caused intimation to be given to her of his intention to procure a sentence of divorce on a plea of consanguinity. To this end, he convened an ecclesiastical council, before whom it being alleged, but never proved, that the queen was connected with Anne of Russia, the great-great-great-grandmother of the king, a sentence of divorce was pronounced, and formally communicated to her, upon which she vehemently exclaimed, in scarcely intelligible words, “Mauvaise, Mauvaise France! Rome, Rome!”—implying, as was supposed, an appeal to the pope. She was, at the same time, apprised of the king’s wish, that she should return to her father; this she peremptorily refused, and was, in consequence,

removed from castle to castle under severe restraints, and privations so cruel, that frequently, for days together, either intentionally or from neglect, the food necessary for her sustenance was withheld. The divorce was annulled by the pope, and the queen was restored to her nominal dignity; but, as before observed, no ulterior step was taken until the accession of Innocent III., when, upon the final and fearful issue of an interdict upon the whole kingdom, and the cessation of every religious rite—the effect of which, on the population of that period, may more easily be conceived than described—Philip had no alternative but to dismiss Agnes; and the pope, having thus vindicated the authority of the Holy See, took no farther thought of either of the victims, but withdrew both interdict and excommunication, and left Queen Ingerburge to her fate,—a painful existence, relieved, and occasionally cheered, by the performance of every Christian duty of piety, charity, and resignation.

Philip, as soon as he had procured his divorce from Ingerburge, made application for a wife to most of the sovereign-houses of Germany,—with instructions to his ambassadors, that he would be content with any choice they might make for him, provided the princess was not *laide a faire peur*. After incurring several refusals, a selection was made, the reverse of what might have

been anticipated from such instructions, by his being affianced to Agnes, the daughter of a duke of Dalmatia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Istria, a young princess of surpassing beauty, who, on her arrival at court, was received with rapture by the king, and with admiration by the courtiers. They were married immediately; jousts and tournaments were enacted in her honour; and she bestowed the meeds of valour with singular grace and modesty.

She became passionately attached to the king; and, being an accomplished horse-woman, according to the custom of her native country, accompanied him in the chase, and in all his equestrian exercises.

Notwithstanding the remonstrance of Pope Celestin, the king persisted in asserting the legality of his marriage; and, in the intervals of war and state affairs, enjoyed the society of his lovely queen. The court, whether held at Fontainebleau, Vincennes, or Compiègne, presented one continued round of festivity. Troubadours and trouvères celebrated the beauty of the young queen; while the bravest knights broke lances in her honour. As Agnes became *enceinte*, the languor of her beautiful eyes heightened the impression they conveyed, and formed the theme of Helment, the most distinguished of the minstrel band. In vain did the bishops and priests contend for the invalidity of the marriage; the barons and knights unani-

mously acknowledged their belle suzeraine as *la fleur des Dames*; and enthusiastically challenged to single combat, as miscreants, all who doubted her beauty or her honour.

The fatal interdict, pronounced first in the great church of Dijon, with every funereal ceremony and solemnity, put an end to these transports; and Philip could obtain a revocation of the fearful sentence on no other terms than immediate separation from Agnes,—the pope, in consideration of her present condition, allowing her to be removed into Normandy, instead of going on a long and perilous journey to her father. The king had a last interview with her, before her departure, in an apartment of the palace, from whence were heard passionate sobs, vows, and even kisses.

She was conducted, under honourable escort, to a secluded castle in Normandy, where her grief and despair knew no bounds. She was often seen, late in the evening, wandering alone through the forests, with uncertain gait, and actions indicating a disturbed, if not disordered, condition of mind. The peasants related her frequent appearance, at unusual hours, on the terraces and ramparts, with hurried steps, dishevelled hair, and neglected garments, rendering it difficult to distinguish her from the unearthly visitors traditionally recognised as haunting the domain.

This deplorable state continued not long; the

unhappy Agnes, at the end of two months, died in giving birth to a boy, named Tristan at his baptism, in commemoration of the sorrowful incidents of his birth. A.D.

The king was deeply afflicted; and, to alleviate his grief, solicited the pope to legitimatise the children of Agnes, his request was granted in the following terms:—

“Our dear son, Philip, having only one son and one daughter, has since had children by a noble lady, named Agnes, now deceased, daughter of the Duke of Meranie, and has requested us to legitimatise them: Wherefore we, with the advice of our cardinals, and considering that the king believed, until we decided to the contrary, that the said Agnes was his lawful spouse, for satisfaction, on this head, of the father, and for the good of the kingdom of France, hereby render legitimate the issue of the said Philip, by the said Agnes.”

Philip Augustus is the earliest of the sovereigns of France, with the exception of Charlemagne, who has engaged the attention of modern writers, or excited much interest with the public. In France, M. Capefigue published four volumes of a romantic history of Philip and his times; and, in England, Mr. James devoted to the same subject three volumes of an historical romance.

Philip Augustus died at Mantes-sur-Seine, 14th July 1223, in his fifty-ninth year,—having reigned 1223.

upwards of forty-two years. By his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, he had Louis VIII., his successor; and had no issue by his second wife, Ingerburge. By his third, Agnes de Meranie, he had Philip, count of Boulogne; Mary, who married the Count of Namur, and, on his death, Henry, duke of Brabant; and Tristan, whose mother died in giving him birth.

LOUIS VIII.

A.D.
1223.

Louis VIII. was the first king of France who had not been called to the throne in the lifetime of his father; on whose death he was crowned, at thirty-six years of age, at Rheims, by the archbishop. He had married Blanche, daughter of Alphonso IX., king of Castile; and distinguished himself as a warrior in Flanders, and again in the south of France, where he gained a victory over the English, at Poitou, on the same day that his father obtained that of Bouvines. He was diverted from these wars by the ecclesiastics, who had gained his confidence, and induced him to renew the crusade against the Albigenses, and to carry on that course of persecution and extirpation which had already formed the worst feature of his father's reign.

Philip Augustus, on hearing of his son's proceedings in this career, foresaw the consequences, saying, "My son will, at my death, renew this crusade against the Albigenses; his health will be ruined in the expedition; he will die, and the king-

dom will come under the rule of a woman and a child."

In the meantime, John of England had so displeased his barons by his mean submission to the See of Rome, that he was formally deposed, and his crown offered to Philip Augustus, who, apprehensive of another collision with Rome, transferred the offer to his son, who landed a considerable army near Lewes, was joined by the barons, and proceeded uninterruptedly to London, where he was solemnly crowned. The barons found reason to repent of their precipitancy; and many of them had already made their peace with John, when he opportunely died. His son, Henry III., ten years of age, was unanimously acknowledged king, under the guardianship of the Earl of Pembroke; and Louis, after a futile demonstration of an intention to retain his dominion, was defeated at Lincoln, and made a hasty retreat to France, in 1216, when a truce was concluded between the two countries, which lasted until the death of Philip.

On the accession of Louis, he summoned Henry to attend his coronation, as vassal for the provinces he still held in France. Henry not only refused to attend, but required the restoration of Normandy. Upon this, Louis expressed his determination to expel the English from France; formally renewed, in the court of peers, the record of the

A.D. forfeiture of Normandy, and of the other provinces still held by the English; and proceeded, at the head of a numerous army, to the south, taking the towns of Niort and St. Angely, and all the lands on this side of the Garonne, besides the Limousin, Perigord, Aunis, and la Rochelle, leaving to the English only Gascony and Bordeaux, which must have fallen into his hands, had he not, in confirmation of his father's prediction, engaged, at the instance of Pope Honorius III., in a second crusade against the Albigenses, having two additional inducements,—the grant, by the pope, of an extraordinary tax on church property, and the cession, by the youthful Amauri, count of Montfort, of all the lands in Languedoc, which had been granted to his father, Simon, on the seizure of them from Raymond of Toulouse. Amauri, in return, was created constable of France on the death of Mathieu de Montmorenci.

1225. Louis VIII. commenced the war by the siege of Avignon, then an independent city, strongly attached to the ancient family of the Raymonds, counts of Toulouse; he took it at the end of three months, and thus opened his way into Languedoc, as far as Toulouse, when the season was too far advanced to allow of his laying siege to it. He was taken ill there, and died at Montpensier, in Auvergne, supposed to have been poisoned by Thibault, count of Champagne, who had accompanied Louis in his

campaign, and, having requested leave of absence, withdrew suddenly without obtaining it. A.D.
1226.

The king, conscious of his approaching death, declared, in the presence of the bishops and nobles in attendance, his will to be—that Louis, his eldest son, should be king; that Artois should go to his second son; Poitou to the third; and Anjou and Maine to the fourth; and that any other sons he might have should enter the church,—with a view to avoid injuring the crown by a multiplication of appanage-endowments. By a distinct instrument, he appointed his queen, Blanche, to be regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son.

Louis left a considerable legacy to 2,000 Lazar-houses in the kingdom,—the disease of leprosy having been brought into it, on their return from the East, by the first crusaders. The infected were called *Ladres*; the establishments for their reception were richly endowed by bequests and otherwise; and, as in the case of the Knights-Templars, the property of the hospitals became an object of rapacity to future sovereigns. Many individuals, in charge of the funds, were put to the question, burnt for imputed concealment, and the endowments confiscated to the crown.

This short reign is memorable for the persecution waged by Louis against the Albigenses, for bearing their testimony to the truth of the doctrine and of the principles of primitive Christianity. They pre-

ceded Wickliff and Huss in the same cause, and, for the same reason, incurred the inveterate hostility of the pope and of the inquisition. It has been alleged by some historians that Louis VIII. was a sincere but ignorant bigot, the dupe of his church and of its votaries; and he has been applauded by others, for his liberal bequest to the Lazar-houses, and for an edict, issued at the commencement of his reign, for ameliorating the condition of the serfs.

The Albigenses, who, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, resisted—on the field and at the stake—the continually increasing idolatry, superstition, and rapacity of the Romish church, are entitled to more than ordinary notice of their origin and sufferings.

They emanated from the sect of the Paulicians, or Publicans, as they were commonly called, chiefly settled in Thrace and Bulgaria, and driven thence, by the persecution of the Greek church, into the other countries of Europe. Their principal leaders were Peter de Bruys, and Arnold of Bresse, together with Henry, an Italian hermit, from whom they were occasionally called Henricians.

Their first religious assembly was held at Orleans, in the year 1017, in the reign of Robert; and the leaders of it were men of learning and piety, among whom was Stephen, the queen's confessor. At a council convened by Robert in that city, they were, as has been mentioned in our account of his reign,

convicted of heresy, and burnt,—Stephen, in his way to the stake, having had one of his eyes thrust out by the queen.

They afterwards spread into Lombardy, and settled in large numbers at Milan, being denominated Catarini, and Cathari, or rather Gazari, by which name they were better known to the Germans.

In France they were called Albigenses, from the town of Albyn—in Latin, Albigin—in Upper Languedoc; and, from their piety and the purity of their lives, obtained the designation of *boni homines*, or *les bons-hommes*. They had no bishops; and the name they gave to their presbyters was Anciani. They multiplied considerably, to the alarm of the papal hierarchy; and their errors were condemned, at a council held at Albyn in 1176. In the mean time, the counts of Toulouse and Foix, and many of the neighbouring barons, with Peter, king of Arragon, had taken them under their protection; and frequent councils were held in France and Italy to condemn so pestilent a sect, by whom, as at Ephesus, the craft of the worshippers of the great goddess Diana might be endangered. All spiritual censures failing, the secular arm was invoked, and crusades instituted,—immense sums being raised upon ecclesiastical revenues, with the sanction of popes and bishops, to whom it became a vital question to

suppress the innovation. The kings of France, on most other points of policy at variance with the Holy See, endeavoured to atone for that variance by the vehemence of their zeal in persecuting their unhappy subjects.

Raymond, count of Toulouse, was deposed, and the splendid provinces, the hereditary possession of his family for ages, were transferred to Simon, count of Montfort, who led the crusade in 1210, devastating the country by fire and sword; and, at the great battle of Muret, on the Garonne, in 1225, slaying the King of Arragon, and nearly 100,000 of the Albigenses, who, with Raymond as their leader, made this last desperate effort for liberty of conscience. The Inquisition seized the remaining victims; and history presents no more fearful picture of indiscriminate cruelty, in all its forms, than marked the proceedings of the Dominicans, under the direct agency of Diego, a Spanish bishop.

The attachment of the inhabitants to the family of their old masters, rendered the province so troublesome a possession, that, after Simon's death, in battle, his youthful heir, Amauri, was induced to surrender the county to Louis, as we have before noticed.

The war ended with the death of Louis VIII., in 1229, and the extirpation of the greater part of the sect; the remainder wandered into the valleys of Piedmont, where they found the Vaudois, a

kindred sect, established under Peter de Valdo, and elsewhere designated *les Pauvres de Lyons*. Bossuet, in his celebrated book on the variations among the Reformed Churches, endeavours to establish a distinction between the Albigenses and the Vaudois; but whatever each might have been in its origin, they appear in the end to have merged into one body.

At a later date, the sect revived in Languedoc, and on a representation to Louis XIV. of the progress made in that province by the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin, he sent a body of dragoons against them, under the command of Baron Oppeida, who hunted down the victims—caused upwards of four thousand to be killed—and gave up their cattle and effects to pillage. The baron was employed in this act of butchery in the alleged absence of the governor of the province, M. Grignan, the son-in-law of Madame Sevigné; it may be hoped, therefore, that he declined the dishonourable service.

Louis IX., afterwards known as St. Louis, with a better title to canonisation than many on whom that distinction has been conferred, was twelve years of age when his father died. He was crowned at Rheims; and his mother, Blanche, was by his father's will constituted his guardian, and regent of the kingdom,—duties fulfilled by her with justice and discretion. The king's uncle, Philip, count of Boulogne, and some other nobles, de-

LOUIS IX.
(Saint).

—
A.D.
1226.

A.D. sirous of a share in the government, made several attempts to obtain the custody of the king; but their schemes were thwarted by Blanche, with the aid of the Count of Champagne, whom she had attached to her person and interests. The king married Margaret, the virtuous and amiable daughter of Raymond, count of Provence. Among
1234. other nobles who had endeavoured to throw off the restraints imposed on them during the preceding reigns, were Pierre Mauclerc de Dreux, duke of Brittany, and Hugh de Lusignan, count de la Marche; these were soon reduced to submission, the authority of the sovereign vindicated, and the peace of the realm restored. At this period considerable acquisitions were made by the crown, especially by an arrangement with Raymond VII., the young count of Toulouse, the last in male succession of the counts of that province, who had held it during four hundred years, since the fief was first granted in 849 by Charles the Bald. Raymond gave his only child, Jane, in marriage to Alfonso, brother of Louis IX., and Toulouse became an appanage of the crown of France, comprising what afterwards formed the province of Languedoc.

Raymond was absolved from the crime of supporting the Albigenses, by the penance of a procession to the cathedral in his shirt only, with bare feet, and publicly ratifying the establishment of

the Inquisition in Toulouse. The stakes blazed in every district of the province, and on one occasion eighty victims were burnt in the presence of eighteen bishops,—constituting, according to a monk's contemporary chronicle, a most acceptable holocaust to God.

The establishment of the Inquisition in France, and the first penal edict against heretics, occurred during the youth of Louis, and may be attributed to the influence of his mother; and though these events probably contributed to earn canonisation for the king, still they do not derogate from his better title to it.

The revolts of the barons were from time to time renewed, until their total defeat at Taillebourg, and at Saintes, when Saintonge was forfeited to the crown by the Count de la Marche, and when Mauclerc, having been condemned to death by his peers for treason, and his duchy confiscated to the crown, threw himself, with a halter round his neck, at the feet of the king, who addressed him as follows:—

“Infamous traitor! though thou hast deserved an ignominious death, yet, in consideration of the nobility of thy blood, thy county shall descend to thy son for his life only; after which, the kings of France shall become possessors of the soil.”

Soon after these achievements the king fell ill, and, his life being in imminent danger, he made a vow

that, should he recover, he would head an expedition to the Holy Land. His mother, and his whole council, including the bishops, earnestly remonstrated against this intention, being satisfied, from past experience, of the hopelessness of the undertaking. The king persisted, and, having made his levies and arrangements, embarked on 12th June on this fifth crusade, with his queen and three brothers, having appointed Blanche for a second time regent of the kingdom.

Louis exhibited in this campaign his characteristic courage: he laid siege to Damietta, and took it; but his army perished by famine and the plague. His brother Robert was killed in one of the many engagements with the enemy; and the king, with
1249. his two remaining brothers, was taken prisoner at Massoura by the Saracen commander, and had to pay, as ransom for his release, the sum of 800,000 bezants, about 100,000 silver marks, in addition to the restoration of Damietta. Louis then proceeded to Palestine, where he remained nearly four years; and, by his humane interference, twelve thousand Christians were restored to liberty. During his absence, some fanatics excited a crusade among the peasants, collected upwards of 80,000 men, who took the cross under the name of the Pastoureaux, and ravaged the country under the pretence of delivering it from Jews, usurers, and lepers. The queen-mother and regent having died during

the king's absence, he hastened his return to Paris, where he was met by Henry III. of England, and concluded a peace with him, by restoring a part of Guienne, and the whole of the Limousin, Perigord, Querci, and the Agenois, in return for the renunciation of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. Such was the opinion entertained in England of the equity and integrity of Louis, that, on the infraction by Henry III. of some of the provisions of Magna Charta, the barons, who had taken up arms against the king, consented to refer the matter to Louis, and to abide by his award, which proved to be in their favour.

A.D.
1252.

1253.

He had also important relations with the empire and the popes. Frederic II. had been deposed by Gregory XI., who offered the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, which Louis refused for him. After which, Urban IV., having laid the two Sicilies under interdict, and excommunicated Manfred their king, gave his crown to Charles, duke of Anjou, who accepted what the pope had no right to bestow, and marched into Italy with an army of adventurers. Naples was taken, and Conradin, its young and rightful sovereign, defeated, made prisoner, and decapitated.

1266.

1269.

Louis IX., although no bigot, and on many occasions repressing the encroachments of the church, particularly by devising the pragmatic sanction for maintaining the liberty of the Gallican section of

A.D. it, was strongly affected by the prevailing impulse to recover the Holy Land. He determined on a sixth crusade, and again resisting the objections of his queen and ministers, appointed a regency, and
1270. embarked from Aigues-Mortes on the 1st of July, made good his landing in Africa, and as his first, and as it proved only operation, laid siege to Tunis.

With no vice whatever, but with some elements of superstitious weakness in his character, St. Louis was a prince far in advance of the time, and of his contemporary sovereigns; he united with military talent, great energy in the conduct of civil government, and introduced many improvements in the administration of justice; he abolished the last vestiges of trial by duel and the ordeal, substituting the testimony of witnesses; and, for all the provinces under his immediate control, he caused, while in the East, a code of laws and customs to be compiled, called "Les Etablissements de St. Louis"; he also promoted the foundation of the university of Bourges, and that of Paris, by his confessor, Robert Sorbon; he likewise erected and endowed several hospitals for the sick, particularly that of the quinze vingts.

The character of St. Louis may be summed up in a few epithets, the illustration of which would occupy volumes. He was pious, wise, just, brave, humane, and humble; of a morality above suspicion, and exemplary in the relations of son, husband, fa-

ther, brother, and friend. Should this be held too high an estimate of St. Louis, we would refer to his contemporary biographer, Joinville, and to the unvarying tenor of history. Father Daniel, in the fewest words, comprises the same sentiment:—"St. Louis a été un des plus grands hommes, et des plus singuliers qu'il ait jamais été." An eloquent tribute to his merits has been paid by M. Hadot in the "*Plutarque Français*."

Louis was the last king of France who administered in person law and equity to his subjects under an elm in the wood of Vincennes, called the tree of justice, where he listened to and redressed the grievances of the widow and the fatherless, and the poor and needy, who had no other to help them. So also did Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel, under a palm-tree, to the children of Israel, who came up to her for judgment. (Judges iv. 5.)

He also established the police of Paris, with the assistance of Stephen Boileau, the provost; and extended the jurisdiction of the municipality, giving similar charters to the communes of the capitals and principal towns of the provinces, with judicious by-laws for their government. The *Maitres des Enquêtes* were first instituted by him, to the number of three,—in course of time extended to eighty. He also created the *Juges des Exempts*, nominally for crown questions only, or *les cas royaux*; but in the benefit of which the subject was permitted to par-

ticipate. In the same manner, he extended the power of the Baillis, or royal judges and commissioners, instituted by Philip Augustus, with a view to supersede the partial and corrupt conduct of the local or seignoral courts. He was assisted in reducing these reforms to the practical uniformity of a code, by availing himself of the form, and of many of the provisions, of the Institutes of Justinian, discovered at Amalfi in 1137.

As an instance of his genuine humility, it is recorded of him, that some individuals being brought before him for sentence on a charge of seditious acts and language, their ringleaders, in the coarsest terms, repeated the offence, and told him that he was fitter to wear a cowl than a crown. He acknowledged the charge, replying, with unaffected simplicity, that no one was more sensible than himself of the justice of their observations, and dismissed the culprits. We could extract from Joinville, and other chroniclers, many similar traits.

After wasting his strength, and that of his army, before Tunis, his forces were so reduced that they could offer no adequate resistance to the Moors; and the only precaution that Louis could devise, was to dig a deep entrenchment round the camp. This, while it kept the assailants at bay, was no protection from the burning and infectious atmosphere. He saw his bravest barons fall around him—the counts of Vendôme, de la

Marche, and de Viane; the sires of Piennes, Montmorenci, Nemours, Brissac, St. Briçon, and d'Apremont; and, last of all, his much-loved son John, called also Tristan, born at Damietta. This afflicting bereavement was concealed from him until within two days of his death, when it was divulged by his confessor. St. Louis had been confined to his couch for twenty-two days, his eyes intently fixed upon a cross, from the contemplation of which his attention could not be diverted. During the last two days, he desired to be placed upon ashes, and there, with his arms crossed over his breast, waited his dismissal with serenity, and received it while uttering the following words:—"Lord God, have mercy on my people here with me, and conduct them to their country. May they not fall into the hands of their enemies, or be constrained to deny thy holy name." He had previously taken affectionate leave of his son Philip, with cautions for his conduct as a sovereign and as a man; and then addressed the following words to his daughter: "Cher fille, la mesure par laquelle nous devons dieu amer, est amer le sanz mesure." Philip, with filial piety, bore his father's bones to France, and personally deposited them in the abbey of St. Denis.

St. Louis was canonised by Boniface VIII. in 1297.

Philip III. was with the army before Tunis PHILIP III.
(le Hardi). at the time of his father's death, on which he

A.D.
1270.

was proclaimed king, when his uncle, the king of Sicily, arrived, and did homage for the fiefs held by him from the crown of France. The siege was continued a short time, and ended in a convention, by which the king of Tunis submitted to a truce for ten years, and payment to France of the expenses of the war, estimated at 210,000 ounces of gold, with a release of prisoners on both sides. Thus ended the crusades, which had cost Europe two millions of lives, and a drain of cash to the value of two hundred millions of pounds sterling, exclusive of the sum paid for the ransom of St. Louis.

1271.

Philip then returned to France, his queen, Isabella of Arragon, dying, on the journey, in Calabria. The first attack on the feudal claim to exclusive nobility, took place in this reign, by the grant of a patent by the king for ennobling Raoul, his goldsmith. The crown at this time acquired a large accession of territory by the death of the Count of Poitiers, uncle of the king, without heirs. Philip thus gained Toulouse, Provence, and the Comtat Venaissin; he ceded the latter to the pope, with whose successors it remained until the Revolution.

The only quality inherited by Philip from his father was courage, which induced him to engage in wars, in the conduct of which he was as deficient in perseverance as in judgment. He had a contest on the subject of the succession to the throne

of Castille; but laid down his arms on an order to that effect from the pope. He took for a second wife Mary of Brabant; while his favourite, and prime-minister, was his barber, Pierre de la Brosse, who, although he had risen from the dregs of the people, availed himself of his position to acquire a complete ascendancy over the infirm mind of his master. Happily, however, in his over-anxiety to retain his influence, he over-reached himself by a calumny he originated, imputing to the queen the having poisoned Louis, the king's eldest son, who had died very suddenly, and, as La Brosse endeavoured to insinuate, was a victim to the wish of Queen Mary, to bring in her own offspring. Philip, with the weakness incident to his character, applied for a solution of his doubts to some Italian fortune-tellers. He also caused other inquiries to be instituted, which resulted in the entire acquittal of the queen, upon which La Brosse was convicted of treason, and hung.

A.D.

1274.

1279.

The principal event in Europe during the reign of Philip III., was the foundation of the Austrian empire by Rodolph of Hapsburg, who, at this period, having conquered the duchy of Austria, was elected emperor, but declined going to Rome to be crowned, adverting to the fate of the unhappy Suabian line, and of other emperors, who had adopted that course, and, by applying for the papal sanction, had made shipwreck of their fortune. The event proved the soundness of his judgment; and his descendants,

1280.

- A.D. after many changes and chances, still occupy the foremost rank among the sovereigns of Europe. At this period, also, occurred the memorable massacre of the French in Palermo, called the Sicilian Vespers. Charles of Anjou, the king of Sicily, had so exasperated the natives by the insolence and oppression of his soldiers, that, at the instigation of John de
1282. Procida, the people took the occasion of some insult offered by a Frenchman to a female going to the cathedral to evening service, to assassinate him, and at the same moment all the French fell victims to the fury of the populace; the massacre spread throughout the whole island, two Frenchmen alone escaping the general slaughter.

- Charles of Anjou, then in Tuscany, vowed vengeance against the perpetrators of this crime, and was preparing troops for the purpose, when he was anticipated by Peter of Arragon, who arrived at Messina with a considerable armament. Peter also claimed the throne, and it was agreed to settle the point by a combat between the rival candidates, with one hundred knights on each side. Don Pedro failed in his appointment; and no such engagement took place. The pope proclaimed a
1283. crusade against Peter, and gave Arragon to Philip, who took nothing by the grant.

- The eldest son of Philip married Jane, the heiress of Navarre; and thus, in due time, succeeded to both kingdoms of France and of Navarre.
- 1284.

The next year Philip III. died, on 5th October, A.D.
of a malignant fever at Perpignan, in the sixteenth 1285.
year of his reign, and forty-first of his age. By
his second wife he had issue,—Louis, Margaret
(married to Edward I. of England), and Blanche.

Philip IV., at the age of seventeen, succeeded to PHILIP IV.
his father, having previously acquired the kingdom of (le Bel).
Navarre by the death of his wife. He was crowned A.D.
at Rheims by the archbishop; and, soon after his 1285.
accession, became engaged in an animated contro-
versy with Pope Boniface VIII., whose coarse and
violent attacks Philip encountered with an equal
measure of unqualified abuse. In this dispute with
the papal see, the king had the advantage over his
predecessors, of the subject not being of a personal
nature, relating to divorce or consanguinity, but
involving public and national interests, which en-
abled the king to defy the ordinary instruments of
papal vengeance—excommunication, interdict, and
deposition. Boniface had obtained the pontificate
by imposing on the simplicity of Celestin V., his
predecessor, whom he prevailed upon to resign—
then imprisoned and deprived him of life. On his
own election, he declared himself to be the supreme
arbiter in all controversies between Christian sove-
reigns and their subjects, and issued the bull,
called “Clericus Laicus,” prohibiting all ecclesias-
tics from payment of any rate, subsidy, or tax, in
aid of the state. In consequence of this bull,

retaliatory measures were adopted by Philip, until William de Nogaret, the king's attorney-general, in a parliament convened for the purpose, including a small number of bishops who adhered to the king, accused the pope of being an impostor, of simony, and of heresy, and concluded by requiring that a council should be called for his trial and deprivation. Boniface became furious on receiving this intelligence—commanded the attendance of the king at Rome—and, on his non-attendance, declared him excommunicated and deposed,—offering his crown and kingdom to Albert of Austria, king of the Romans. Philip, strong in the support of his nobles and people, appealed to a future council and future pope. Nogaret undertook to publish this appeal in Rome; and on repairing thither, the pope, in apprehension of the assistance which Nogaret might receive from the noble family of the Colonna, whom the pope had grossly insulted by publishing a crusade against them, withdrew to Anagni, from the castle of which place he fulminated fresh bulls.

Nogaret, aided by the Colonna and their adherents, pursued the pope, forced the castle, found immense treasures, and held the pope prisoner there, when Nogaret and Colonna required him to issue an order for a council, and, on his refusal, overwhelmed him with reproaches, and it is said that Sciarra Colonna gave him a blow on the cheek, and would have

killed him on the spot, had he not been restrained A.D.
by Nogaret.

Boniface, by the help of the inhabitants, made his escape to Rome, where he was seized with a raging fever, of which he died, a victim to disappointed ambition, pride, and avarice. He was 1303.
succeeded by Benedict XI., who immediately issued an entire absolution in favour of Philip IV., in respect of all such ecclesiastical censures, *if any*, as had been justly incurred by him. Benedict was succeeded by Clement V., a devoted friend to France, and to its king. The seat of the Holy See was removed by the new pope to Avignon (1309); and thus terminated, to the advantage of France, this long contest with Rome.

Pending these struggles, two important measures, occasioned partly in consequence of them, had been adopted: an edict, in 1303, declaring that the great assize or parliament of the king, which had hitherto followed his person, should be held in future permanently in Paris; thus relieving the king and barons from administering laws they did not understand, and for which purpose they required the assistance of lawyers who yet had no deliberative voice, but gradually acquired it, together with the rank and station due to their new functions. 1305.

Another important constitutional act was the convocation, in 1302, of the States-General of France, in the composition of which, the *tiers etat* were

A.D. first acknowledged and summoned as an integral part of that supposed representative body. The commons and municipal members of the great towns and commercial guilds composed the *tiers etat*; and the avowed object of the proposed meeting was to assist the king in vindicating the rights of the crown and of the Gallican church against the pretensions of the pope. The three orders gave their separate decisions in favour of the prerogative of the crown; the nobles and commons being unanimous in their support of the king, while the clergy hesitated, endeavouring to palliate the conduct of the pope, and some of them requesting permission to resort to Rome for advice. The king and the nobles insisted on their not leaving the kingdom; and an edict, with heavy penalties, was issued against such ecclesiastics as should presume to leave France, or send supplies or aid to Rome; notwithstanding which, four archbishops, thirty bishops, and several abbés, went to Rome, choosing to disobey their sovereign, rather than incur the displeasure of their spiritual head.

Philip, soon after his accession, summoned Edward I. of England to perform fealty for his possessions in France. Edward refused to attend, and a war ensued, which was terminated by a truce, and the marriage of the sister of Philip with the King of England, and of his daughter Isabel

1296.

with the Prince of Wales,—Guienne and Aquitaine being granted to the prince as her dowry, on condition of the provinces being held in vassalage to the crown of France, and homage done for them. Philip was also engaged in the support of the claim of his brother, Charles the Lamé, of Valois, to the kingdom of Arragon, given to him by the pope. After an inconclusive campaign, a judicious compromise was effected by exchanging the precarious tenure of Arragon for the substantial occupation of the counties of Maine and Anjou. A.D.

War again broke out between France and England, in consequence of a quarrel between some Norman and English seamen at Bayonne, upon which Philip declared Guienne forfeited to the crown, and despatched Robert d'Artois, with an army, to take possession of it. 1297.

No sooner were these matters arranged, than Philip turned his arms against Flanders, laid siege to the city of Ghent, which surrendered to him; upon which Flanders was re-united to France, and Guy, the count, retained in custody. 1299.

Jaques de Chatillon, to whom Philip had confided the government of Flanders, was guilty of such gross oppression that the people again revolted, and a massacre of fifteen hundred Frenchmen took place, on the 24th of March, at Bruges. Similar acts of violence occurred in most of the towns of Flanders, upon which Philip deputed Robert of Artois and 1302.

- A.D. the Constable Raoul de Nesle, at the head of a considerable army, to punish the aggressors. Robert disregarded the advice of the constable, was defeated by the Flemings at Courtrai, where he was killed, together with 20,000 of the royal troops; and four thousand pairs of gilt spurs were found upon the field of battle. The king, indignant at this defeat, marched in person to revenge it. To enable him to raise a sufficient force, he levied extraordinary taxes—to the extent of one-fifth of the property of each individual—and at the same time issued a debased currency, which excited much discontent among his subjects. These efforts produced no corresponding effect, and he returned
1303. from his first expedition into Flanders, with no honour, but rather the disgrace of not having brought the enemy to action.

- He was more successful in his next campaign, at the head of an army of 60,000 men, gaining the
1304. battle of Mons en Puelle, in which he performed prodigies of valour; although the Flemings still returned to the encounter. “Shall we never,” exclaimed Philip, “see an end of these people! I believe it rains Flemings.” At length he consented to negotiate with their leaders. The eldest son of Guy was restored to his territory, doing homage for it to the crown,—the king retaining, towards the expenses of the war, Lille, Douai, Orchies, and Bethune. Count Guy was released

from his imprisonment, and died at the age of eighty. Peace was also concluded with England, by the restitution to Edward of Guienne and its dependencies. Thus, after enormous expenses and loss of life, matters were restored to nearly their former condition.

The financial operations of Philip had rendered him unpopular. His agents were two Italian adventurers, who resorted to every expedient for raising money, not only by an excess of ordinary taxation, but by the sale of patents of nobility, of grants of charters to municipalities, of monopolies to individuals, and by heavy fines on such of the clergy as had sided with the pope. The usual expedient of expelling the Jews, and confiscating their property, was resorted to; and, after being thus plundered, a farther amount was extorted for the privilege of returning to France, and for some mitigation of the laws in their favour. These exactions from the Jews did not altogether reconcile Philip's Christian subjects to the sacrifices they were called upon to make; they were exasperated, even to seditious demonstrations, more especially on account of the debasement of the coin,—not scrupling to apply to their royal oppressor the name of *le faux monnoyeur*.

The fraternity of the Knights-Templars, by their station, wealth, and extensive endowments, had incurred the jealousy, or rather rapacity, of the

- A.D. crown, the censure of the church, and the displeasure of the public. Crimes of the blackest die were imputed to them, and the abolition of the order, with forfeiture of its effects, was decreed
1310. at a council at Vienne, and again at a council held at Paris. Informations were received against
1312. them, and prosecutions instituted throughout France.

The Inquisition of Toulouse took the lead on the occasion, and the example was followed by the parliament of Paris, and the provincial courts. The proscriptions were universal, and death was the ordinary result to the Knights-Templars throughout the kingdom, preceded by torture, to extract discovery of crimes they had not committed, and of treasures they had not accumulated.

Convictions followed, of course, and the unhappy victims were sentenced to the stake, or to the aggravated suffering of being scorched to death by the *petit feu*, or slow fire.

1314. Jacques de Morlay, the grand-master ; Guy, the grand-prior of Normandy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne ; Hugh of Peralde, grand-visitor of France ; and the grand-prior of Aquitaine, were the last victims, and were put to death on 11th March. The grand-master, on being bound to the stake, solemnly summoned the pope in forty days, and the king in four months, to answer for these murders at the dread tribunal of their God. It so happened that

both pope and king died within the periods so assigned.

The character of Philip was in no wise equal to the exigencies of the important period in which he lived and reigned: it was one of social and national progress and transition, which he neither promoted nor originated. During this progress the dominion of the crown had been extended, and its authority increased; the parliaments were rendered stationary, and more efficient; and the national sense had been appealed to by a convocation of the states-general, including, for the first time, the *tiers etat*, although, in this first instance, convened only for a special purpose.

The foundation of the university of Orleans took place during this reign; and the city of Lyons was constituted an integral portion of the realm, it having been previously an independent city, under the protection of the emperor, governed by its own laws and magistrates.

Philip died on the 29th of November, at the age of forty-six, having reigned twenty-nine years.

Louis the Hutin (an old French word, meaning peevish, or perverse) succeeded his father, and had been crowned king of Navarre in 1307, as heir to his mother. He had married, in 1305, Margaret, the daughter of Robert, duke of Burgundy, by Agnes, the daughter of St. Louis. The conduct of Margaret became so notoriously licentious, that she

LOUIS X.
(le Hutin).

A.D.
1315.

A.D. 1315. was convicted of adultery, confined in the castle of Gaillard, and strangled with the shroud prepared for her burial. He then married Clemence of Hungary, who died in 1328. By her he had a daughter, Jane, who, on her father's death, became queen of Navarre, and was married to Philip, count of Evreux, grandson of Philip the Bold. Clemence had also a posthumous son, John, who lived but eight days, and has sometimes been included in the list of the kings of France. The two brothers of the king were equally unfortunate in their first marriages. Jane of Burgundy, the wife of Philip the Long, was accused of adultery, but the offence was condoned by her husband; and Blanche, the wife of Charles le Bel, was convicted of the same crime, but escaped punishment by pleading consanguinity, and submitting to a divorce.

The coronation of Louis X. was deferred for upwards of a year for want of funds, and was then
1316. celebrated with diminished splendour.

Although the king was twenty-three years of age when he ascended the throne, he allowed his uncle, Charles of Valois, to take the lead in the government, which he conducted with as little ability, but more energy, than his nephew might have displayed; and, to obviate the odium attached to excessive taxation and a debased coinage, he laid the blame on Enguerrand de Marigny, a Norman of noble birth, superintendent of the finances to Philip

le Bel, and continued in that post by Louis X. At an assembly of the nobles, Louis having asked his uncle how the taxes complained of had been applied, Marigny, without hesitation, replied to the question so put to him by the count: "You, sir, have had the larger portion, and the rest has been applied to the purposes of the state." Valois at once, in direct terms, gave him the lie, which was indignantly retorted by the minister, on which Charles put his hand to his sword, but was prevented drawing it. Valois took summary revenge; passed instant sentence of death on Marigny; and, with the concurrence of the assembly, ordered him to immediate execution. Marigny was hanged accordingly at Montfaucon, on a gibbet erected by his own orders. The feeble sovereign unsuccessfully solicited the pardon which he might have granted.

This cruel sacrifice to popular delusion, and a large contribution levied on the Jews* for the privilege of twelve years' residence in France, with permission to purchase roturier land, appeased the populace, and relieved the necessities of the court;

* By a strange construction of the feudal law, the goods and property of any Jew becoming a Christian, were forfeited to the lord of the manor, or district, in which the Jew resided, on pretence that the liberty thus acquired by the Jew, deprived the lord of his absolute property in the person of his human chattel. This was, of course, an obstacle to conversion, and favoured relapses. The custom was abrogated by a declaration of Charles V. (the Wise) in 1381.

but had no effect in quieting the perturbed conscience of Charles de Valois. He sunk into a morbid state of mind and body in the course of the same year—caused the parliament to rehabilitate the memory and name of Enguerrand—and on his death-bed ordered a considerable sum to be distributed in alms, accompanied by this injunction to each pauper:—"Priez Dieu pour Monseigneur Enguerrand de Marigny, et pour Monseigneur Charles de Valois." We should feel more sympathy with the fate of Marigny, had he not persecuted the Knights-Templars, and sanctioned the cruelties inflicted on them.

Peter de Latilli, bishop of Chalons, had been accused, at a council held at Senlis, of being an accomplice with Enguerrand in his alleged malversations; but was acquitted at a subsequent council held at the same place.

As a farther expedient for replenishing the exchequer, the king issued an order compelling the numerous serfs attached to the royal domains to purchase their enfranchisement at the price of the value of the moveables which by law they were allowed to possess; at the same time, an ordinance was promulgated, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the seizure, for debt, of the persons of labourers and working men, or their cattle, and tools, or implements of labour.

After a reign of little more than eighteen months,

Louis X. died at Vincennes, of a short but painful illness, attributed to poison, leaving his queen, Clemence of Hungary, *enceinte*; and, at a meeting of the twelve peers of France, it was provided that, should the child prove a son, Philip, count of Poitiers, brother of the king, should be regent, and, if a daughter, he should be proclaimed king. This decision, though ultimately acquiesced in, was at the time contested by Charles of Valois, and Eudes, duke of Burgundy, who contended for the right to the throne of their niece, Jane, the daughter of Louis. This claim was referred to the parliament, or general assembly, who determined that the Salic law applied to every female, and to any descent from one; they therefore negatived the claim of Jane, at the same time declaring that, in so doing, they made no new law, but only confirmed the ancient course and custom of the monarchy from its commencement.

A.D.
1316.

The Flemings, throughout this reign, as had been the case in that of Philip IV., continued in a state of partial insurrection, encouraged always by their neighbours and commercial allies, the English. Louis was defeated in several encounters, and obliged to raise the siege of Courtrai; and was equally unsuccessful in all his endeavours to conciliate the Flemings, who, however, beneficially availed themselves of his poverty by paying liberally for charters of privilege and immunity granted

to their cities, and to the guilds of which they were composed.

The king, by a singular coincidence, was, during his reign, relieved from one source of annoyance, from which most of his predecessors had suffered. From the death of Clement V., on 10th April, 1314, to the election of John XXII., in 1316, a period of two years, three months, and seventeen days, the popedom was vacant. The cardinals not being able to agree, referred the choice to Cardinal de Porto, archbishop of Avignon, who elected himself, by the name of John XXII.; and, in his first bull, arrogated the right of collating to all benefices, by which he accumulated an enormous treasure, amounting, according to Villani, to eighteen millions in specie, and seven millions in value of ingots and precious stones.

PHILIP V.
(le Long).

A.D.

1316.

Philip V., count of Poitiers, on the death of his brother, Louis X., acted first as regent, and then succeeded to the throne, notwithstanding the opposition we have before referred to, of Charles of Valois and Eudes of Burgundy, the uncles of Jane, the daughter of the late king. This was the first recorded recognition of the validity of the Salic law, which had been, until then, regarded in the light of custom only, and Philip was declared king accordingly. He, with much judgment, took no offence at the opposition; but, on the contrary, conciliated his opponents by liberal grants of title and of lands to them and their adherents,—this being the first

reign in which letters patent were sealed for the confirmation or creation of ducal-peers and inferior dignitaries. A.D.

The wars in Flanders had not yet ceased, when 1320.
John XXII., who still retained a predilection for the French, laid an interdict on that province in consequence of its repeated insurrections. To obtain the withdrawal of the interdict, the Flemings were induced to put an end to sixteen years of protracted hostilities, by effecting an advantageous treaty of peace with France.

Philip had the merit of thus putting an end to a vexatious and expensive warfare, and thus obtained leisure for pursuing those plans of improvement in the laws and administration of justice he had long meditated. Among others, he expressed an intention to introduce an uniformity of weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and of restoring the coinage and currency of the realm to its just value and standard. In the latter object he partially succeeded; but was baffled, as several of his predecessors had been, in his attempt to effect an identity in the weights and measures, by prejudices which then prevailed, the influence of which continued to a much later period, by the tenacious adherence of the inhabitants of the provinces and towns to their local and ancient habits.

He renewed a treaty of peace with the Scotch, the ancient allies of France; and we might dismiss

Philip with unqualified approval, but for his hereditary antipathy to the Jews, whom he expelled from France, on the pretence of their murdering infants, and of their poisoning the rivers and fountains of the towns in which they dwelt. Their goods were seized, all debts due to them released, and they were driven with ignominy from those quarters of Paris in which they congregated—in streets still retaining their peculiar designations, most of them near the ancient palace, to the guardians of which they paid largely for the asylum they too often had occasion to claim within its precincts.

Philip V. afforded many indications of a desire to promote the best interests of his kingdom; and appears to have patronised the only literature of the court, by liberally entertaining the Provençal minstrels and poets who resorted to it; and by composing some verses in that language.

In the exercise of his primary duty as sovereign and legislator, he suggested several useful laws and regulations,—one, in particular, was that no prelate should have a seat in his judicial parliament; the reason for which is stated in the preamble to be, because “the king makes a conscience of there being any chasm in the performance of their spiritual functions.” Laws and regulations were further enacted,—that, in the administration of justice, no regard should be had for the attempted interference

with it by letters missive; and that, in cases of A.D.
confiscation to the crown, payment should, in the first instance, be made of all rent and special debts affecting the property seized; that all lands held by the crown should be inalienable; and that such lands as should belong to the king on his accession, or devolve to him afterwards, should merge in the domains of the crown; likewise, to prohibit masters in parliament, presidents, and others in office, from interrupting "les besognes de parlement;" together with useful provisions for the discipline and conduct of that body. Captains-general were at the same time established in the several cities and towns, on the nomination of the "prud'hommes" of the locality.

In the prime of life, and while apparently planning measures for the welfare of his people, Philip was seized with fever, under which he languished five months, and died in the twenty-ninth year of 1322.
his age, and sixth of his reign.

Charles IV., count de la Marche, was the third son of Philip IV., and, on the death of his brother, Philip V., succeeded to the crown without CHARLES IV.
(le Bel.)
—
A.D.
1322.
opposition; and, at his consecration at Rheims, assumed the title of king of Navarre in right of his mother. Edward II. of England having refused to attend the coronation, and his seneschal having garrisoned a castle in France, on the plea of its being held from the crown of England, Charles

IV. sent his uncle, Charles de Valois, against him, who took it, together with nearly the whole of Guienne; but which, with other lands, were restored to Edward III. on his succession to the throne. Charles IV. commenced his reign by instituting a searching investigation of the accounts of the Italian—or, as they were styled, the Lombard—finance ministers, whom he found in office. They were subjected to torture and imprisonment. The receiver-general, Leguette, died under the infliction, and several were hanged, making no discovery of the alleged misapplication of the revenue. He, with more justice, caused a brigand baron, named Jourdain de Lisle, to be hanged for various acts of murder and of robbery, but more immediately for killing an usher of the parliament on his serving him with a summons to appear before that tribunal.

In this reign the provinces were desolated by armed bands of peasants—during their first outbreak called *Catteraux*, and then denominated *Pastoureux*; but calling themselves the *Seigneurs*, or, as some said, the *Bastards of Gascony*. They professed the expulsion of Jews and sorcerers; and, in the exercise of these reforms, plundered in all directions, considering all individual property as belonging to one or other of those classes. They were gradually subdued and slaughtered, or expelled by the united efforts of the barons and the communities.

Charles IV., after refusing for a length of time to pay tenths to the pope, at length consented to do so, on condition of the crown receiving an equal share of them.

A.D.
1326.

He died at Vincennes on the 1st of February, in the thirty-third year of his age, having had one son and three daughters, who all died young, and a fourth daughter, Blanche, who married Philip, duke of Orleans, son of Philip of Valois.

1328.

He was thrice married, first to Blanche of Burgundy, daughter of the Emperor Otho IV.,—repudiated for her licentious conduct, confined in the castle of Guillard, with her equally immoral sister-in-law, Margaret of Burgundy, and afterwards transferred to the convent of Maubuisson. His second wife was Mary of Luxemburg, daughter of the Emperor Henry VII.; and his third, Jane, daughter of Louis, count of Evreux, who is said, from motives of piety, to have often visited the Carthusians, and to have prepared their scanty meals.

Charles IV. was tempted by Pope John XXII. to accept the imperial crown on the excommunication and papal deposition of Louis of Bavaria; and the king accordingly took measures for procuring, by way of preparatory step, his own election as king of the Romans. His German friends failed him on the occasion, and he retired from the competition with some discredit, and much mortification.

He was the last of three brothers, sons of Philip

le Bel, who all had children, but no surviving male issue, and died within a short space of time in the prime of life. Some historians, prone to inquire too curiously into the secret dispensations of Providence, would interpret this unexpected termination of the lineal descent, from father to son, of thirteen kings of the line of Capet, to a visitation for the death of Enguerrand de Marigny.

The barony of Bourbon was erected by Charles IV. into a duchy-peerage by letters patent, in which the king thus specifies the inducement to the promotion: "I hope that the descendants of the new duke (Louis, grandson of St. Louis), will contribute by their valour to the dignity and maintenance of the crown,"—an anticipation verified, after eight generations, by the accession, in 1589, of Henry IV. to the throne.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOUSE OF CAPET—SOVEREIGNS OF THE BRANCH OF VALOIS.

1328—1498.

PHILIP VI., the son of Charles de Valois,* and nephew of Philip le Bel, succeeded to the throne as next male-heir, in the male-line, to Charles le Bel, at whose death, the queen being pregnant, Philip was appointed regent, until she should be delivered; and the child proving to be a daughter, baptised by the name of Blanche, Philip was declared king by the twelve peers and the barons, notwithstanding the protest of Edward III. of England, who claimed, as son of Isabel of France, and grandson of Philip le Bel, and therefore nearer of kin than Philip, who was

* Charles of France, count of Valois, of Alençon, of Chartres, of Perche, of Anjou, and of Maine, peer of France, was the youngest son of Philip le Hardi, and thus the son of a king, brother of a king, uncle of three kings, and father of a king; and ancestor, in direct lineage, of Charles V., VI., VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII. In this affinity to royalty, he occupies much the same place in the genealogy of France, which our time-honoured John of Gaunt does in that of England. Charles de Valois was born 1270, and died in 1325.

A.D. only his nephew. The Salic law was held to prevail in favour of Philip, and he was acknowledged accordingly. He began his reign by restoring to his niece, Jane, the daughter of Louis X., the kingdom of Navarre, which had been withheld from her by her uncles, Philip V. and Charles IV., and now again remained severed from France until the reign of Henry IV. Robert of Artois was of material service to Philip, in establishing his succession to the throne.

The king was applied to by Count Louis of Flanders, for assistance against his rebellious subjects, and gained the battle of Cassel, where Philip performed great feats of valour, and compelled the insurgents to receive and acknowledge their count.

Edward III., after having been repeatedly summoned to attend and do homage in person for Guienne, at length reluctantly made his appearance in the cathedral of Amiens, where Philip, magnificently attired, was seated on a throne, attended by three kings—Navarre, Bohemia, and Majorca—and a large assembly of peers, barons, and courtiers. Edward long hesitated in pronouncing on his knees the form of vassalage; it was, however, completed, and he received a kiss on his cheek from his suzerain. He then withdrew, meditating a great revenge.

1331.

The ecclesiastical tribunals at this time arrogated

a controlling interference with the civil courts, and their pretensions were rather favoured by the king. A.D.
 The advocate-general, however, Peter de Cugnieres, made an appeal, on behalf of the secular courts, to the parliament of Paris, which was strenuously resisted by the bishops; but an edict was obtained, restraining the encroachments in question, and giving a right of appeal, "*comme d'abus*," against the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts in all civil suits.

Robert of Artois, who had done good service to the king on his accession, took refuge in England, 1341.
 under sentence of banishment, and confiscation of all his property, for forging titles and documents in support of his claim to Artois, against Matilda, the rightful countess. She and her daughter Jane, the widow of Philip le Long, died suddenly, pending the dispute, not without suspicion of poison. Before leaving France, Robert attempted to assassinate the king, queen, and their eldest son; and, being disappointed in the attempt, he resorted to the mode then often practised, called "*envouter*," of making small images in wax of the obnoxious individuals, and piercing their hearts, or otherwise gradually consuming them. He instigated Edward III. to pursue his claim to the crown of France, and proved a formidable enemy to his country.

A war now commenced between France and England, which, at intervals, lasted upwards of

A.D. one hundred years. The Flemings, under their leader, James van Artevelde, the brewer of Ghent, prevailed on Edward to assume the title of king of France, as a means of neutralising the oath they had taken to Philip, not to bear arms against the king of France. Edward was also assisted by the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, and by several of the discontented nobles.

Philip entered Flanders, and John, duke of Normandy, his son, took Thun l'Eveque, upon the Scheldt; but these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the signal naval victory obtained at Sluys, or l'Ecluse, by the English, when 120 large vessels of the French, with 40,000 men on board, were defeated, and all the ships taken or destroyed, with great slaughter of the troops.

Edward now entered France, and laid siege to Tournay, when Jane of Valois, widow of the Count of Hainault, and related to both the sovereigns, interposed her good offices, and succeeded in obtaining their consent to a truce for one year, which Edward the more readily agreed to, as he was desirous of being able to proceed in his warfare against the Scotch.

An interesting and romantic episode now took place, on occasion of the conflicting claims to the duchy of Brittany, on the death of John the Good, whose niece, Jane the Lane, of Penthievre, wife of the Count de Blois, had the better title, in which

she was supported by Philip; while Edward took part with the Count of Montfort, the half-brother of John. The province was desolated by this civil war, carried on not only by armed bands, but also by set combats between the chiefs, in parties of two, thirty, and one hundred, or more, warriors, on each side, and no quarter given on either. But the palm of glory must be awarded to two heroines, the principals in this war,—Jane the lame, the rightful duchess, and Jane the Fleming, or Princess of Flanders, the wife of de Montfort. The former exhibited great courage and a noble bearing in much adversity; while the latter, under equal trials, was eminently distinguished by her warlike achievements in the command of the garrison of Hennebon, which town she preserved for her husband during many weeks of siege, in the course of which she headed several sorties. At length she was relieved by Robert of Artois, who was killed during the siege; and it was ultimately raised by the arrival in person of Edward III. The Countess of Blois in the end obtained undisturbed possession, in consequence of the death of her uncle, the Count of Montfort.

Philip, in order to defray the expense of these wars, had recourse to his Italian financiers to devise new taxes, and to increase some old ones. Among the latter, an additional duty was laid on salt, with very severe penalties for any evasion of

A.D. it. This tax, on so necessary an article of food and health, was particularly obnoxious, and ultimately was one of the great unredressed grievances which led to the destruction of the monarchy.

The ill success of his wars, and the weight of taxation, rendered Philip very unpopular with his subjects. He endeavoured to throw the blame on his Italian ministers, who were accused of corrupt practices; and Peter Remi, *general* of finance, with several of his subordinate officers, were found guilty, and put to death, and all their property confiscated,—and it was said that the effects of Peter Remi amounted to twelve hundred thousand francs.

A considerable addition to the crown domains took place about this time, by the grant, by Humbert II., the last prince of the house of Tour du Pin, of Dauphiné, the county of the Viennois, and Montpellier, to Philip, on condition that the eldest son of the king should always bear the title of Dauphin.

The suspension of arms between France and England having expired, hostilities recommenced, in the course of which gunpowder and cannon first came into use. Great ravages were committed by the English and their allies. Philip, with a powerful army, marched against them; they met in the field of Cressy, where a signal victory was
1346. obtained on the 26th of August, 1346, by Edward and the Black Prince, his son. Philip was severely

wounded, his brother, the duke of Alençon, slain, with upwards of thirty thousand men, including twelve hundred princes, barons, and knights, among whom were the counts of Blois and Flanders, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the old blind king of Bohemia, and John, the duke of Luxemburg. Edward followed up his victory by taking Calais, after a siege of eleven months; the French inhabitants of which were expelled, and replaced by English, and possession retained until 1558. A.D. 1347.

The court of Philip, notwithstanding his wars and reverses, was at intervals distinguished by the magnificence of the entertainments, and the splendour of the costume. On the marriage of his second son, Philip, to Blanche of Castile, tournaments were held, to which all the princes and barons of the realm, and many from abroad, were invited,—among others, the nobles of Brittany, with Oliver de Clisson, the father of the celebrated constable of France, at their head, were present, when Philip, having cause to believe that they were engaged, with Edward, in the support of Count Montfort, caused Clisson and eleven others to be arrested, and, without any form of trial, to be decapitated and quartered, and their heads and quarters sent into Brittany, to be exposed on the gates of the principal cities of the province.

The incessant war, and consequent devastation

A.D.
1348.

of the country, and neglect of culture, produced famine, followed by pestilence, which spread throughout the kingdom amid all ranks. Jane of Burgundy, the good and pious queen of Philip, died in consequence of her visits to the poor and sick; and her daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Normandy, died soon after, when Philip, intending that the duke should marry Blanche of Navarre, then only seventeen years of age, was so struck with her exquisite form and beauty, that he married her himself, although then fifty-six years of age, and gave to his son John, Jane, the daughter of the Count of Boulogne; and to his grandson, Charles, Jane of Bourbon.

The disordered state of society engendered a numerous horde of enthusiasts of all descriptions, who, starting on their wild mission as fanatics, were first called Flagellants, and ended as bandits and robbers, whom the law was happily sufficiently powerful to suppress and dissipate; but not without much loss of life.

Philip died in the year of his marriage, leaving his widow pregnant. On his bed of pain and death, he charged both his sons never to yield to the kings of England. He was brave, but cruel, and altogether uneducated, of which he was very sensible, and did his best to supply that defect in his sons, by giving them good tutors, and every facility for instruction: these good intentions were not attended

with any corresponding success. Besides his two sons, John and Philip, he left two daughters, Mary, wife of John of Brabant, duke of Limburg; and Blanche, by his second wife.

The state of France, during this reign, is thus described by Mezeray:—"The misfortunes of the nation had no corrective effect; pomps, games, and tournaments were the only objects of attention in it. The people danced, it may be said, on the bodies of their relations—they appeared to rejoice in the conflagration of their chateaux and houses, and in the death of their friends. While the peasantry were butchered, the inhabitants of the towns were at the height of their merriment. The sound of the violin was not disturbed by the blowing of the trumpet; and at the same moment might be heard the mirth of the song and the dance, with the piteous shrieks of such as were consumed at the stake, or fell under the axe of the executioner.

John, who succeeded his father, was as deficient in judgment, and more unfortunate in action. The first act of his reign augured ill for his future conduct. Without any form of trial, or pretence of justice, other than the ready imputation of conspiring with the English, he caused Raoul, the last count d'Eu, the great constable of France, next in station to the king, to be beheaded, in order to bestow the office on Charles de la Cerda of Spain, the king's favourite, who had occupied an inferior

JOHN.
—
A.D.
1350.

A.D. station in the household. La Cerda did not long
1353. enjoy his high office, being assassinated by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, whose father, Philip, count of Evreux, had married Jane, the daughter of Louis X., the heiress of that kingdom.

On the death of her two uncles, Philip and Charles, Jane was acknowledged as queen of Navarre; and, on her death, her son Charles, count of Evreux, succeeded to the throne, and was crowned at Pampeluna. His near alliance to the royal family gave him a pretence for interfering in public affairs, which his great abilities, and greater crimes, converted into a source of perpetual mischief to the state. Poison and the poignard were his ready instruments for the removal of his opponents; he avowed and gloried in his success on such occasions; and, by his extraordinary eloquence, succeeded in eluding, if he could not palliate, those crimes which so justly earned for him the designation of the Bad. He had failed in an attempt to poison the dauphin; and was known to be in treasonable correspondence with Edward III. of England. John, apprehensive of bringing so great a criminal to justice, waited an opportunity, which soon presented itself.

The title of duke of Normandy having been bestowed by John on the dauphin, the king of Navarre was invited to the ceremony of investiture at Rouen. After this had taken place, and during

the banquet held at the palace, John personally arrested the king of Navarre, handed him over immediately to safe custody, and caused the count of Harcourt, and three other noblemen of Normandy, in supposed league with Charles the Bad, to be arrested; had them next morning bound and placed in a cart, which the king himself closely accompanied, and as soon as they were without the walls of Rouen, the four were decapitated in his presence. He then returned to join in the festivities of the court, the king of Navarre still remaining in prison. A.D.

Philip, the brother of Navarre, and the relations and adherents of the count of Harcourt, and of the others who had been beheaded, applied to Edward III. for redress, who, happy in the opportunity of renewing his claims on France, undertook their cause. War was declared against John by Edward, who dispatched the Black Prince into France, and commenced the campaign by ravaging Auvergne, the Limousin, and Berri. 1356.

He was pursuing his destructive career towards Anjou and Poitou, when he was met by King John, about two leagues from Poitiers. The French army was upwards of 60,000 strong, while that of the Black Prince did not exceed 12,000: these were well entrenched among the vineyards; but still so doubtful was their position, that the Black Prince offered to restore all the territory he had gained, to

release his prisoners, and to agree to a seven years' truce, were he permitted to retire. John was so confident in his numbers that he refused to treat, and attacked the English with great impetuosity, but was not supported by the dauphin, who, with two of his brothers, and the division of the army under their command, were panic-stricken, and made a precipitate retreat from the field of battle.

The king fought well, and was bravely seconded by his youngest son, Philip, who, in a situation of great peril, saved his father's life while fighting side by side with him. Their efforts, however, proved unavailing; the victory on the side of the English was complete; the king was taken prisoner, the next day removed to Bordeaux, and from thence conveyed to London.

This captivity of their sovereign was the signal for commotions throughout the realm, and for seditious movements in Paris. To meet this complication of disasters, the dauphin, who had not distinguished himself by his valour at the battle of Poitiers, assumed the government, and convened the states-general, being the second in date from those held in 1302, under Philip le Bel. The states, at their first meeting, determined that no act should be valid which had not the concurrence of the three estates,—the church, the nobles, and the commonalty. They granted various taxes, and greatly increased the *gabelle*, or duty on salt; but these

concessions were dearly purchased, on the part of the crown, by the abolition of several high offices, and the revision and reduction of the public expenditure. The states, moreover, demanded the appointment of the collectors of the revenue, and the liberation of the king of Navarre; but this last requisition was peremptorily rejected by the dauphin. A.D.

The dauphin, in addition, endeavoured to improve his resources by tampering with the currency, and issuing one of a reduced value; but this was strongly remonstrated against by the Parisians, under the influence of Marcel, the provost of the city, who insisted on a restoration of the ancient standard.

The king of Navarre at this juncture made his escape from prison, meditating an attempt on the throne, and encouraged the malcontents of Paris, who were daily harangued in turn by the dauphin, the king of Navarre, and Marcel. Each was listened to in succession, but still with Marcel the deciding influence remained. The anarchy which thus prevailed in the city, spread into the provinces. The peasantry had ceased to fear or respect the nobility, who had so long oppressed them, and were now despised for their cowardice at the battle of Poitiers. The epithet of "Jacques Bons Hommes" was applied to them; and the great insurrectionary movement, called "La Jacquerie," was so denominated 1357.

1358.

A.D. in consequence. The dauphin on this quitted Paris, from whence Charles the Bad was also afterwards driven, after having been the cause of several *emeutes* and massacres. The dauphin, with such troops as he could collect, laid siege to the city. Marcel, who had caused Robert of Clermont, marshal of Normandy, and John of Conflans, marshal of Champagne, to be assassinated, was desirous of surrendering Paris to the English, in the apprehension that he might be called to a severe account by the dauphin for the crimes and excesses he had prompted and committed ; but at the moment that Marcel was hastening to the Barriere of St. Antoine, with a view to execute his purpose, Pepin of Essarts, and Maillard, provost of the merchants, killed him, and prevailed on the populace to admit the dauphin
1359. into Paris, against whom war had been declared by Charles the Bad. The English having proposed terms of peace to the dauphin of a humiliating nature, they were declined by him after consulting the states-general at a second session held for the purpose.

Edward III., taking advantage of the confusion which still prevailed, advanced up to the walls of Paris, from whence he retired upon Chartres, when negociations were resumed, which ended in the treaty of Bretigny, according to which John was
1360. set at liberty, after four years of imprisonment, paying a ransom of three millions of crowns of

gold, and leaving his three sons and the Duke of Orleans as his hostages in England. At this time a full moiety of the kingdom was held by the king of England, but one of the stipulations of the treaty was that Edward should acknowledge fealty to France. A.D.

By the death of the last duke of Burgundy, to whom John was the next heir, that noble duchy became annexed to the crown of France, and was regranted by the king to his favourite son, Philip. About the same time, the counties of Champagne and Toulouse, and somewhat later, the duchy of Normandy, were annexed to the crown. 1361.

To the state of disorganisation and anarchy to which France was at this time reduced, was added the farther scourge of large bands of men-at-arms, or rather robbers, of all nations, who traversed the country, bearing the names of Les Grandes Compagnies, Malandins, Tard-Venus, de Routiers, &c. 1363.

The king, in consequence of his son, the duke of Anjou, having made his escape from England, returned to London, and surrendered himself as prisoner, acting on the generous principle insisted on by him, that, should faith and truth be banished from all the rest of the world, they should still be found in the mouth of kings. He died in his captivity at the Savoy palace, where he had from the first been royally entertained by Edward and his gallant son. He was in his forty-fourth year when 1364.

he died; and his body was removed for interment at St. Denis.

His first wife was Bonne of Luxembourg, daughter of John, king of Bohemia. She dying in 1249, he married Jane, daughter of William, the twelfth count of Boulogne, and of Margaret of Evreux, the mother of Philip de Rouvre, the last duke of Burgundy, in whose right John acquired that duchy.

He left nine children:—the Dauphin, afterwards Charles V.; Louis, duke of Anjou; John, duke of Berri; Philip, duke of Burgundy; Jane, the wife of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre; Mary, married to Robert, duke de Bar; Agnes; Margaret; and Isabella, married to John Galeazzo, first duke of Milan, to whom it is said her father sold her, at eleven years of age, for 600,000 florins, towards payment of his ransom.

The first establishment of the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris took place under the auspices of John, and was placed in a tower of the old Louvre in Paris, consisting, in the first instance, of 900 volumes only.

CHARLES V.
(le Sage).
—
A.D.
1364.

Charles V. (the Wise), the eldest son of John, and first dauphin of France, was born in the year 1337, and at the age of twenty-seven succeeded his father, and was crowned at Rheims on 15th May, with Jane, his wife, daughter of Peter, duke of Bourbon. He was also duke of Normandy; and, during his father's imprisonment in England, had acted as regent. On his accession, his inveterate

enemy, the king of Navarre, renewed his claim to the duchy of Burgundy, and also to Champagne and la Brie, and waged open war for their recovery. The king, whose precipitate retreat from the field of battle at Poitiers sufficiently indicated his disinclination to head his armies in person, as most of his predecessors had done, had the sagacity to appreciate the martial talents of the celebrated Du Guesclin, whom he appointed to the command of the royal armies. Du Guesclin attacked and defeated the king of Navarre at Cocherell, a village between Evreux and Vernon; and the Captal de Buch, who commanded the troops of Navarre, was taken prisoner. This was followed, in the next year, by a peace, by which Charles the Bad renounced Burgundy, Champagne, and la Brie, and retained in France only his patrimonial county of Evreux, and Montpellier. A.D. 1365.

At the same time, the civil war in Brittany, between the Count of Blois and the young Count of Montfort, still continued. Charles espoused the cause of the former; and peace was concluded between them at Landes de Beaumanoir. The terms of which being infringed by the Count of Blois, hostilities recommenced, and the battle of Auray took place, in which he was killed, and Du Guesclin taken prisoner by Chandos, the distinguished English captain, which put an end to the war for the present.

A.D.

Du Guesclin, having been released from his imprisonment, undertook to clear France from the Grandes Compagnies, by engaging them to follow him into Spain, to assist him in expelling Peter the Cruel, king of Castille, and to place his illegitimate brother, Henry of Transtamare, on the throne. In this object they succeeded for a time, until the Black Prince came to the succour of Peter, who was restored; but, acting with great ingratitude to the Black Prince, he was abandoned by him, and Henry of Transtamare returned with his adherents, defeated Peter, killed him with his own hand, and retained the undisturbed possession of Castille. Peter richly deserved his fate, having murdered two of his brothers, and poisoned Blanche, his wife, sister of the queen of Charles V.

1367.

The Gascons, exasperated by the heavy taxes which the Prince of Wales had been compelled to impose on them, applied for relief to Du Guesclin, who thus, by the aid of the inhabitants, recovered the greater part of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, and Perigord. In one of these engagements Chandos was killed.

1369.

The foundation was at this time laid, by Aubriot, the provost of Paris, of the citadel and prison of the Bastille,—destined, after the lapse of 420 years, to be the scene of one of the most remarkable incidents of the revolutionary period. On the dismissal of the lord of Fiennes, Du Guesclin was appointed

1370.

constable of France in his place, and pursued the advantages he had gained over the English, rendered the more easy by the death of the Black Prince, and, in the next year, of Edward III.; so that now little more than Bordeaux remained to England. Charles V., during the short interval of peace afforded by the minority of Richard II. of England, found leisure to promulgate several useful laws ; among others, one for preventing the abuse of lands being held in mortmain—for limiting the majority of the king to the age of fourteen—and for establishing the rights and duties of a regent during the minority of the king. Nor did he forget the Jews, from whom he obtained liberal contributions for permission to reside in France, and compelled them to wear a badge upon their outer garment. The citizens of Paris were invested with the right of acquiring the rank of nobility, by leave to purchase lands held as fiefs of noble tenure, which privilege was confirmed by Charles VI., Louis XI., Francis I., and Henry II.; but restricted by Henry III. to the provost of the merchants, and the Echevins; and was altogether suppressed in 1667; re-established in 1707; again suppressed in 1715; and finally restored in 1716.

Du Guesclin had, by his partiality for his countrymen, the Bretons, incurred the displeasure of the king, but was restored to favour; and died at the siege of Chateauneuf de Randon, which surrendered

A.D.

1376.

1377.

1380.

at the moment of his death, and the keys of the gates were placed upon his coffin.

The king of Navarre, in that continued career of crime he had so long pursued, fomented the discontent of the nobles in the provinces, to the great annoyance of Charles, who was already suffering under deep affliction by the death of his queen, to whom he was affectionately attached. He now sank under the combined pressure of public vexation and domestic grief, and died at the early age of forty-four, in the sixteenth year of his reign. Although his death may have been accelerated by the untoward course of political events, there is no doubt but that his constitution never recovered the shock it sustained by the draught of poison which, while yet dauphin, had been administered to him by the means of Charles the Bad; though partially restored to health, it impaired his entire system, and gave a fatal turn to what might otherwise have proved a mere ordinary attack of illness.

Although Charles assisted at no campaign, but carried on his wars by his brothers and his generals, he gave more trouble to the English, though then under the conduct of the greatest of their princes, than any of his predecessors had done, as he had the talent to distinguish that, in the complicated relations of government, the difficulties they involved were more satisfactorily adjusted by the pre-

sence of the king in council than by his valour in the field.

Charles, contrary to his usual policy, incurred the discontent of the Breton nobility, by proceedings for forfeiture and confiscation against de Montfort,—these measures being evidently designed to promote an annexation of the duchy to the crown. The Constable du Guesclin, Clisson, Rohan, and Laval, the four principal nobles, expressed their dissatisfaction; negociated with Montfort, then in London, who seized the favourable opportunity for regaining the duchy by the help of his English allies, who, at the same time, obtained a restoration of many of the districts and cities of which they had recently been deprived. Hostilities then ceased in Brittany; the young count de Montfort made his peace with the widow of de Blois by the treaty of Guerande; and his title to the duchy was recognised by the king on condition of his holding it in homage to the crown of France. This war, which, at intervals, had lasted since the year 1341, redounded chiefly to the honour, as we have before observed, of the two widowed heroines, the Countess of Montfort, and Jane the Lane.

Modern historians have done that tardy justice to the memory of Charles V. which he did not experience from their predecessors. He and Henry IV. might have confidently appealed to posterity for that appreciation of their merits which has been

bestowed on many inferior sovereigns of their race. Charles and Henry repaired, unostentatiously and with exquisite address, the disasters of the country each had saved.

The great schism of the Western church commenced during this reign; it lasted forty years, from 1379 until the council of Constance, and was the cause of much disturbance in the Latin church. It originated with the death, in that year, of Pope Gregory XI. The cardinals then at Rome elected Urban VI., who retained his seat in that city; but the larger number of the sacred college, contending that such election had been influenced by intimidation on the part of the Roman populace, elected Clement VII., who fixed his residence at Avignon, and was acknowledged by Charles V. and the Gallican church.

In this reign the number of the *fleurs-de-lis* in the armorial shield of France was reduced to three, and so remained until the subversion of the monarchy.

CHARLES VI. Charles VI., at the age of twelve, succeeded his
A.D. father; and his long reign of forty-two years was
1380. one continued series of misery to himself, and of misfortune to his country and to his people. His three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, during his minority, fiercely contended for the regency,—their claims being finally compromised by a division among them of the duties.

For a short period the Duke of Anjou, as eldest, took the lead, and signalised his brief exercise of power by inflicting a heavy load of additional taxation on the people. The exaction of a small tax from a poor herb woman in the market, was the signal for an insurrection at Paris, and extended to all the principal towns. The Jews, who were chiefly engaged in the collection of the revenue, were the first objects of popular indignation; they were beat and murdered, their houses pillaged, their books and papers burnt, their children torn from them on pretence of conferring the rite of baptism, and the only comparatively safe refuge for a Jew was a prison, and that miserable asylum was frequently violated. Another characteristic act of the Duke of Anjou, was his obtaining from the treasurer of the late king, under dread of the rack, a knowledge of the receptacle, in the palace at Melun, of the immense treasure in coin, jewels, plate, and other valuables, of the late king, which were forcibly taken by the duke, and removed to one of his own castles. This treasure had been accumulated by Charles the Wise for gradual application towards relief of the burthens of his people, and to supersede the necessity of additional taxation.

The Duke of Anjou, apprehensive of the consequences of this act of spoliation, resigned the regency in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, and expended the treasure so obtained in fitting

out an expedition to Italy, in order to gain possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, bestowed on him by Queen Joanna, who had adopted him as her heir, to the prejudice of the Duke of Durazzo, after she had strangled her husband, King Andreas. In the result, the Duke of Anjou was defeated, under the walls of Barletta, by his competitor, Durazzo, who caused Joanna, who had been taken prisoner, to be in her turn strangled, while the Duke of Anjou died more from vexation than from the wounds he had received.

A meeting of the states-general was now convened by the Duke of Burgundy, for the purpose of enforcing payment of the taxes. Few deputies from the provinces attended, and they were ill-disposed towards the crown; instead of complying with the wishes of the regent, they insisted on his signing a declaration, on behalf of the king, renouncing every tax and act of innovation which had been introduced since the reign of Philip le Bel, and confirming to the nation all its accustomed franchises, liberties, privileges, and immunities, and concluded their session by a renewal of only such subsidies as had been granted to Philip le Bel.

The Flemings being again in revolt, under their popular leader, Philip van Artevelde, the Duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the king, entered Flanders with a large force. The armies engaged at Rosbach, when the French obtained a complete

victory,—Artevelde and 40,000 of his followers, being left dead upon the field. A.D.
1381.

During the absence of the king, the Parisians had been in a continual state of insurrection and anarchy. They possessed themselves of a great store of weapons of iron, called maillets, intended for defence against the English; assailed with them all the better class of the inhabitants, and broke into and pillaged their houses. The insurgents were called Maillotins, from the name of the weapon they so misused. Unable to select a leader, and fearing the punishment that might ensue, they allowed the Duke of Anjou to enter Paris with some of his forces. This increased the disorder; and, while the duke only professed to make inquiry into the motives of the troubles, he caused further sums to be exacted from many of the most respectable citizens, on pain of being put to death. In the course of these exactions, some murmurs being expressed, the succeeding nights were occupied in inclosing several of the wealthier inhabitants in leathern sacks, and casting them into the river.

The Duke of Anjou then withdrew from Paris, extorting a farther contribution of plate and valuables, and surreptitiously obtaining a sum of 100,000 francs, which the Parisians had raised, in anticipation of the return of the king, by way of peace-offering. We have, in the preceding page, stated the fatal issue of the duke's subsequent expedition into Italy.

In the mean time, Charles was on his return with his victorious army from Rosbach, and had advanced within two leagues of Paris, uncertain of the reception he might meet with; while the Parisians were taken equally by surprise at his approach. He was met in the plain of St. Denis by 20,000 citizens, armed *cap-a-pied*, and ranged in order of battle,—still leaving the nature of his reception doubtful. The great officers of the crown in attendance, required a safe passage into Paris. “Ye need none,” said the leaders; “you may all pass in safety. We are come thus accoutred only to show to the king the forces of his good city of Paris; and he may, when he so requires, rely on their obeying his commands.”

The royal party passed on accordingly, and were met at the gate by some citizens prepared to compliment the king. He declined to hear them; and hastily moved on to the cathedral to celebrate a *Te Deum* there,—two individuals having expressed themselves seditiously, were arrested on the spot, and hung out of their own windows.

The next day three hundred citizens were arrested, and the barricades and chains taken to Vincennes. By proclamation, the inhabitants were ordered to deliver up all arms and weapons at the Louvre; and which were deposited to an amount sufficient to equip 100,000 men. Then commenced the executions. The members of the Sorbonne

interceded at the foot of the throne for the criminals, but without effect. A car, containing twelve persons selected from the prisons, first passed on to the place of execution; and among them were two individuals presenting a strange contrast—the one a notorious demagogue and leader of every disturbance, named Nicholas Flamand, and the other an aged and honourable magistrate, John Desmarets, who had been advocate-general for the crown to Philip le Bel, John, and Charles V., his only crime being, his having remained in Paris for purposes of peace and conciliation, when all the other magistrates had deserted their posts. A confession of blame, or asking pardon, would have saved him. The officer who presided at the execution had been instructed to say to him, “Master John, cry for mercy to the king, and he will pardon you.” He replied, “I have served King Philip his great-grandfather, King John his grandfather, and King Charles his father, so loyally and faithfully, that not one of these three kings ever uttered a reproach to me, nor would the present king do so, were he of sufficient age to know what is in man. Of God alone will I implore mercy;” then, observing Flamand and other culprits with him, he pronounced, with fervour, from the Psalmist:—“*Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sanctâ.*” Similar executions took place at Rouen and other great cities.

Three hundred prisoners having been thus disposed of at Paris only, an amnesty followed,—a ceremony conducted with extraordinary solemnity, in order to impress the inhabitants with a due sense of the enormity of their offence. The king appeared on an elevated throne in the court of the palace; an immense crowd assembled, surrounded by soldiers assuming the most ferocious aspect. The chancellor pronounced a bitter invective, adverted to the executions, and added, in a thundering tone, “It is not yet over; there remain many guilty persons to be punished;” then turning to the king, “It rests with you, sire, to determine whether I may express your intentions.” “Yes,” returned the sovereign. At this awful affirmative, the king’s uncles fell prostrate at his feet. The females, wearing no head-dress, and with dishevelled hair, extended their arms in supplicating attitudes; tears flowed; sobs were heard; while the multitude of men, prostrate on the earth, loudly vociferated “*grâce et miséricorde*.”

The chancellor then pronounced that the criminal penalty would, by the unprecedented lenity of the sovereign, be commuted for a civil one; that is, the capital sentence would be superseded by a pecuniary fine. These fines were exorbitant: those most favourably dealt with, lost the half of their property. Four hundred thousand livres were the result, of which a very small portion came into the public

chest; the princes and commanders, and their dependants, absorbed nearly the whole. The king, by an edict, discharged all the municipal officers of the city, and abolished every vestige of freedom it had ever possessed, leaving its affairs to be carried on under the conduct of a provost, with an armed force, at the immediate command of the king. The *gabelle* and all the other taxes were re-enacted. A.D.

The king, at the age of sixteen, was married to Isabella of Bavaria at Amiens; and was afterwards crowned at Rheims, and made a pompous entry 1383. into Paris.

Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who, at the age of fifty-five, had led a life of as much crime and wickedness, treachery and cruelty, as high station and great abilities afforded means for perpetrating, was visited by a death almost commensurate with his offences. His physicians, with a view to restore warmth and animation to a frame exhausted by every species of profligacy, recommended his being wrapped in sheets saturated with spirits of wine. By some fault of his attendant, the sheets caught fire, and he died in a few days in an agony of pain. 1387.

Peter of Craon, who, by an abuse of confidence, 1392. had fallen under the displeasure of the Duke of Orleans, attributed the estrangement of that prince from him to the influence of the Constable de Clisson, and, after an attempt to assassinate him, and leaving him for dead, sought refuge with John,

A.D. duke of Brittany, who had, in 1381, refused to do homage to the king for his duchy. The king marched with an army against him, and, in going through the forest of Mans, a man, wrapped up in a shroud, stopped Charles, saying—"Roi ne chevauche plus avant retourne, car tu es trahi."

The man, or phantom, as he is called by the French historians, then disappeared; and, at the same moment, by some accident, the javelin of one of the king's attendants fell on the helmet of another of the guards, adding, by the noise it made, to the alarm of the king, who now exhibited symptoms of that insanity under which he, at intervals, laboured during the rest of his life. On this occasion he struck about him with such violence as to deprive four of his followers of their lives.

Isabella of France, the infant daughter of the king, was married, or rather affianced, to Richard II. of England, upon which a truce for twenty-eight years was concluded between the two countries, at the cost to England of the relinquishment of Brest and Cherbourg.

1403. On the death of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, he was succeeded by John the Fearless, who took the reins of government into his own hands, drove the Duke of Orleans out of Paris, and
1407. caused him to be assassinated, upon which his widow, Valentina of Milan, died of grief at not being able to have justice done on the assassins

and their avowed instigator ; and on her death-bed A.D.
 required her sons to swear to avenge their father's 1409.
 death. The Duke of Burgundy had now no competitor for power ; was master of Paris ; and in all respects acted as regent during the delirium, or what was called *l'occupation du Roi*.

The young Duke of Orleans married a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and the party was then indifferently called Orleans or Armagnac. The assassination of the Duke of Orleans had caused a deep sensation throughout France, in which the king, during a lucid interval, participated ; and sanctioned the appeal made to him by the young duke, and prepared to proceed against the Duke of Burgundy, who was proclaimed an enemy to the state, and guilty of high treason. This was the signal for civil war between the Burgundians and 1411.
 the Armagnacs. The butchers of Paris, at the instance of the Count de St. Paul, the governor of that city, in the interest of the Duke of Burgundy, declared for him, under their leader, John Caboche—from whom they were called Cabochiens—and committed the most sanguinary excesses, with the sanction of their patron. John de Montaigu, superintendent of the finances, was decapitated ; other distinguished individuals massacred ; and the better class of citizens left Paris. To pacify the king, and to avert a general combination against him, the Duke of Burgundy submitted to

- A.D. make some vague apology for the murder of the
1413. Duke of Orleans, and entered into a treaty for a general reconciliation, which was concluded at three different times in three different places, Chartres, Bourges, and Auxerre, with hardly a pretence of sincerity on either side. At the latter town, the
1414. states-general were convened, in which the few deputies from the provinces declaimed as usual on existing grievances, but readily submitted to an adjournment of the discussion of them; and in the mean time concurred with the clergy and nobles in imposing new taxes, and adding to old ones,—no other business being transacted. This hollow peace was effected, and the taxes levied, in the apprehension of an invasion from England. Henry V., a youthful prince of high courage and great ability, having succeeded to the throne, was desirous of uniting his people in the popular and common cause of war against France, in place of the civil discord attaching to a disputed title at home. He accordingly revived the claim of Edward III. to the crown of France, and, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the incapacity of Charles VI., and the dissensions among the queen and princes of the blood, landed with a gallant army at
1415. Havre on the 14th of August, took Harfleur, and from thence marched on to Agincourt, in Artois, where, on the 25th of October, he engaged the French army, commanded by the Constable d'Albret. The

victory, on the part of the English, was complete, and distinguished from the former battles of Cressy and Poitiers by a still greater proportion of noblemen and knights who fell on the French side. Among them were the constable, six princes of the blood, and upwards of 9,000 nobles, knights, and gentry; and the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with 1,600 of the nobility and gentry, were made prisoners,—the comparative numbers of the combatants being nearly 100,000 French, and about 10,000 English.* Henry V. was not in a situation to pursue this brilliant victory, and with his army and prisoners fell back on the stronghold of Calais on his return to London. In the mean time, two dauphins in succession had died; and Charles, the third dauphin, assumed the regency during the incapacity of his father, and retired upon Poitiers, which, with a portion of the country beyond the Loire, was still attached to his interests. A.D. 1416.

Queen Isabella also declared herself regent, and held her court at Tours, at Troyes, and occasionally at Vincennes. At the latter place, she was on one occasion disturbed, while engaged with the Chevalier Boisbourdon, one of her paramours, by the unex-

* Reduced by disease and casualties from 30,000 landed at Harfleur, of whom 6,000 were men-at-arms, and 24,000 archers. The great standard of the Oriflamme made its last appearance at this battle; and no wonder, if it could shed no better influence. One monasterial chronicler, however, states that it was borne before Louis XI. in 1465.

- A.D. 1417. pected intrusion of the king, who was sufficiently sane to cause the gentleman to be instantly seized, put into a leathern sack—an article then in frequent use—and cast into the river, bearing inscribed on it the royal injunction,—*Laissez passer la justice du Roi.*

The Duke of Burgundy now returned to Paris, where his representative, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, had preceded him by a month, and had perpetrated every species of atrocity,—the new Constable, the Count of Armagnac, the chancellor, and many bishops and magistrates, having been massacred. The Duke of Berri, a weak and avaricious old man, died; and in this year also the council of Constance terminated its sittings, and, after five years' labour, healed the long existing schism in the Western church, by electing Martin V. in the room of the corsair, John XXIII., who was deposed. Gregory XII. renounced his claim to the papacy, but Benedict XIII. was still contumacious, and retired to some small fortress in Spain, where he died.

Henry V., in consequence, as was supposed, of a secret understanding with the Duke of Burgundy, renewed his invasion of France; gained a naval victory off Harfleur; advanced into Normandy; and, after a siege of six months, and a well-sustained defence, possessed himself of Rouen.

The Duke of Burgundy, still professing to carry out the terms of reconciliation agreed to by him at

Auxerre, and with a view, in the present exigencies A.D.
of the kingdom, to put a stop to the ravages com-
mitted by the English, consented to meet the dau-
phin, for a conference on the welfare of France, on
the bridge of Montereau, which became the scene of 1419.
a fearful tragedy. Each of the two princes was at-
tended by ten noblemen, when the Duke of Bur-
gundy, while kneeling to the dauphin, was pierced
by many stabs,—by whom, or at whose instigation,
remained a mystery; but the imputation generally
attached to the dauphin. The queen in conse-
quence evinced the most vindictive resentment
against her son; she met Philip the Good, the
young duke of Burgundy, and Henry V. of Eng-
land, at Troyes; and the dauphin retired with his
adherents to his former quarters at Poitiers.

At Troyes was then concluded the celebrated
treaty, in pursuance of which Henry V. married
Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI., and the
succession to the crown of France was secured to
him after the death of her father; and in the mean
time the title and power of regent were conferred
on Henry. In the treaty, the king's eldest son
was designated Charles *soi-disant* Dauphin—an
enemy to the state, and guilty of treason, by reason
of the murder of the Duke of Burgundy; and the
address by Charles VI. to his son-in-law was couched
in these words: "A notre tres cher fils Henri Roi
d'Angleterre heritier de France." This treaty was

A.D. 1420. ratified by what remained in Paris of the parliament, the larger and better part of it having withdrawn to the dauphin at Poitiers.

Upon this the two kings, the queen, and Philip the Good of Burgundy, made their triumphal entry into Paris, with a cortege of extraordinary magnificence, and the court of Henry and his queen eclipsed in splendour all former exhibitions of the kind. Henry and his infant son, then in the cradle, were crowned with more than ordinary pomp at Rheims, and proclaimed as kings of France and England.

The war, however, still continued in the south, and in a smart skirmish, near Beaugé, between the Duke of Clarence and the Maréchal de la Fayette, assisted by Lord Buchan and a considerable body of Scotch troops, the duke was defeated and killed. Henry was preparing to march and avenge this insult, when he was seized with an attack of illness, of which he died at Vincennes, at the age of thirty-three, leaving his brother, John, duke of Bedford, regent for the infant-heir, afterwards the unfortunate Henry VI. of England.

1422. Charles VI. survived Henry V. only by two months. He was interred without ceremony at St. Denis,—not one prince of the blood attending his funeral. He had twelve children,—the dauphin being the only son; and five daughters surviving him, of whom Isabel, when a child, had been be-

trothed to Richard II. of England, and afterwards married the Duke of Orleans; and Catherine, the wife of Henry V., afterwards married Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, and their grandson, the Earl of Richmond, became king of England as Henry VII.

Queen Isabella, who, by her misconduct, had forfeited all claim to respect, was put under restraint in the castle of Tours, and there remained until her death, which took place in 1435; and Brantome says that her body was treated with such contempt as to be put, without any form, in a boat, and floated towards St. Denis, and there buried.

Few materials exist to enable us to ascertain the character and attainments of Charles VI., whose reign of forty-two years was throughout one of virtual incapacity.

His minority was necessarily passed under tutelage; and soon after attaining his majority, he appears to have afforded indications of inaptitude for mental exertion or application, which accompanied him through life, and as that life advanced, with gradually fewer lucid intervals.

At an early period of their union, Isabella entertained much affection for him, and then, probably, by the powerful ascendancy of a strong mind over a weak one, rendered his weakness less perceptible; while latterly her abandoned habits, and his detection of her guilt, inspired the fiercest animosity

on her part, and tended to aggravate his malady, and the exposure of it.

The first violent outbreak of his insanity followed close upon the incident we have before related of the appearance in the forest of Mans, which—whether of a real person, instructed by the Duke of Brittany to avert the threatened invasion, or a mere optical delusion, the effect, as some allege, of a *coup-de-soleil*—was equally fatal in its effect.

He only slowly recovered from the severe shock he had experienced; and then every expedient was devised to amuse him by fêtes, and pageants, and entertainments of every description. A mournful and memorable catastrophe attended one given by the queen on the marriage of one of the ladies of her court. The king and five young noblemen undertook to represent a party of savages or wild men of the woods, who were to be chained together, and presented as captives to the lady in whose honour the festivities were given. They were fantastically dressed, and their ornaments of leaves and wild flowers were attached by pitch to their coarse linen jackets, mingled with tow and hemp; and to guard against fire, it was strictly enjoined that no light or torch should approach them. The Duke of Orleans, ignorant or negligent of this prohibition, held a light towards the party to distinguish which was the king; a spark fell, and they were instantly in flames. The king, by an extraordinary effort,

was rescued by the Duchess of Berri; another, by a powerful exertion, burst the chain, and rushed into a room where he knew there was a cistern of water, into which he plunged, and was saved; the other four perished miserably. This made a deep impression on the king, who uttered not a word for several days. Renewed efforts were then made to divert his attention by every species of amusement and dissipation. Among others, the science of card-playing, if not then invented, was improved to its present, or rather late, advance to perfection; and the same number of cards and their *dramatis personæ* were established under his auspices,—the king of hearts being his nominal representative, and, for want of any better, may be considered his only title to the adjunct of *bien aimé*, which was bestowed on him. These expedients all failing, and the outbreaks occurring more frequently, his physicians advised his being alarmed into a more docile state, and their plan was carried into effect accordingly, by an unexpected rush into his chamber, when quite alone, of half-a-dozen men fearfully apparelled in black, with hideous masks, and uttering dreadful yells. What more passed was known only to themselves. They disappeared, and the king was found almost inanimate, which condition was succeeded by one of terror not to be described, from the effect of which he never recovered; and no act of violence again occurred.

CHARLES VII.

A.D.

1422.

Charles VII., by the death of his father, inherited but a small portion of the patrimony of his ancestors. It was limited chiefly to the south of France,—his residence being at Poitiers, where he was crowned at the age of twenty-eight, with the sanction of a remnant of the parliament of Paris, and received the homage of a few distinguished peers, among whom were John Stuart, earl of Douglas, constable of France; and Dunois, an illegitimate son of the duke of Orleans who was assassinated in the late reign, and became the ancestor of the house of Longueville; the barons Lahire* and Xaintrailles, and a few other commanders, also joined the royal standard.

Against this small array were opposed the great dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, in alliance with the English, then in the occupation of Paris and of the greater portion of the kingdom, under John, duke of Bedford, as regent for his infant nephew, Henry VI., king of England and of France,—the parliament, and all the legal and administrative courts and tribunals, being of the regent's appointment, and acting under his control.

1423.

The reign of Charles commenced inauspiciously. He was defeated at Mons, in Vimieu, by the Bur-

* Lahire was the designation of the knave of hearts in the pack prepared for the royal invalid. Interesting accounts of the origin and progress of card-playing have been published by Mr. Singer and Mr. Chatto.

gundians; and by the English, under the Duke of Bedford, at Crevent, near Auxerre; and again at Verneuil au Perche, where the Earl of Douglas, the commander of the French forces, was killed. The English also gained the battles of Janville and of Beauce, called also the battle of the Herrings,—it being fought to protect a convoy of that article intended for the support of the English, then laying siege to Orleans. The French, on the other hand, gained some advantages at Gravelle, in Anjou, and by compelling the Duke of Bedford to raise the siege of Montargis.

A.D.

1424.

1426.

1427.

The policy of Charles, or rather of his able generals and council,—he being himself of the right old *fainéant* breed,—was to detach his countrymen from the English party; and accordingly the Duke of Brittany was gained by conferring the constable's staff on his brother, the Count of Richemont, by whose intervention the Duke of Orleans also was appeased.

The pressing necessity at this time was the relief of the city of Orleans, which, under the able conduct of Dunois, had stood a siege by the English of seven months, but was now reduced to the last extremity; and Charles was preparing to leave it to its fate, and to retire into Dauphiné, when a young maiden, under twenty years of age, from Domremi, in Vaucouleurs, on the Meuse, calling herself Joan, a household servant in the farm of Arc, presented herself to the king at Chinon, assuring him that she

1429.

was commissioned, as she believed, to effect two specific objects on behalf of France and of its king, namely,—raising the siege of Orleans, and witnessing his coronation at Rheims. This extraordinary announcement inspired the king with confidence, and his army with enthusiasm. She succeeded in entering Orleans, when Dunois availed himself of the impulse she had communicated. She accompanied him in a desperate sally of the garrison; its impetuosity was irresistible. The besieging army was driven off on the 8th of May. The victories of Pathay and Beausse, by the Count of Richemont—at the former of which the English general, the redoubted Talbot, was made prisoner—followed. The English were again worsted at Jargeau and Beaugency, when Auxerre, Troyes, Chalons, and Compiègne, surrendered to the king; and on the 17th of July Rheims opened its gates to receive him, in the cathedral of which city Joan assisted at his coronation by the archbishop, and thus accomplished the two promised purposes of her mission; and the cause of Charles was farther promoted by the arrival of his brother-in-law, Louis III., king of Sicily and duke of Anjou, with a seasonable addition to his forces.

Joan now expressed a strong desire to withdraw from the army, but was prevailed upon to continue her services, in the belief that the soldiers would prove invincible under her auspices. This anticipa-

tion was not, in the first instance, confirmed, as in A.D. the next movement for besieging Paris the army was repulsed with loss. She was wounded on this occasion, and retreated into Compiègne, to which the English laid siege, and in a sally she was made prisoner by a party of Burgundians, who sold her to the English, by whom she was taken to Rouen, tried before French judges as a witch, and condemned to be burnt, which atrocious sentence was, with the sanction of the Duke of Bedford, executed, in the 1431. market-place of Rouen, on the 30th of May.*

From this period, the affairs of the English went on from bad to worse, when, with a view to improve their condition, they brought their young king to Paris, when he was crowned a second time at Notre Dame, by his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, on the 30th of November, with a double crown.

This worked no favourable change ; and Charles

* We refrain from making any comment on the heartless and cruel treatment of this admirable young woman. The ignorance, superstition, and bigotry of the middle age cannot indeed justify, but may in some measure account for, the proceeding ; but what animadversion can be too severe on the once popular apostle of liberal and infidel opinions, a Frenchman, who, in the eighteenth century, wrote a ribald poem in derogation of the character and actions of one to whom the better heathens would have erected statues, and devoted altars sacred to female courage and more than manly patriotism ?

Robert Southey performed the more grateful duty of dedicating his first and best epic poem to the virtues and achievements of Joan of Arc.

A.D. gained upon his opponents in every direction, and defeated their ally, the Prince of Orange, at Anthon, on the 11th of June.

Charles, by these successes, was enabled to effect the important measure of detaching Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, from his league with England. This was confirmed by a treaty of peace
1435. entered into between them at Arras.

Another event prejudicial to the English cause,
1436. was the death of the regent, Duke of Bedford, at Paris, who was succeeded by the Duke of York, a valiant soldier, but far inferior to his predecessor in ability for conducting the regency under existing difficulties.

1437. The defection of the Duke of Burgundy was the signal for the Parisians to eject the stranger, and to open their gates to the Maréchal de l'Ile Adam, upon which Charles made his public and triumphal entry in November, and was received by the parliament, now re-established in all its functions. The example thus set by Paris was followed by most of the cities of the kingdom, who cheerfully acknowledged their legitimate sovereign.

The pragmatic sanction was at this time renewed at Bourges, chiefly founded upon the decretals of the council of Bâle as to the election of bishops, and by which the reserves, the expectatives, and the annates were abolished.

1438. The war had been attended with its usual conse-

quences of famine and of plague. Paris suffered a loss of 50,000 inhabitants; and, during two years, the midland provinces were devastated by the joint calamity. A.D.

The dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., married Margaret of Scotland. She died, in 1445, of grief at the harshness of her husband, and the unfounded calumnies she was subjected to. She left no children, and, dying before her husband succeeded to the throne, was known only as Madame la Dauphine. 1440.

The dauphin, prompted, as was alleged, by the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, formed a faction, called "la Praguerie," and raised the standard of rebellion against his father, by whom he was defeated and pardoned. The king in person laid siege to Pontoise, which was taken from the English by storm; and Dieppe surrendered to the king.

The parliament, which had been established by Philip le Bel at Toulouse, during pleasure only, was now rendered permanent; and Grenoble soon afterwards had a similar privilege conferred on it. 1443.

Some advantages gained by the English in the south, and the wish of the king to employ his troops in reducing the city of Metz and a part of Lorraine to his obedience, induced him to enter into a truce for eighteen months with England, and which was concluded at Tours accordingly.

A.D. The king was enabled in consequence to subdue Metz, and to annex it, with its adjacent territory, to the crown of France.

We deviate from our general intention of not noticing the illicit attachments of the kings of France, by an exception in favour of Agnes Sorel, and in deference to Monstrelet, who asserts that the love of Charles VII. for her never exceeded the bounds of propriety, upon which the President Henault, with much *naïveté*, observes, “Cela seroit bon si elle n’en avoit pas eu trois enfans.” He adds, however, that she was honoured and esteemed for her conduct at court, and for the right national and patriotic feeling with which she roused and encouraged the king in the great object of expelling the strangers from the soil of France. She was denominated La dame de Beauté, from a chateau, near Vincennes, of that name. The amiable conduct and transcendent charms of Agnes were celebrated by the contemporary and succeeding poets, and Francis I. devoted a quatrain to her memory. 1449. She died, not without suspicion of being poisoned, but for which supposition there appears to have been no foundation.

The truce with England having expired, hostilities recommenced; and, owing to the minority of Henry VI., and the civil war of the Roses, no sufficient supplies of men or money could be furnished to carry on the war in France, which terminated in

the entire expulsion of the English, who were defeated at the battle of Tourmigny. Rouen then fell, and with it all Normandy; and about the same time Guienne was lost by the battle of Chatillon, where Talbot, the English general, was slain; and Bordeaux and Bayonne surrendered to Charles, who thus regained from the English all their possessions in France, excepting only the town of Calais.*

A.D.
1453.

The dauphin married for his second wife Charlotte of Savoy; and, still continuing his machinations against his father, was compelled to take refuge with the Duke of Burgundy, with whom he remained during fourteen years, until his father's death and his accession to the throne. His friend, the Duke of Alençon, had been arrested and brought to trial before his peers, and was convicted of treason, in abetting the rebellion of the dauphin, and condemned to die, which sentence was commuted by the king into imprisonment for life.

1455.

1458

The king, in a constant state of morbid apprehension that he should be poisoned by his son, received with misgiving every meal that was presented to him, and gradually declined taking any food, persisting in a state of entire abstinence during seven days, when his attendants, alarmed

* In corroboration of the details of the various battles between the French and English, and of the names and actions of their warriors and commanders, during this reign, we would, in legal phraseology, refer to the Reports of Mr. William Shakespeare, *temp.* Henry V. and 1st Henry VI., *passim*.

A.D. by his appearance, insisted on his taking some nourishment. He submitted to make the attempt, but the offered relief came too late—he was unable to swallow, and died of absolute inanition on the 1461. 21st of July, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign, and was buried at St. Denis. He had twelve children, of whom his two sons, Louis and Charles, and four daughters survived him.

Charles VII. was brave and courteous, but weak and voluptuous. During his reign a standing army was first introduced into France, by the establishment of a gendarmerie, and well-disciplined bodies of cavalry and archers, in which latter exercise the French had been deficient, and were now only perfected in it when about to be superseded by cannon and musketry. To defray these expenses, the taxes were increased, and the occasional subsidies rendered perpetual. Charles was the first king of France who entered into alliance with the Swiss; and among the better features of his reign was the cessation of all open plunder and persecution of the Jews.

The most memorable European event of the period was the extinction of the Eastern empire in 1453, when Constantinople and its dependent European territories were taken by the Turks, under Mahomet II., and the last emperor, Constantine Palæologus, was killed.

Louis XI. was under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy at Genep, in Brabant, when, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the throne, and was crowned at Rheims on the 15th of August by the archbishop. He was the first king of his race who was sovereign of all France, with the single exception of Calais; and he lent 20,000 crowns to Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., on her promising to deliver up that town to him when it should be in the power of her husband to do so,—a contingency which never occurred. We have no hesitation in ascribing to Louis XI. the palm of being the worst specimen of royalty which the third race, from its commencement to its termination, could produce. He was a cruel, narrow-minded tyrant—a degraded copy of Tiberius. He would have poisoned his father; he did poison his brother; and both his wives were the victims of his heartless cruelty. His prevailing object was to subdue everything French and in France to the absolute power of the crown. To the predominance of this tendency on the part of Louis, may be attributed all the evils inflicted by him on his subjects, accompanied by some small benefit derived to them by partial relief from local tyranny. The primary motive, in either case, being the gratification of his own selfish purposes. With this view he made the feudal system the main object of his attack. It had already suffered much from many of his ablest prede-

LOUIS XI.
A.D.
1461.

A.D. cessors, and some expiring efforts were now made by several of the *grands seigneurs* to recover an independent position. Their revolts were checked more by the insidious arts of the king than by any open demonstration of force, and they gradually subsided into that state of vassalage to the crown which prepared the way for the completion of their dependence on it, by the stern policy of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

The provincial parliaments were considerable agents in this process of subjugation. That of Bordeaux was now severed from Toulouse, the Garonne forming the boundary between the two jurisdictions of Languedoc and Gascony. The pragmatic sanction was at the same time repealed, and afterwards, in part only, revived by a concordat in the time of Francis I.

1464. Charles, duke of Berri, brother of the king; the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy; the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, and the Count Dunois—all of whom Louis had deprived of their offices—with other discontented nobles, formed a league, denominated *du bien public*, assembled their retainers, and were joined by John of Anjou, duke of Calabria, with five hundred Swiss, being their first appearance in the service of France.
1465. This united and well-appointed army engaged that of the king at Montlheri; the loss was considerable on both sides, but the Burgundians remained mas-

ters of the field. Louis consented to terms of peace, granting all that was required of him, with the mental reservation of recovering by fraud all he had yielded to force. The treaty was ratified by all parties at Conflans, and so terminated this struggle for the public good. A.D. 1466.

The king, by conciliating the Duke of Bourbon, and sowing dissension between the dukes of Berri and Brittany, succeeded in depriving the former of the duchy of Normandy, which he had, by the peace of Conflans, conferred on him by way of appanage. He then despoiled the Duke of Brittany of many of his strongholds; and, desirous of impairing the confidence of the Count Charolais in his favourite, the Count de St. Paul, conferred on the latter the office of Constable of France. He thus, in every particular, neutralised the victory of Montlheri, and altogether evaded the treaty of Conflans; but at the same time essentially consolidated the territory and extended the power of the crown. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, now died, and was succeeded by the Count of Charolais, called Charles the Rash. 1467.

An epidemic having broken out at Paris, attended with an enormous mortality, the king, in order to replace the deficient population, caused all the prisons of France to disgorge their inmates into Paris, to supply the vacuum thus occasioned,—being, as Henault observes, a grand expedient,

A.D. but, happily, we may add, one that was never repeated.

1468. The states-general were convened at Tours, and, after the customary parade of talk, sanctioned the king's spoliations from his brother of Normandy, and from the Duke of Brittany.

The people of Liège had rebelled against Charles the Rash, when Louis, who had covertly supported them in their rebellion, was imprudent enough to trust himself in conference with the duke at his castle of Peronne. The Duke of Burgundy detained him there, compelled him reluctantly to accompany him to the siege of Liège, and did not liberate him until he had subscribed to a treaty on very advantageous terms to the duke.

Louis XI. is the first sovereign of France to whom the title of *très chrétien* was given by Pope Pius II., on the strength of which the king instituted the order of St. Michael,—that of the Star having fallen into discredit; but his gratitude to the pope did not obviate his confining Cardinal de la Balue, and keeping him for eleven years in the prison of Loches, on suspicion of his having encouraged the Duke of Berri in his rebellion.

1470. Louis declared war against the Duke of Burgundy, from whom he took St. Quentin, Amiens,

1472. Roye, and Mondidier, after which a truce was concluded between them. The king, having given his brother the duchy of Guienne in exchange for Nor-

mandy, and being desirous of repossessing it, removed him by a poisoned peach, being a dealer, as Brantome observes, in such *gentille industrie*. The truce with Burgundy having expired, Charles declared war against France, entered Picardy, and laid waste the country with fire and sword, but failed before Beauvais, where the women, headed by Jeanne Hachette, assisted the garrison in repelling him. Charles then ravaged Normandy, and withdrew into Flanders, when a peace was concluded, which was again infringed, and the war renewed,—the Swiss joining Louis against Charles. Edward IV. having threatened to support the Burgundians, the ancient allies of England, Louis negotiated with Edward for the annual payment to him of 50,000 crowns as the price of peace; and concluded a peace with Charles on condition of the latter delivering up to him the Constable Count of St. Paul, who was condemned by Louis to immediate decapitation. Charles then turned his arms against the Swiss, took Granson, but was defeated, with great loss, at Morat, and drowned on escaping from the siege of Nancy. Louis, being immediately informed of this event by means of the posts which he had established for his own use only, took immediate possession of the principal towns in Artois, Picardy, and Burgundy. With Charles, who had no heir, terminated the second house of Burgundy, and the province merged in the crown of France. Flanders

A.D.

1475.

1477.

A.D.
1479. refusing to submit, Louis, by the valour and promptitude of his general, Chaumont d'Amboise, obtained possession of la Franche Comté.

1483. Louis XI. died at Plessis-les-Tours, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and was buried at Notre Dame de Cleri,—being one of three kings only of his race who was not buried at St. Denis; the other two being Philip I., who was buried at St. Benedict, on the Loire, and Louis, the younger, at the abbey of Barbeaux.

Somewhat of the character of Louis XI. may be gathered from his associates,—his intimate and confidential friend being Tristan l'Hermite, the provost-marshal; and his familiar companions, Olivier le Daim, his barber, and Cottier, his astrologer and physician. To enjoy a view of the gibbets, he inhabited a lofty castle, the most interesting furniture of which consisted of Chausse-trappes,—a trap-door in the floor, by treading on which the intended victims were precipitated into *oubliettes*; iron-cages, and chains. He shut up James Armagnac, duke of Nemours, in an iron-cage, in which the torture was occasionally inflicted on him, and which he only left to lose his head upon the scaffold,—his two infant sons being so placed below it as to be covered with their father's blood, and were then consigned to dungeons in the Bastille in the form of cupboards, so narrow as to be a constant source of pain, from which they were only relieved by being brought

out occasionally to undergo a flogging, or the drawing of a tooth. Persons of condition, however, were not his only victims, as during his reign not fewer than four thousand individuals, of all ranks, died of torture, water, fire, the halter, or of poison. The slightest suspicion, or the most absurd or ridiculous superstitious suggestion, alike dictated the fatal sentence of instant or protracted death; while, in matters of general policy, he invariably acted on the maxim of Tiberius: "Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare."

Charles VIII. was not thirteen years of age at the death of his father, by whose will the Dame Anne de Beaujeu, the elder sister of the young king, was named his guardian, without the title of regent. The Duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, claimed the regency; but the will of the late king was confirmed by the states-general, convened again at Tours, and which assembly was remarkable for the eloquence and boldness of some of its members; and at which a council of ten individuals of the highest rank—the Duke of Orleans being president—was appointed. The ordinance made for this purpose, on the requisition of the states, was the first which gave to all persons a right to appear, on judgment, by attorney. The earliest act of this reign was to do justice to the memory of the Duke of Nemours, beheaded in the last reign; to restore to his sons a portion of their

CHARLES VIII.

A.D.

1483.

1484.

A.D.
1485. patrimony; and to other members of the family of Armagnac, the offices of which they had been unjustly deprived.

The lady of Beaujeu and the Duke of Orleans being at variance on several points, the duke, with
1486. the Count Dunois, retired into Brittany, upon which the king invaded that province, and obtained
1487. possession of several towns, and by his general, Tremouille, gained the battle of St. Aubin, in which the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner.

The Duke of Brittany died, leaving only daughters; and the Emperor Maximilian married, by proxy, Anne, the eldest, and which marriage was subsequently annulled.

1490. The king, without consulting his sister, caused the duke of Orleans to be liberated, and thus procured his zealous co-operation in disappointing Maximilian of his promised bride, and in obtaining her and her rich dowry for the king. A
1491. great national object was thus effected by the marriage of the king with Anne of Brittany. Henry VII. of England, apprehensive of the great accession of power this might give to France, besieged Boulogne; but, being disturbed by insurrections at home in favour of Perkin Warbeck, who was supported by Margaret of Burgundy, recalled his troops, and concluded a peace. Charles VIII., in his perverse and injudicious anxiety to gain Sicily, and obtain a footing in Italy, abandoned

Cerdagne and Roussillon to Spain, without requiring payment of the amount advanced on them by France, and undertook his ill-fated expedition into Italy. He soon made himself master of Rome,—during the pontificate of the infamous Alexander VI.,—and obtained a cession of the empire of the East from Andrew Paleologus, the pretended successor of Constantine, and which donation was accepted for Charles by the Cardinal Gurce. Obtaining possession of Naples, he made his public entry into that city, invested with all the insignia of imperial power. These conquests were effected in six months; but Charles could not avert the consequences of a formidable league entered into by the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, the Archduke Philip, the Kings of England and of Arragon, Louis Sforza of Milan, and the Venetians, for expelling the French out of Italy. Their armies engaged at Fornova, when the French claimed a victory, which only secured to them an honourable retreat.

A D.

1492.

1498.

Charles VIII. died at Amboise on the 7th of April, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Philip de Comines, who had left the service of the Duke of Burgundy for that of Louis XI., in his chronicle gives the following concise notice of Charles, “who,” he says, “was small of stature, and spare in width; and so good that it was not possible to see a better creature.”

CHAPTER IX.

HOUSE OF CAPET—SOVEREIGNS OF THE BRANCH-LINE
OF VALOIS-ORLEANS.

LOUIS XII.

1498—1515.

LOUIS XII.
(Pere du
Peuple).

A.D.

1498.

LOUIS XII., duke of Orleans, was the great grandson of Charles V., and grandson of Louis of Orleans, the brother of Charles VI., by whom the additional title of Duke of Valois was conferred. His grandmother was Valentina of Milan, whose injunction to her sons to revenge their father's death has been before related. Whether those sons were privy to the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau, does not appear,—the imputation of it having chiefly rested on the dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. The eldest of those sons, Charles, married Maria of Cleves, by whom he had Louis, who, being the nearest male heir to Charles VIII., was called to the throne at the age of thirty-six, and crowned at Rheims.

A creditable anecdote is related of him, that the Maréchal de Tremouille, by whom he had been

taken prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, being apprehensive of appearing before him, Louis invited him with great courtesy to his court, observing that the King of France did not recognise the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans. A.D.

His first care was to obtain the sanction of Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia), whose son, the notorious Cæsar Borgia, he had created Duke of Valentinois, to his divorce from his wife, Jane, the deformed daughter of Louis XI., whom he had married on compulsion and under protest. He then secured the great prize of Brittany, by marrying Anne, the widow of his predecessor, Charles VIII.,—she, in like manner, in order to enable her to marry Charles VIII., had been divorced from Maximilian, to whom she had been married by proxy. 1499.

Notwithstanding the failure of the several invasions of Italy by the French, and his own expressed disapproval of them, Louis laid claim to the duchy of Milan, as having descended to him from his grandmother, Valentina, the sister and heiress of the last of the Visconti. He undertook an expedition against it, and in the course of twenty days was in possession of Milan. He then entered the city in triumph, and confided the government of it to J. J. Trivulcio, a Milanese nobleman by birth, who had assisted him in the conquest of it. Genoa then submitted to his arms; and he entered 1501. into a treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain,

A.D. for dividing the kingdom of Naples between them, and they in consequence invaded and obtained possession of it in four months.

They afterwards quarrelled as to the division of the spoil, and the French general, D'Aubigné, was defeated at Seminara by the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Spanish general, who, seven days afterwards, gained the victory of Cerignoles over the Duke of Nemours, who was killed in the engagement—with whom terminated the ancient house of Armagnac—and Louis thus lost Naples.

1503.
1505. The king, by a treaty concluded at Blois, proposed giving his daughter Claude in marriage to the Archduke Philip, with more than a third of France for her dowry. The states-general, convened at Tours on the occasion, determined that such marriage should not take effect, and it was
1508. broken off accordingly.

Louis, ever the dupe of the pope and Ferdinand,
1509. entered into a coalition with them and the Emperor Maximilian, called the league of Cambray, against the Venetians, who were defeated at Aignadel by the king in person,—the commanders under him being Chaumont, Trivulcio, la Tremouille, and Dunois.

Such commanders, and such a victory, might lead to the conclusion that the Venetians were altogether lost; but Louis was doomed to be cajoled
1510. by his allies as he was to be betrayed by the Swiss,

he had, in addition, to encounter the opposition of A.D.
 Pope Julius II. and Ferdinand, with that of Henry
 VIII. of England, who had recently succeeded his 1511.
 father.

The Turks offered their protection and assistance to the Venetians, who wisely returned for answer, that they preferred encountering the enmity of Christians, to submitting to enter into alliance with infidels.

Louis XII., greatly displeased with the pope, summoned a general council at Tours, with a view to his deposition, when the clergy granted liberal subsidies to defray the expense of the war against the pope; and the Chevalier Bayard, at the battle of la Bastide, defeated the allied army, while Trivulcio took Bologna, and again routed the Venetians. 1512.

Gaston de Foix, the new duke of Nemours, a nephew to the king, retired, with Trivulcio, into the Milanese for its protection, as its safety would have been in jeopardy but for the unexpected and unaccountable defection from the allies of the Swiss troops, who withdrew into their own country. Upon this de Foix assumed the offensive by laying siege to Ravenna and giving battle to the allies, who were signally defeated,—de Foix and Bayard performing extraordinary feats of valour. The former was killed there, at the age of twenty-three. He was succeeded in command by the Maréchal de Chabannes de la Palice, and no other fruit was derived

A.D. from the victory, than enabling the French to retire from the Milanese,—retaining, of all their conquests, only the citadel of Milan, Cremona, and Noverra, with a few other fortresses. Genoa was among the first to shake off their yoke; and the pope laid an interdict on France, particularly applicable to Lyons, to which city the schismatic council, convened by Louis, had been transferred; and thus was the king again foiled in his scheme of Italian conquest, notwithstanding which he made another attempt to recover the Milanese, which he for the third time entered and conquered by la Tremouille, who was afterwards driven back by the Swiss, while the English at the same time advanced into Picardy, and besieged and took Terouenne, and
1513. gained the victory of Guinegate, or of the spurs, so called because more use was made of them by the French than of their swords. Louis, thus overwhelmed from all quarters, was compelled to submit to terms of peace, on very disadvantageous terms, with each of his opponents, and made his submission to the pope, Leo X., to obtain a revocation of the interdict, and, the more effectually to make his peace with him, gave him reason to expect that he would revoke the pragmatic sanction, which he had re-established in 1499.

The great expenses of his Italian campaigns were met by a strict and economical administration of the revenues of the crown, and occasional sales of

some of its lands, and Louis acquired much popularity by making no addition whatever to the taxes. A.D.

Anne, queen of France, and duchess of Brittany, died before her husband, leaving only two daughters, the eldest of whom, Claude, was heiress to the duchy, which, on her marriage to Francis, count of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. of France, she bestowed on him in full sovereignty, and from that period it passed to his successors as part of the dominion of the crown. Anne, more tenacious of her rights, and more attached to her subjects, had made no grant of the duchy to either of her husbands, Charles VIII. and Louis XII.; and some years before her death, Louis XII. being ill, and in imminent danger, she collected all her plate and valuable articles in three or four boats, to be navigated to her city of Nantes: these were stopped in their passage between Saumur and Nantes by the Maréchal de Gié. The king recovered, and the goods were returned to the queen; but she never forgave the indignity thus offered to her, nor ever ceased evincing her displeasure with the maréchal, against whom she proceeded before the parliament of Toulouse, and obtained from it a condemnation of the act, and a sentence on the offender of a suspension for five years of all his functions and privileges as a maréchal of France.

Louis, at the age of fifty-three, and soon after 1514.
the death of Anne, married Mary of England, the

- A.D. sister of Henry VIII.,—she being only eighteen. The festivities of the court on the occasion lasted six weeks, which, with the altered hours, and habits thus induced, so affected the king's health, already much impaired, that he died in ten weeks after the marriage. It appears that he was obliged to conform to the fashionable hour of noon for his dinner, instead of eight o'clock, as had been his wont, and not to go to rest until midnight, whereas
1515. his usual hour had been six. He died at his hotel of Tournelles in the eighteenth year of his reign, leaving no male issue.

His character as a sovereign has been greatly over-rated. His amiable apothegm, borrowed from the Emperor Hadrian, of not visiting as king the insults offered to him as duke, and the epithet of father of the people, bestowed on him by a portion of the public, and traditionally attached to his memory, have conferred a prestige on it to which it is scarcely entitled. He was, however, by nature mild and courteous, and no doubt felt, as he professed, an affectionate attachment for his subjects; and these good indications were promoted, if not instilled, by the salutary influence of his excellent wife Anne, than whom no better queen ever adorned the throne of France.

Her conduct throughout life had been irreproachable, and the decorum preserved in her court was exemplary, such as had not been witnessed in any

former or renewed in any succeeding reign. She attached to her person a select number of the daughters of the nobility, called *demoiselles d'honneur*, whose education and accomplishments, manners and morals, were the objects of her vigilant attention. She was accused of being somewhat imperious, and her virtues were of an austere, if not severe, character; but this the better enabled her to exercise the necessary control with reference to those qualities in which the king was most deficient, notwithstanding which she was the object of his affectionate attachment. There was only one subject, and that a most important one, in which his obstinacy baffled all her influence, and that was his infatuated prosecution of his Italian claims, at once fostered and defeated by his subservience to the counsels of those monsters of iniquity, Pope Alexander VI., and his illegitimate son, Cæsar Borgia, whose polluting friendship brought upon Louis the hatred of the Italians, and the contempt of his contemporary sovereigns, and occasioned the sacrifices he was compelled to submit to with a view to ensure his safe retreat from Italy.

Mary of England, the widow of Louis XII., was married within three months after the death of her husband to her first love, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

CHAPTER X.

HOUSE OF CAPET—SOVEREIGNS OF THE BRANCH-LINE
OF VALOIS-ANGOULEME.

1515—1589.

FRANCIS I.
(Père des
Lettres).—
A.D.
1515.

THE third chasm in the direct succession to the crown of France occurred on the death of Louis XII., without leaving a son, and was supplied by the next male heir, Francis, count of Angoulême, and duke of Valois. He was the great-grandson of Louis, duke of Orleans, and Valentina of Milan; acceded to the throne on the 1st of January, at the age of twenty-one, and was crowned at Rheims on the 25th of the same month. Louis XII. was much attached to him, but, noticing his expensive habits, exclaimed, "Alas! I labour in vain: that great boy will spoil all that I have done!" He was addicted to every species of dissipation, and, it being surmised that he had made too favourable an impression on the young Queen Mary, Grignaux, one of his ablest counsellors, cautioned him against pursuing it further, lest haply he might give himself a master. His widowed mother, Louisa of Savoy, was a woman of commanding talent, and

not over-scrupulous in the exercise of the influence it gave her. The late Queen Anne, of equal ability and better principles, was so apprehensive of what her daughter might suffer from the encroaching tendencies of the Countess of Angoulême, that she would not, so long as she lived, consent to the marriage of Claude with Francis. That marriage, however, was of too much importance to the crown of France to be long delayed, and accordingly, with the express sanction of Louis XII., it took place in 1514, about a twelvemonth after her mother's death, whose apprehensions of the consequences were fully justified. Claude underwent all the misery that the neglect of a husband and the malevolence of an unkind mother-in-law could inflict, and died within ten years after this ill-assorted union. One of the first acts of Francis I. after his accession, was to erect Angoulême into a ducal-peerage, and thus to confer the rank of duchess on his mother.

Imbued with the besetting sin of the members of the houses of Valois and of Anjou, his first public demonstration was the invasion of the Milanese, and he succeeded in conquering it, after defeating a Swiss army, in the pay of the emperor, at the celebrated battle of Marignan, under the conduct of the Constable de Bourbon, which lasted two whole days, and which the veteran commander, Trivulcio, who had been engaged in eighteen pitched battles,

called a combat, not of men, but of giants; and it was on this field that Francis had the degree of knighthood conferred on him by Bayard, the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*. The pope, Leo X., alarmed at the progress of the French, made his peace with Francis, and laid the basis of the concordat afterwards established between them. The expenses attending this Italian war were raised partly by increased taxation, but chiefly by the sale of judicial offices in the parliaments and subordinate legal tribunals of the kingdom—a royal traffic, termed in France “*la venalité des charges*,”—in consequence of which the judges so appointed were not subject to removal. This practice was first introduced by Francis I., and was continued by his successors. Notwithstanding the plausible objection, that those who buy will sell, the system worked well; and, as a general proposition, it may be affirmed that the integrity and learning of the French bench and bar have never been impugned.

Europe, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, had arrived at that epoch of its civilisation which may be considered the frame-work of its present condition and relations. It comprised nearly the same sovereignties; the cultivation of ancient and classical learning was revived; and religious reform was in full progress. Men of the highest range of intellect were occupied in the promotion of the principal branches of political, literary, and

religious improvement, under the three great leaders A.D. in those departments—Charles V., Erasmus, and Luther. Francis I. and Henry VIII. were secondary agents in the movement, and rather assisted than impeded its progress. The claim of Francis to his title of *restaurateur*, or *père des lettres*, was evinced by his foundation of the College Royale, his employment of learned men on embassies and in public employments, his extension of the Bibliothèque Royale, and incidentally by his patronage of the arts, and more especially of Leonardi da Vinci, who died in his arms. He also caused the magnificent palaces of Fontainebleau and St. Germain-en-Laye to be constructed, and commenced the building of the Louvre.

On the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, his 1516. grandson, Charles V., succeeded to the kingdoms of Spain, Navarre, and Sicily, and was elected Emperor of Germany on the death of his other grandfather, Maximilian, in opposition to the application of Francis I. for the imperial dignity. On this, as on every other occasion, Francis was foiled by the superior policy of Charles, who, although six years his junior, was greatly beyond him in judgment, and in his knowledge of men and of the world.

Francis I. concluded a peace at Fribourg with the Swiss, called the perpetual alliance, and which corresponded with its name so long as the monarchy

- A.D. subsisted. Publication of the concordat, as agreed with the pope, was then made. The university and the clergy strenuously protested against it, and the parliament refused to register the edict; but the king exercised his sovereign authority on the occasion, and insisted on its registration. The
1517. effect of the concordat was virtually to abrogate the most useful provisions of the pragmatic sanction, by restoring to the pope the annates and other ecclesiastical impositions, although, in a few instances, some special privileges conferred on the king and on the Gallican church were recognised and confirmed. A peace with England was effected by Francis, and an interview between the two kings
1519. took place between Guines and Ardres, called le Champ du Drap d'Or, from the tent of Francis being of golden tissue; the tents, armour, and costume of Henry and his courtiers were equally splendid. Their time was devoted to feasts and pageants, and no one useful object was promoted by this gorgeous assembly.*

* We may again refer to Shakespeare, who, in his Henry VIII., has given a graphic description of this meeting. We extract so much of it as applies to the cost of it to some of the performers:—

“*Abergavenny*. I do know kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have by this so sickened their estates, that never shall they abound as formerly.

“*Buckingham*. Oh, many have broke their backs with tying manors on them for this great journey. What did this vanity but minister a communication of a most poor issue?”

Owing to an accidental circumstance happening to himself, Francis set the fashion of wearing the hair cropped short upon the head, recompensed by a long beard, and this continued until Louis XIII. reversed the fashion by wearing long hair and no beard, and so it remained to the end of the Bourbons.

War now arose between Francis and Charles, originating in a dispute between the latter and the Duke de Bouillon. The emperor entered France, and took possession of Mouzon, which was immediately retaken by Francis. At length, after many encounters with varied success, and which might have proved decisive if intrigue had not prevailed in France over merit, Charles was permitted to retire across the Scheldt without molestation. Francis was at the same time the dupe of Leo X. and of the Cardinal of Sion; and, trusting the command of his armies and the honour of France to men incapable of doing justice to either, weakly allowed his mother to dissipate the sums raised for carrying on the war in the wasteful expenditure and entertainments of the court, now increased from the moderate attendance of females on Anne of Brittany, to upwards of three hundred ladies of various grades of conduct, constituting the court of the Duchess of Angoulême.

The sanguinary battle of la Bicoque terminated this disastrous campaign, and the loss of the entire

- A.D. Milanese was the consequence. The public debt of
1521. France originated with this war, by a loan to the king, from the city of Paris, of the sum of 200,000 livres. The annual amount of taxation before the end of this reign exceeded nine millions.
1522. A formidable league against France followed, composed of Charles V., Henry VIII., the Archduke of Austria, the Pope, the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Florentines. The Constable Duke of Bourbon, who had been persecuted by the Duchess of Angoulême in consequence of some personal slight evinced towards her, entered into the service of the emperor, who gave him the command of the imperial armies. The
1524. English were expelled from Picardy by the Duke of Vendome and la Tremouille, and the Germans from Champagne by the Duke of Guise. In Italy, Bonivet, a very inferior general, who had been promoted to the office of constable of France by the duchess, from her vindictive feeling against Bour-
1525. bon, was signally defeated by him at Rebec; on the retreat from which, at the bridge of Romagna, the celebrated Bayard was killed. Francis, nothing daunted by the coalition arrayed against him, proceeded in person to besiege Pavia, and committed the error of dividing his army, by sending one detachment from it to Savonna, and another to Naples. He then gave battle to the imperialists, in which his romantic bravery could not redeem

his strategic errors. After receiving many wounds, A.D.
 Marêchal Tremouille being killed, and the best blood
 of France spilled, he was defeated, made prisoner,
 and conducted into Spain, having first transmitted
 a note to his mother, commencing thus: "Tout
 est perdu fors l'honneur."

The king still remained a prisoner in Madrid,
 whither his sister, the Duchess of Alençon, went to
 intercede for his liberation, but not being able to effect
 her object, Francis submitted to the terms dictated
 by Charles, and which were of the most stringent
 character, involving the surrender of Burgundy and
 other provinces, and the delivery up of several of
 the principal cities in Flanders; also, to renounce all
 claim upon Navarre, and to pay Henry VIII. a
 large debt owing to him by Charles. It appears
 that he made no objection to these terms, in the
 intention of repudiating them, on the plea of duress
 by imprisonment, as soon as he could do so with
 impunity. This opportunity occurred, and sub-
 jected him to the only charge of perfidy, or breach 1526.
 of faith and honour, ever incurred by him. He re-
 turned to Paris, leaving his two sons as hostages,
 and soon after his arrival the Viceroy of Naples was
 sent by Charles V. to require a ratification of the
 treaty of Madrid, and a fulfilment of its several
 stipulations. By way of answer, the viceroy was
 invited to assist at an audience of the deputies
 from Burgundy, who were sent there to protest

A.D. against the cession of that province, and the vice-roy received an announcement in support of Francis from the Holy League, so called from the pope, Clement VII., being at the head of it, with all the Italian states, and Henry VIII. of England, who had combined to prevent the emperor from obtaining possession of Milan.

The Duke of Bourbon, in the mean time, obtained possession of the whole duchy of Milan, and, being disappointed of the means of paying his army, retained it in its obedience by promising it the plunder of Rome, against which he immediately marched, and carried it by storm. He was killed in the assault, and his corpse borne triumphantly by his troops into the city, which was pillaged during three days, and the pope invested in the castle of St. Angelo. In this exigency, Henry VIII. consented to act as mediator, and made an offer to the emperor, on behalf of Francis, of the sum of two millions of crowns for the ransom of the young princes, and for annulling the treaty of Madrid, which offer was peremptorily rejected by Charles V.

1528. The arrival of Lautrec, at the head of a French army, in Italy, led to the liberation of the pope, which was followed by the submission of Genoa to Lautrec, who then took Pavia, and proceeded to
1529. Naples, before which he died of an epidemic which swept off the greater part of his forces; and this disastrous termination of the campaign so reduced

Francis I. that he was compelled to submit to a A.D.
 peace concluded at Cambray, by the terms of
 which he consented to the payment of two millions
 of crowns, and to renounce all claim to the duchy
 of Milan, the counties of Ast, of Flanders, and of
 Artois, and consented to marry Eleanor, the sister 1530.
 of Charles V., and widow of Emanuel, king of Por-
 tugal. In the next year Louisa of Savoy, duchess
 of Angoulême, his mother, died.

The entire union of Brittany with the kingdom
 of France was effected on the voluntary cession of
 Claude, and this formed the last great element in
 the consolidation of the kingdom. 1532.

Calvin, under the protection of Margaret of Na-
 varre, made many proselytes in France, afterwards
 known as Huguenots; and about the same time
 Ignatius Loyola sent sixteen of his disciples to
 Paris, who founded the order of Jesuits in France,
 and thus the bane and antidote took root together.

On the death of Sforza, who had been recognised 1534.
 by the treaty of Cambray as Duke of Milan, Francis
 renewed his pretensions to that duchy. Charles,
 then on his return from the defeat of Barbarossa,
 in Africa, rejected with disdain the propositions for
 peace made by Francis, regained the possession of
 Piedmont and Savoy, and invaded Provence, but
 was repulsed by the Constable Anne de Montmo-
 renci, and compelled to raise the siege of Marseilles.
 The war continued to rage with unabated fury,

A.D. during which Francis summoned Charles to a court
1537. of peers, as a vassal to the crown of France, for acts of treason and rebellion against it.

This absurd demonstration had no effect on Charles, but he appears to have been disconcerted
1538. by an extraordinary alliance entered into by Francis with the Sultan of Turkey, Soliman the Magnificent, who had confided the command of his armies to Barbarossa. In these circumstances, Charles concluded a truce for two years with Francis; and, the Genoese having revolted, Charles required a passage through France for himself and his army, on their march against that city, and offered to bestow Milan on such son of Francis as he might select, except the eldest. It was on this occasion that Triboulet, the king's jester, inscribed in a list of fools in his tablets the name of Charles. "But," said the king, "if I let him pass without giving him any molestation, what will you then write?" "In that case," replied Triboulet, "I would efface his name, and substitute yours."

The Dauphin Francis died, under suspicion of having been poisoned by Montieuculi, at the instance of Catherine de Medici, the wife of Henry, the next brother of Francis, who, by such death, became dauphin and heir apparent.

1544. The war recommenced between Francis and the emperor, upon which the former renewed his alliance with Soliman, who sent an army into Italy

under the command of Barbarossa, king of Algiers, A.D.
 who had been defeated at Tunis by the emperor. The diet of Spires, then sitting, declared Francis an enemy at once of the emperor, and of the Christian name and faith, for thus entering into league with the infidels. At the same diet, a protest having been presented against the pretensions of the pope by Luther and the reformers, the name of Protestants was first given to them,—afterwards superseded in France by that of Huguenot.

Francis, with a view to strengthen his cause, entered into alliance with Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden, and invested him with the order of St. Michael. This was the earliest instance of political intercourse between France and any of the northern powers.

The imperialists invaded Champagne, and Henry VIII. at the same time entered Picardy, and possessed himself of Boulogne, which was ill defended by Vervins. The Maréchal de Biez then made an unsuccessful attempt to recover it, and Vervins 1545.
 was afterwards beheaded for the loss.

In Italy, Barbarossa failed in his endeavours to take Nice and Naples, and returned with his galleys and army to Toulon, and went from thence to Algiers, where he died.

The French, during this campaign, obtained a splendid victory at Cerizoles, in Italy, in which 12,000 of the imperialists were slain, at a cost of

A.D. little more than two hundred to the French, who were under the command of the Duke d' Enghien, and the victory was mainly attributable to Montlue, a knight of Gascony.

Peace was concluded with the emperor and with Henry. The former had engaged his daughter to any younger son of Francis, bestowing Flanders or the Milanese as her dowry: this engagement was rendered nugatory by the death of the Dauphin Francis, and of Charles, duke of Orleans, leaving Henry, the second dauphin, alone surviving.

Henry, by the peace entered into with him, undertook to restore Boulogne in eight years, on payment of 800,000 gold crowns.

The close of the life and reign of Francis I. was fatally distinguished by one of the most cruel instances of religious persecution on record, by which Francis acquired the unenviable notoriety of being the first of his race who instituted a war of extermination against thousands of his subjects on account of their religious persuasion: these were the successors of the Albigenses, who had three centuries previously taken refuge in the gorges of the mountains which separated Dauphiné from Piedmont, and who had recently entered into communion with the Calvinists.

The cruelties perpetrated at the executions, as they were called, of the towns of Cabrieres, in the Comtat Venaissin, and of Merindol, in Provence,

with those of twenty-two other towns and villages, A.D.
 were they not unhappily too well authenticated,
 would scarcely be credible. The king's troops, under
 the direction of Jacques Meinier, baron d'Oppede,
 president of the parliament of Aix; of the Baron de
 la Garde; and of Guerin,* the king's advocate, were
 ordered, according to the terms of the decree of the
 parliament, to burn all the heads of families in those
 towns—to confiscate all their property,—the other
 inhabitants being massacred without distinction of
 age or sex; their houses burnt, their orchards and
 vineyards rooted up, their cattle driven away, and
 even the adjoining forests consumed by fire, to
 complete the scene of blood and devastation. It
 has been computed that upwards of six thousand
 persons were thus slaughtered.

Francis was much affected by the death of his
bon frère, Henry VIII., and, notwithstanding his
 separation from Rome, caused funeral obsequies
 to be solemnised to his memory at Notre Dame;
 and, within two months afterwards, died himself at 1547.

* This man was hanged in the next reign (1554) for various
 crimes of which he was accused, and, amongst others, of the
 cruelties committed at Merindol. The principals acquitted them-
 selves of the charge. These atrocities of Guerin would probably
 not have been noticed had he not committed other offences.

In page 263 of this volume, we erroneously attributed these
 executions to Louis XIV., who was guilty, at a later period, of
 causing similar acts of cruelty to be committed by his dragoons
 against the Huguenots of Languedoc, and the other southern pro-
 vinces.

Rambouillet, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign, of a lingering disease, the consequence of his licentious habits. He left only one son, the Dauphin Henry, and one daughter, Margaret, duchess of Savoy.

The states-general were never convened during this reign; but, soon after his return from Madrid, the king summoned an assembly of notables to devise measures for raising money to pay his ransom, and to levy troops. He harangued them eloquently, and they as eloquently tendered their lives and fortunes in his favour; then the assembly terminated as it commenced with speeches and professions only.

Some salutary ordinances for the improvement of the law, and for expediting and shortening legal proceedings, were issued at the instance of the parliament; also, for restraining the encroachments of the ecclesiastical on the civil jurisdiction, and for establishing, for the first time, a register of births and deaths throughout the kingdom, and requiring that all public acts and legal documents should be written in the current French language, and not in the barbarous Latin and antiquated jargon hitherto adopted.

It was said of Francis that he exhibited a contrast to Alexander the Great, who would not attend to the claims of love until he had satisfied those of ambition; whereas Francis never seriously attended to affairs of state until he became incapable of love,

and, it might be added, consequently incapable of any continuous mental exertion, which was much the case with him during the last two or three years of his life,—affording only a miserable succession of languor, infirmity, and pain.

At an early epoch of his reign, an important acquisition was made to France by possession being taken, on its behalf, by the Florentine, J. Verunzane, of the extensive province of Canada, and which so continued until ceded to England by the peace of 1763.

Francis I. has been a popular character with most of the French historians, who allege that nothing was wanting but good fortune to constitute a perfect sovereign,—the fact being, that, with a few brilliant and superficial qualifications, he had no one ingredient of true greatness about him, and was equally deficient in policy as in arms,—being infinitely exceeded in both by his junior rival, Charles V. He was, in addition, frivolous, capricious, and impetuous; and the latent cruelty of his disposition was elicited by his religious bigotry, and the atrocious massacres in Provence, and, under his immediate direction, at Paris, where, on one occasion only, six Huguenots were burnt by the *petit feu*; and many similar acts of cruelty and persecution were sanctioned by him, with a view to establish an exclusive uniformity of faith.

The title of *Protecteur des Lettres* was awarded

to Francis, which it is difficult to reconcile with the fact that, on the 15th of January 1525, an edict was issued by him for suppressing all the printing-presses throughout France, and prohibiting, under pain of death, the publication of any new work. At a later period, he appears to have been better advised, and to have thus acquired a questionable claim to the appellation by the foundation of the royal college, and the establishment of a government presiding press on a very extensive scale, and of rapid growth, considering that the first book printed in Paris was of no earlier date than the year 1470.

HENRY II.

A.D.
1547.

Henry II., son of Francis I. and of Claude, the heiress of Bretagne, succeeded to the throne, and to the duchy, as now annexed to it. He had, in 1535, married Catherine, the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici; she, however, possessed no influence over him, as he was altogether governed by his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, the widow of the Chevalier Beeze, seneschal of Normandy, a woman of exquisite beauty and extraordinary talent. She was eighteen years older than the king, and was created by him Duchess of Valentinois, and during his life was to all intents queen of France. His first acquaintance with her was on her soliciting and obtaining the pardon of her husband, who had been condemned to die for treason.

The commencement of this reign was considered

ominous of its conclusion: at each period death by single combat took place. The first occurrence was a duel, sanctioned and witnessed by the king, between Gui de Chabot, count of Jarnac, brother-in-law of the Duchess d'Etampes, the mistress of Francis I., and Jerome de la Chataignerie, the favourite of the present king, in which the latter was killed. The other was the accidental death of the king himself, by the unintentional thrust into his eye of a lance by Montgomery when engaged against him in a tournament. A.D. 1548.

This was altogether the reign of favourites, of whom the foremost was the all-powerful Diana, by whose permission the Constable de Montmorenci was recalled to court by Henry, notwithstanding the dying injunction to the contrary of his father. Francis, duke of Guise, and his brother Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, with the Marechal de St. André, shared the favour of the king.

The intimate relations subsisting between France and Navarre were now further promoted and strengthened by the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Henry, king of Navarre, and of Margaret, sister of Francis I., with Antony, duke of Bourbon, on whom Jeanne conferred the title of king, although he was not acknowledged by the other European powers otherwise than as Duke of Vendome. The offspring of this marriage was Henry IV. of France.

A.D.
1549.

Henry II. entered into a treaty of alliance with the Swiss cantons, to which Zurich and Berne, to their great credit, refused to accede, in consequence of the cruel persecutions to which the Calvinists were subjected. He laid siege to Boulogne, which was ceded to him by arrangement with England in the following year, in consideration of a payment of 400,000 crowns.

The taxes now caused so severe an infliction on the country, that the occupiers and proprietors of land sought immunity from them by residing in Paris, the faubourgs of which increased to such an extent as to give cause for alarm that Paris might prove the ruin of the kingdom, in consequence of which a royal edict was issued, ascertaining for the first time the boundaries of Paris, and a like edict was made by Louis XIV. in 1672. London, at that time, excited similar apprehensions, and proclamations to the same effect were issued by Elizabeth and James I. The preamble to the edict of Louis XIV. ran thus: "That it was to be feared that the city of Paris, which had arrived at such an excessive magnitude, might share the same fate with some of the most powerful cities of antiquity, which contained within themselves the elements of their own ruin,—it being next to impossible that any sufficient police could be distributed over so extensive a surface."

1552.

Louis commenced hostilities against the Emperor

Charles V., in Italy, on the subject of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and afterwards joined Maurice of Saxony and the Protestant League against the emperor, who besieged Metz, which was valiantly defended by Francis, duke of Guise, who succeeded in repelling the imperialists. To make amends for this disappointment, the imperialists took Therouene, which, having already suffered much when besieged by Francis I., was now so utterly destroyed as to leave scarcely a trace of it remaining. The imperialists, under the command of Charles V., were defeated under the walls of Renti; the siege of which, however, the French were obliged to raise, after a challenge given by Henry to the emperor to meet him in personal combat, which the latter evaded. Marêchal de Brissac, the commander of the French forces in Italy, made no considerable progress in Piedmont, to which distant field of action he was sent, owing to the king's jealousy of the favour shown to him by the Duchess of Valentinois. 1554.

France was reduced to a condition of great financial exhaustion by the continued state of war in which it was placed, and new taxes were imposed and rigidly exacted. Among others was one of twenty-five livres on every church steeple, and an *ad valorem* duty on all church plate.

The war between Henry and Charles V. subsided, owing to want of funds on each side, until a truce was concluded between them at Vaucelles for five 1556.

A.D. years, and in the same year Charles abdicated the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and Spain in favour of his son Philip.

The Cardinal Caraffa, at the instance of the Guises, induced the king to break the existing truce with the empire and with Spain, and one army was accordingly engaged in Italy, under the command of the Duke of Guise, who had superseded the Marechal de Brissac, and another was sent into Flanders under the Constable Montmorenci.

The French, ill seconded by the pope, and opposed by the Spanish army, under the command of the Duke of Alva, made little progress in Italy; and had to encounter another enemy, by war being declared by Mary of England against France.

1557.

Admiral Coligni, being besieged in St. Quentin by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the Constable de Montmorenci, with an inferior force, advanced to its relief against the advice of the Marechal de St. André. The constable succeeded in throwing in some succour, but was defeated on his retreat, with a loss of upwards of 4,000 men slain on the field, and himself taken prisoner, with the marechal and the Duke of Montpensier; the Duke of Enghien was killed; and Coligni was obliged to surrender St. Quentin, and himself as prisoner. This battle of St. Quentin spread terror throughout France, and was compared to the former great victories of the English. The Duke of

Guise, with the small remains of his army, was recalled; the marshal with difficulty retained his position in Piedmont, and Lyons was nearly taken by surprise by the Spaniards. A.D.

The battle of St. Quentin being fought on St. Lawrence's day, and so many Frenchmen of distinguished rank killed or taken prisoners, so elated the Spaniards, that Philip, in commemoration of such a brilliant victory, caused his palace of the Escorial to be built in the shape of a gridiron, the article on which the saint suffered martyrdom.

The Duke of Guise, on his return, was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and redeemed the loss of St. Quentin by the infinitely more important capture of Calais, which had been in possession of the English since the year 1347. 1558. Guines and Thionville fell with it. The Duke of Nevers took Dunkirk, but was defeated at Gravelines by the celebrated but unfortunate Count Egmont.

The Dauphin Francis married Mary, queen of Scotland, and in right of her kingdom the title of Roi Dauphin was bestowed on him by the king, with the arms and title of King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

The inveterate hatred of the Guises and of the king's favourites against the Huguenots, gave rise to an edict, in the month of June, for the punishment by death of all Lutherans, which was ratified by all the parliaments of France without qualifica- 1559.

tion; and, there having been some councillors in the parliament of Paris who had suggested the liberation from prison of a convicted Lutheran, the king in person assisted at a meeting of the parliament, and singled out and caused five councillors to be imprisoned. The parliament of Paris then consisted of one hundred and thirty members, and there were seven parliaments in the kingdom, including that of Brittany, recently constituted.

The peace of Cateau Cambresis was now concluded by the Constable Montmorenci, much to the dissatisfaction of the Guises. By the terms of the peace, Calais was to be restored to England at the end of eight years, provided Queen Elizabeth should do no act injurious to Scotland or to France; but as she failed in this condition by sending succour to the Admiral Coligni, and encouraging the reformers in Scotland, Calais became forfeited to France. In other respects, all conquests were restored except Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which were retained by France; and by the same treaty it was stipulated that Philip of Spain should marry Elizabeth of France, daughter of the king, and that his sister Margaret should marry the Duke of Savoy.

An assembly of the notables was held in a chamber of the parliament, at which the magistracy, for the first time, assisted as a fourth order of the state, and not as included in the *tiers état*. This, how-

ever, proved a singular instance,—not being again repeated either at Blois or in Paris.

The fatal event adverted to in a preceding page, occurred at one of several pageants and tournaments held in honour of the royal marriages, when the king casually received in his eye the lance of his opposing knight, Count Montgomery, a captain in the Scotch guard.* The king died in consequence on the 10th of July, in the forty-second year of his age, and twelfth of his reign. He left four sons and three daughters by his wife Catherine of Medici. By a singular coincidence, this race of Valois ended as that of Capet had done, by three brothers reigning in succession, and not one of them leaving male issue.

Francis II. was only sixteen years of age when he succeeded his father. He had been already married to Mary, queen of Scots, and fell under the immediate control of her two ambitious uncles, Francis, duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

FRANCIS II.
A.D.
1559.

The Duchess of Valentinois and the Constable Montmorenci were immediately dismissed the court, the former for obvious reasons, but particularly for having given great offence to the queen-dowager

* Count Montgomery having subsequently joined the Huguenots, and being taken prisoner in an engagement with the papal party, the queen-dowager, then regent for Henry III., satisfied her vindictive spirit by causing him to be beheaded in 1574.

A.D. by saying, that, excepting one natural daughter, there was not one of the children of Henry II. who at all resembled him.

Bitter animosity still subsisted on the part of the Papists against the Huguenots, which was greatly aggravated by the assassination of Anthony Minard, a president of parliament, who was killed by a pistol-shot while riding on his mule from the court. James Stuart, a Scotchman, was suspected of being the murderer. This incident hastened the trial and conviction of Anne du Bourg, a councillor of parliament, for the crime of Calvinism. After being degraded, he was executed at the Grève. This execution and the previous assassination rendered each party implacable in its resentment, and gave rise to the proceedings against the supposed conspiracy devised at Amboise against the Guises.

1560. This conspiracy, in which, as is observed by a contemporary journalist, there was more of general discontent than of mere Calvinism, was divulged by one Avenelles, an advocate, to the Guises, who were attending the court at Blois, and removed with it to Amboise. The pretence for the plot was religion—the secret promoter was represented to be the Prince de Condé—and the active agent one la Renaudie. The Duke of Guise's authority, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was, on this information, renewed; the greater part of the conspirators, amounting to 1,200, all Huguenots of

course, were arrested and executed on the spot, chiefly by drowning in the Loire. A.D.

The upright and learned Chancellor Olivier died of grief at these proceedings, and was succeeded by an equally distinguished judge, Michel de l'Hôpital. The prince was accused of being a party to the plot, but cleared himself of the charge. 1560.

The edict of Romorantin now issued, imputed connivance of heresy to the bishops, and laid a prohibition on the parliament, suspected of favouring the Huguenots. This edict was registered without difficulty, and with many modifications. It is said that the Chancellor l'Hôpital signed it with reluctance, and only to avoid the greater evil of submitting to the proposed alternative, the establishment of an Inquisition in France.

Another edict, relating to second nuptials, followed, on which the king assembled an extraordinary council at Fontainebleau, where the Admiral Coligni presented a memorial in favour of the Calvinists. It was determined that a meeting of the states-general should be convened at Orleans, that the Calvinists should not for the present be disturbed, and that a national ecclesiastical council should be convoked, in case the pope refused to call a general one. This resolution hastened his decision.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were summoned to attend the states at Orleans,

A.D.

and the prince was arrested, on his entering that city, on the charge of a new conspiracy discovered by James de la Sague, one of his agents. The prince was convicted, and sentenced to be beheaded, and execution was alone prevented by the death of the king. Various accounts have been handed down of a refusal to sign the sentence by several of the judges; but De Thou states that, although duly pronounced and prepared, it was not signed, in consequence of the king's death.

1560.

Francis II. died at Orleans on the 5th of December, in the eighteenth year of his age,* having reigned seventeen months. The certain minority of his successor was considered less injurious to the kingdom than the imaginary majority of Francis II., acting as a puppet to the Guises.

CHARLES IX.

A.D.

1560.

Charles IX., at the age of ten, succeeded his brother, under the administration of the queen-mother, with the assistance of the king of Navarre, lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The states-general, which had been assembled at Orleans during the late reign, considered that their functions ceased with the death of Henry, and that they should be convened anew. It was, how-

* An improbable story was circulated of his having had a night-cap steeped in poison handed to him by his attendant, which, thus applied to an imposthume in his ear, occasioned immediate death.

ever, determined that, by the law of France, the king never dies,—the maxim being, “Le mort saisit le vif,” or, according to the more common form of expression, “Le roi est mort, vive le roi”—and that the deputies were at liberty to proceed in the fulfilment of their duty. The nation was at this time forty-two millions in debt, created during the last fourteen years; and civil discord prevailed throughout the realm. The states were unable or unwilling to apply a remedy to either of these evils. A.D.

In consequence of discussions with the pope, the king was advised to renew the pragmatic sanction, for regulating the election of bishops, upon the ground that the concordat, entered into with Francis I., was in force only during his life. The Cardinal d’Este was commissioned by the pope to enter into an arrangement, by which the concordat, with some modifications, was again substituted for the pragmatic sanction.

The states, although declining to come in aid of the political difficulties of the kingdom, suggested and established, with the royal permission, some useful laws and ordinances, and then separated.

The Constable de Montmorenci, the Duke of Guise, and the Marechal de St. André, opposed the queen, who, in consequence, consented to an application made by the Huguenot chiefs, to hold a colloquy at Poissy between the two religious parties. 1561. Theodore Beza, as spokesman for the

A.D. reformers, was opposed with foul invectives by Lainez, the pope's legate; and the conference ended with no other result than an increase of jealousy between the parties, when the queen-mother issued a decree granting liberty of conscience to the subject, and another allowing the entrance of the Jesuits into France.

1561. Catharine of Medici, who was never on friendly terms with the queen-dowager, compelled her to return to Scotland,—a voyage undertaken with a reluctance ominous of her troubles and their fatal termination.

The parliament passed a decree absolving the Prince de Condé from the sentence of condemnation against him on account of the conspiracy at Amboise.

The queen, further to conciliate the Huguenots, issued an order granting them liberty for the public exercise of worship, with a view of weakening the influence of the Duke of Guise, whom the king of Navarre had now joined, and declared himself a convert to Romanism. Notwithstanding the occasional indulgences to the Huguenots, circumstances soon occurred leading to that long series of civil, religious war which devastated France with fire and sword, with the faggot and the rack, during the next forty years.

The first outbreak occurred at Vassy, in Champagne, where a Huguenot congregation was inter-

rupted and insulted by the people of the Duke of Guise while travelling through it; words and blows ensued, terminating in a general massacre of the Calvinists. Upon this the Prince of Condé was declared leader of the Huguenots,—their headquarters being at Orleans; Rouen also was held by them, and was besieged by the king of Navarre, who died of the wounds he received there. The Huguenots were defeated at Dreux, when Condé was made prisoner by the royalists, the Constable de Montmorenci, their commander, by the Huguenots, and the Maréchal de St. André was killed. The Duke of Guise then laid siege to Orleans, and was assassinated before it by one Poltrôt, who, being put on the rack, alleged that he had been instigated by the Admiral Coligni. A peace was concluded between the parties, which had lasted four years when the intrigues of Catharine, the bigotry of the Catholics, the ambition of the chiefs, and the duplicity of the king,—taught him by his mother,—caused, at the instance of the Duke of Alva, a renewal of the persecution of the Huguenots, and compelled Condé to resort to arms to secure the person of the king by way of sanction to their cause. In this attempt he failed, and the battle of St. Denis ensued, when the Constable de Montmorenci was mortally wounded, and each party claimed the victory. Peace was again made, called *la petite paix*, as it lasted only six months;

A.D.

1563.

1567.

A.D. 1569. after which war was for the third time renewed, the Huguenots, assisted by the Protestant princes of Germany, were defeated at Jarnac by the Duke of Anjou, the brother of the king; and the Prince of Condé having surrendered himself prisoner, was murdered in cold blood by Montesquion, a captain of the guard of the duke.

Henry, prince of Bearn, was brought by his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, to the camp of the Huguenots, together with Henry, the young prince of Condé; the former was elected chief of the Huguenots, and Coligni their military commander, and, soon after the day of Jarnac, he was again defeated by the Duke of Anjou at Moncontour.

Notwithstanding these reverses, Coligni crossed the kingdom to make a junction with his German allies, over whom the Maréchal de Cossé obtained a victory at Arnay-le-Duc.

1571. The last peace, called by the name of *la paix boiteuse*, on account of its inequalities of terms and parties, was signed at St. Germain. The benefit conferred by it on the Calvinists made them, not without reason, suspect the intentions of the court. To allay this feeling a marriage between the Prince of Bearn and Margaret, sister of the king, was proposed, the queen of Navarre and several Huguenot chiefs were invited to court, and among them the Admiral Coligni, who was led to

expect the command of an army into Flanders. The marriage was accordingly solemnised, Henry being accompanied by a large party of his friends. Jeanne d'Albret, his mother, died shortly afterwards,—poisoned, as was universally believed. Thus was preluded the tragedy of St. Bartholomew.

A.D.

Scarcely had the marriage festivities terminated, when, on the 24th of August, one hour after midnight, the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, by their mournful toll, gave the fatal signal.

1572.

The royalists commenced the slaughter by forcing the gates and doors of the habitations of the Huguenots, and murdering the inmates without distinction of age or sex. This horrible massacre lasted during several days in Paris, and was prolonged to two months in the provinces. The palace of the Louvre afforded no shelter to those who sought safety there; their blood was shed under the eyes of the king and of his fiendish mother. While in the delirium of enjoyment, the impious monarch fired from his balcony on the unhappy fugitives, and Catharine uttered expressions of vindictive ferocity, combined with her wonted disgusting cynicism.

Admiral Coligni was the first victim in this night of horrors. The bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled the knell of seventy thousand Calvinists,—rendering the name of France execra-

ble throughout Europe. The Counts de Tendes, de Charni, les St. Hérain d'Auvergne, Tannegui le Veneur, de Gordes, de Villeneuve, de Vaucluse, de Mandelot, d'Ortez, and de Matignon, have deserved credit for refusing to act as executioner.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé saved their lives by abjuring their religion. Charles IX. at first endeavoured to throw the blame on the Guises, but he afterwards avowed his participation in the measure, and ordered the parliament to condemn Coligni and all the victims. The disgrace of this massacre—advised by Catharine and the Maréchal de Retz, sanctioned by a large portion of the nobility, and approved by the parliament and the magistracy—should not altogether be charged on Charles IX.; but kings would escape censure if they withheld their names from being implicated with the atrocities of their advisers.

The Huguenots were not disheartened, and it would be absurd to suppose that they could be induced by such treatment to deliver up the towns assigned to them for their security. They refused to do so, and the war recommenced by the Duke of Anjou besieging Rochelle, one of those towns; he lost the greater part of his army before it; Sancerre also held out; and peace, on favourable terms to the Huguenots, was concluded for the fourth time.

The Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., was elected King of Poland on the death of Sigismond II. A.D. 1573.

A new party was then formed, called the *parti des politiques*, at the head of which were the Duke d'Alençon and the Montmorencis. The Huguenots joined them. Catharine, aware of this union, arrested the duke and the king of Navarre,—the Marêchals de Montmorenci and de Cossé were imprisoned in the Bastille,—la Mole and Coconas, favourites of Alençon, were executed, and the Prince de Condé escaped into Germany. Three armies were now assembled, prepared to march against the Huguenots.

Charles IX. died, filled with remorse. He was 1574. not without some disposition to patronise the arts, and had a taste for poetry. The Marêchal de Retz, a Florentine, had perverted him, and made him neglect the useful instruction imparted to him formerly by the brave de Capierre, as he is styled by Brantome.

This reign, replete with murder and with profligacy, combined with the darkest superstition, was fertile in law reforms, due to the successive labours of Cujas, de Thou, Harlai, and above all to the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, who died in disgrace in 1573.

Charles married Elizabeth of Austria, who survived, leaving no issue by him.

HENRI III.

A.D.
1574.

Henry, duke of Anjou, and king of Poland, third surviving son of Henry II., became heir to the crown on the death of Charles IX., who by his will appointed his mother, Catharine, regent of the kingdom until his brother should return from Poland. Henry fled furtively from Cracow, the ancient Polish capital, and, after lingering some time at Vienna and at Venice, met his mother at Lyons, who gave up the government to him.

His conduct from this time presented an extraordinary contrast to his former exploits in the field. He attached himself to the most worthless minions of his court—entered into every species of dissipation, combined with a superstitious observance of all religious ceremonies, heading processions of penitents, and acting a part in the external rites of the church; while the great body of the Calvinists, whom it would have been alike his duty and his interest to conciliate, were the object of his unqualified aversion.

The Duke of Alençon, the king's brother, and Henry of Navarre, with the aid of Queen Elizabeth of England, put themselves at the head of the Huguenots, who had subordinate leaders in each province, one of whom Montbrun, in Dauphiné, was taken prisoner and decapitated for stopping the baggage of the king at the bridge of Beauvoisin, alleging that war placed all the parties to it on an

equality. The king, who had hitherto done his best to promote the marriage of his brother with Elizabeth, became jealous of the increased power it might give him, and withdrew his support. He would have proceeded further against him for his open rebellion, but for his still greater detestation of the Duke of Guise.

Catharine of Medici, in the pursuit of her barbarous policy, and alarmed by the numbers and credit of the Calvinists, advised the king to effect a pacification with them, invited Alençon to the court, created him Duke of Anjou, and added la Maine, Touraine, and Berri to his appanage.

The terms of the pacification were most comprehensive. The king of Navarre retracted the abjuration extorted from him on the eve of St. Bartholomew; the memories of the Admiral Coligni, la Mole, and Coconas were rehabilitated, and their estates restored to their heirs; entire liberty of conscience was conceded; public exercise permitted of the religion, *pretendue réformée*, except within two leagues of Paris or the court. It was, moreover, stipulated that the eight parliaments of the kingdom should be composed in equal moieties of the two parties, and the chiefs of the Calvinist confederation acknowledged as faithful subjects. It was further declared that monks who might have married should not be dis-

A.D. quieted on that account, and that their issue should be legitimate.

The indignation of the Catholics at this compromise was roused to the highest pitch; they formed themselves into a Holy League or Union, extending over the kingdom, and the Duke of Guise was elected chief; a state of civil warfare arose between the parties, and, in one of their many encounters, the Duke of Guise received a pistol shot in his face, which so disfigured it as to obtain for him the name of *le Balafré*; and, in another skirmish, *Besine*, the assassin of *Coligni*, was killed.

1576. The king at this time expressed great solicitude to retain Poland, and to persuade the diet of that kingdom to acknowledge his title; they, however, elected *Stephen Bathori*, prince of *Transylvania*; yet so pertinacious was Henry in his claim, that he instructed his ambassador at Venice to complain of the Doge recognising Stephen except as his lieutenant.

The Holy League ramified through the provinces by forming associations, and promoting insurrections against the Huguenots.

A meeting of the states-general having been convened at Blois, a deputation from it was sent to the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé soliciting their attendance and concurrence in a vote prohibiting the exercise of any other than the

Roman Catholic religion. The Duke of Anjou A.D. declared against the edict of pacification, when, after many deliberations, that edict was revoked, and the league signed by the king, the Duke of Anjou, and others. The states then passed a decree, giving to the princes of the blood, whether peers or not, precedence over all the orders of the nobility; and upon reporting it to the king, the President, Christopher de Thou, observed, that “no act had ever passed so essential to the maintenance and integrity of the Salic law.”

The states being wholly subservient to Guise, 1580. Henry endeavoured to supersede him by appearing as the patron of the league, and issuing a sixth edict of pacification on terms less favourable to the Huguenots than the former. The Duke of Alençon, having been invited by the Hollanders, who had thrown off their allegiance to Philip II. of Spain, to place himself at their head, quitted the court, but soon rendered himself so contemptible by his weakness and incapacity as to be abandoned by his new subjects, upon which he withdrew to Terebonde, where he soon afterwards died. With him closed the Valois race, leaving Henry of Navarre, a distant relation, the nearest male heir to the throne. This rendered the league still more attached to their chief, the Duke of Guise. They obtained from the Sorbonne a decree of exclusion from the succession of any heretic, and declared

Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of the king of Navarre, to be first prince of the blood. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Duke of Guise, as protector of the league, with Philip II.

The war continued between the Leaguers and the Huguenots, who were driven out of Toul and Verdun. Pope Sextus V., though not friendly to the Guises, fulminated a bull of excommunication against Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé: the former appealed against it to the parliament and to a general council, and had his appeal affixed to the gates of the Vatican. The league appointed a council of sixteen creatures of the duke, with dominion over the sixteen departments of Paris, and the war of the three Henrys, as it was called, raged with redoubled fury: these three were, Henry, the king, to whom the more loyal and moderate Romanists attached themselves; Henry of Guise, the leader of the league, and of its ferocious and intolerant associations; and Henry, king of Navarre, presumptive heir to the crown, and acknowledged chief of the Huguenots. The sixteen hardly concealed their intention of dethroning the king; the Bastille and the arsenal were occupied by the Duke of Epernon, while the Duke of Mayenne, the brother of Guise, was more engaged in repressing the enormities of his own party, than in attacking his opponents.

During these Parisian troubles, Henry of Navarre, A.D.
 and his German and English allies, gained a sig- 1587.
 nal victory at Coutras, in Guienne, over Joyeuse,
 who was killed after it in cold blood by Lamoignon
 St. Heraye. The Huguenots sustained a consi-
 derable loss by the death of their consistent
 patron, the Prince of Condé, by poison, at St.
 Jean d'Angely, who was succeeded by his posthu-
 mous son, Henry. The king, exposed more and
 more to the ignominious insults of the popu-
 lace, instigated by the sixteen, caused a body of 1588.
 four thousand Swiss troops to enter Paris, upon
 which the people took the alarm, unpaved the
 streets, extended chains across them, rang the
 tocsin, and formed barricades, encircling the royal
 troops, and carrying their entrenchments as far
 as the Louvre. The Duke of Guise entered
 Paris in triumph, and the king fled precipitately
 to Chartres, and afterwards to Rouen, where a
 disgraceful peace was assented to by him, his chief
 inducement being a dread of the Spanish Armada,
 then on its way to England, a threat being held out
 that the Huguenots and their adherents in France
 would be visited on its return. The king, recover-
 ing from this panic, could no longer endure the
 insults to which he was subjected, and, conscious
 of his want of power to bring to justice the great
 criminal, who apparently was prepared to play
 the part of a Pepin, invited him to a conference

at Blois, the seat of the league and of the states-general.

The Duke of Guise, confident in the strength of his position there, accepted the invitation, and, on entering the palace, was assassinated by the appointment, if not in the presence, of the king. On the following day, the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, was found murdered in his prison; and, to complete this catalogue of death and crime, Catharine of Medici, who had prompted and encouraged each of her three sons in their acts of cruelty and oppression, died at Blois in the seventy-second year of her age. The Sorbonne, by a special decision, absolved the people from allegiance to their sovereign. The Cardinal of Bourbon was imprisoned, and the Duke of Mayenne declared lieutenant-general of the royal state and crown of France by the council of the Union. Henry III., during his residence at Tours, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a party of the Duke of Mayenne, and was fortunately rescued by Henry of Navarre. This effected a cordial reconciliation between them at the castle of Plessis les Tours, from whence they marched towards Paris at the head of their united armies, consisting of 42,000 men. After defeating their opponents in some encounters, they advanced as far as St. Cloud,—the king taking up his abode in the house of one Gondi, when James Clement,

a Jacobin monk, found means for introducing himself, and stabbed the king with a knife. There can be no doubt that he was prompted to this act by the sixteen, and chiefly, it was supposed, at the instance of the Duchess of Montpensier, the sister of Francis, duke of Guise, who had been assassinated by order of the king. The number of the council of sixteen had been increased to forty, and fourteen were added by the Duke of Mayenne.

Henry died in the thirtieth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign, leaving no male issue, and was the last king of the line of Valois. Before his accession to the throne, he had conducted armies, obtained two great victories, and gained his election as King of Poland in consequence of the reputation he had so acquired. On his return to France, through Vienna and Venice, he was earnestly advised by the Emperor and Doge to promote the peace of his kingdom by extending a liberal toleration to the Huguenots: this he promised, and confirmed such promise at his first interview with his sister Margaret and her husband, Henry, king of Navarre, who were most affectionately greeted by him. The same intentions were expressed on his meeting the queen-regent and his brother, the Duke of Alençon, at Lyons.

No sooner, however, had he assumed the government, than he forfeited all claim to confidence in the fulfilment of his engagement. He plunged into

every species of dissipation, and became, as he was called, the king of the favourites, or rather the *mignons*, as they were designated by the Parisians. By a series of inconsequent and inconsistent acts he displeased all parties, and, on the civil war of religion breaking out, he gave himself no trouble either to understand its object, or to arrest its progress. He entered into pacifications alternately with the Reformed and Roman Catholic leaders, and consented to be named chief of the league, with no other view than to impair the influence of the Duke of Guise. These, his vices and his vacillations, differed, however, so little from those of most of his predecessors, that we should not be induced to dwell further upon them, if there had not been a peculiarity in his disposition which has baffled the ingenuity of all historians to develope. De Thou considers his character to be altogether incomprehensible, and Sismondi concurs in the observation.

The house of Valois, including its branches of Orleans and Angoulême, gave thirteen kings during a period of 261 years, comprising—in Charles V.—the wisest, and—in Louis XI.—the most intensely wicked, of the sovereigns of France. The other kings of the Valois race, with the exception of Louis XII. and Francis I., present very indifferent specimens of royalty. The kingdom in consequence underwent many mutations of territory.

The monarchy, at its greatest extent during the

reign of Charlemagne, comprised two-thirds of Europe. Under Lothaire and Louis the Fainéant it consisted only of the city of Laon and some neighbouring castles. Philip Augustus effected a considerable recovery of dominion, which was soon again reduced. The battles of Cressi and Poitiers, the machinations of Charles of Navarre, the incapacity of Charles VI., and the feuds between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans, brought it to its last extremity at the commencement of the reign of Charles VII., while, before the end of it, the greater part of France was restored to its legitimate sovereign.

All that remained of the house of Valois was Charles, duke of Angoulême, an illegitimate son of Charles IX., and it is recorded, as an extraordinary instance of a protracted length of a succession or generation, that Frances of Nargonne, the wife of that duke, and consequently a daughter-in-law of Charles IX., did not die until 1713, nearly one hundred and forty years after the death of her father-in-law.

Henry III. was trained to intrigue and perfidy by his unprincipled mother, who, to retain her power, encouraged the dissipated course pursued by him with the young nobles, his *mignons*. Lavish in his expenditure for all purposes of vicious indulgence, superstitious without any religious influence, hated by the Papists and despised

by the Huguenots, caring little for his favourites, and nothing for his subjects, he possessed an intuitive principle of self-preservation, which, until the last fatal casualty, protected him on many trying occasions. While he was incapable of displaying any consistent appearance of dignity, he could on some occasions rise above it, although more frequently would sink far beneath it. He was, however, no *fainéant*, and had a quick perception of any invasion of his royal rights, but of none of its duties; thus, when he had satisfied himself of the intention of Guise to assume the supreme power, he, in the first instance, superseded him in the leadership of his party, and when, in consequence, Guise adopted other and stronger measures, by directing against him the derision and insults of the priests and people, Henry, without any previous consultation, caused his instant removal by assassination. From whatever cause arising, whether from his being the last of his race, with no other prospect than of an heretical or disputed succession, or from an awe which his undefinable character inspired, his person appears to have been considered sacred, and the possession of it was thought essential to success.

Thus, when he had removed Guise, and joined his brother-in-law, their common standard was followed by 42,000 men, of whom, as the event proved, only about 2,000 attached and faithful Huguenots ad-

hered to the king of Navarre on the death of Henry III., all the others being disbanded by the former as not to be depended on.

It thus appears that Henry III. had been the connecting link for uniting two great parties, who, immediately on his death, relapsed into a state of collision, and thus a prince, loaded with obloquy, whom any one would blush to call his friend, whose reign is a blot upon history, as the most disgraceful ever inflicted upon France, would, had he but lived two days longer, have entered Paris in triumph,—the forces of his opponents would have been scattered, and their leaders led to the scaffold.

His widow, Louisa, the daughter of Nicholas of Lorraine, duke of Vaudemont, and niece of the Duke of Guise and of the celebrated Count Egmont, beheaded by order of the Duke of Alva, survived him, and died in 1601. She had no influence over, and scarcely any intercourse with, her husband.

Some salutary changes were made during this reign in the constitution of the nobility, their order of precedence, and the terms of acquiring that dignity by the *tiers état*, or roturier class.

The king instituted the order of the St. Esprit, which flourished until the revolution, and was co-ordinate in rank and aristocratic estimation with that of the Golden Fleece in Spain, and the Garter

in England, which was conferred on him in 1585 by Queen Elizabeth.

A more important and permanent measure was the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, or computation of time, effected in 1582 by retrenching ten days from the month of October, substituting the 15th for the 5th of that month, in order that the spring of 1583 should coincide with the equinox, with an adjustment for the future by the intervention of bissextile years: this, on the authority of Pope Gregory XIII., was implicitly received in all Roman Catholic countries, delayed until 1751 in England, adopted by Sweden in 1753, and not yet admitted into Russia.

CHAPTER XI.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE LINE OF BOURBON,

FIVE—WHO REIGNED 202 YEARS.

1589—1791.

[This last phase in the monarchy of France, although comprising only five reigns, from the number and importance of its events, would require more space than we have prescribed to ourselves in this volume. We must, therefore, be permitted to limit our notice of this period to an epitome of the principal events of each reign, as we should despair of condensing, within any reasonable space, the interesting contents of the last ten volumes of M. Sismondi's *Histoire des Français*, or of the seventy-nine volumes of *Memoirs* relating to the history of France from the accession of Henry IV. to the Peace of Paris, 1763—edited by M. Claude Bernard Pellitot—or the *Historiettes*, during the same period, by him, in conjunction with M. Tallemant, in seven volumes.]

HENRY of Bourbon, king of Navarre, the brother-in-law of the late king, and his next male heir, although distant by eight generations from St. Louis,* was coldly and only conditionally acknowledged king of France by the great nobles, who had commands in the army, at the head of which the two Henrys had advanced as far as St. Cloud to-

HENRY IV.
(le Grand.)A.D.
1589.* See Table of Descent, p. 172, *ante*.

wards Paris: these were the Prince de Condé; the Duke de Montpensier; the Marêchals Biron and d'Aumont; Sanci, the commander of the Swiss guards; the Duke of Longueville; Laforce; Givri; Humieres, &c. The Duke of Epernon and Vitry withdrew with a large body of the troops, and Henry felt constrained to disband the rest, as the only mode of keeping them in a neutral state.

It must have been a mortifying circumstance to Henry of Navarre, the legitimate successor to the crown, and who had already signalised himself as a warrior, and as the illustrious chieftain of a large party in the state, immediately on the death of his worthless predecessor, to see his standard deserted, all power escaping from him, compelled to disband his army, and among them a small but faithful band of zealous adherents, to raise the siege of Paris, and to retreat for safety into Normandy, and all this within a few hours of the certain expectation he had entertained of a triumphant entry with Henry III. into Paris, annihilating the league and its leader, Mayenne, who had no more than 8,000 men under his command.

So powerful, however, was the feeling in favour of the legitimate succession, that Mayenne could oppose only the charge of heresy against Henry, and therefore proclaimed as king the poor old and incarcerated Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, by the title of Charles X.

Mayenne, being elected by his party lieutenant-general of the kingdom, followed Henry into Normandy, towards Dieppe, where the choicest of Henry's troops had rallied round him, and, although Mayenne had three times his number, Henry gave him battle at Arques, defeated him, and, receiving reinforcements from Queen Elizabeth, advanced upon Paris, carried five faubourgs, but was obliged to retire on the approach of the combined forces of the Dukes of Mayenne and Nemours. A.D.

Henry obtained another victory over Mayenne at Ivry, and proceeded to blockade Paris, which 1590. was fiercely defended by the Leaguers, who suffered great extremities from famine. Charles of Bourbon died, and several Catholic pretenders to the throne started, among them Philip of Spain, who sent the Duke of Parma with a considerable army to enforce his claim and to relieve Paris, the siege of which Henry was obliged to raise, to enable him to meet the duke in the field. The duke avoided a battle, and succeeded in sending a supply of provisions into the city, and withdrew into the Netherlands. In connection with these proceedings, the Duke of Savoy took possession of Dauphiné and Provence, and the pope, Gregory XIV., excommunicated Henry.

Such was the fanaticism of the Leaguers in Paris, that the monks formed themselves into regiments,

A.D. attired in the most uncouth and grotesque forms of armour.

Henry failed in an attempt on the Faubourg St. Honoré, where an engagement took place, called *la Journée aux Farines*.

The Duke of Parma returned into France, and succeeded in raising the siege of Rouen, and taking some unimportant towns, and then returned to the Netherlands, where he died.

The Duke of Epernon, who had retired to his government, waiting the turn of events, now tendered his allegiance to Henry, who never liked or trusted him, being assured, as proved to be the fact, that he would abandon him on the first reverse. The states-general being convened by Mayenne, Philip of Spain caused an insolent proposal to be made to them, that they should rescind the Salic law, and declare his daughter, the Infanta of Spain, to be queen of France; the states, though otherwise devoted to the league, indignantly refused to entertain the proposition.

1593. The king having made his abjuration of Calvinism, the gates of Paris were opened to him, and he made his solemn entry into it on the 21st of March. So soon after it as the 22d of December, John Chatel, a popish fanatic, made an attempt on the life of Henry, upon which an edict was issued for the expulsion from France of the Jesuits. Henry now declared war against Spain, and succeeded in re-

covering the possession of all the places that adhered to the league. In these engagements the Maréchal d'Humieres, Villars, and d'Aumont, who had mainly contributed to the success of Henry, were killed. On the 5th of June the battle of Fontaines Française took place, where Henry personally, at the head of his cavalry, engaged and defeated the Spaniards, and Mayenne, who had joined them, on which a truce was demanded, and granted. On no occasion had Henry performed more signal acts of courage, or incurred greater risk of life, than at this battle. It had the effect of bringing over to his cause the Dukes of Joyeuse, Nemours, and Epemon, the latter of whom had, as was anticipated, relapsed into revolt.

The Spaniards again invaded France from the Netherlands, and took Amiens; on hearing which Henry exclaimed, "We have sufficiently displayed to them the king of France; it is now time to show them the king of Navarre." He immediately marched and retook the city, notwithstanding the resistance of the Archduke Albert.

The edict of Nantes was now promulgated, affording liberty of conscience and toleration to the Huguenots, and in the same year the treaty of peace of Vervins, between France and Spain, was concluded and ratified at Brussels.

Henry then married Mary of Medici, daughter of Francis, grand duke of Tuscany; she possessed all

A.D. the bad qualities of her aunt Catharine, although far her inferior in ability. The king declared war against Savoy, and took possession of la Bresse, and the greater part of the duchy.

To settle the disputes which had arisen as to the claims and privileges of nobility, an edict was made that the profession of arms should not necessarily confer nobility. Peace was concluded at Lyons 1601. with the Duke of Savoy ; and the birth of a dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII., took place.

France was now in a condition of peace and prosperity it had not enjoyed for centuries,—the Huguenots being protected by the edict of Nantes, and the Romanists conciliated by the abjuration of Calvinism by the king, and their consequent ascendancy thus established. This state of tranquillity was disturbed by some discontented nobles, encouraged by the power they had acquired during the lawless period of the religious wars, who meditated a recovery of their feudal rights. The leaders in this conspiracy were the Marêchals of Biron, Bouillon, and Auvergne, who entered into correspondence with Philip of Spain, soliciting his support, and the plot had acquired consistency when it was detected by the instrumentality of Laforce ; the parties were arrested, tried, and convicted of high treason. To Henry this was one of the most painful events of his life. Biron had been his friend and companion in arms, and he was also much attached

to the other offenders. He offered them their lives on terms of acknowledgment and submission, which were complied with by all but Biron, who placed himself on an equality with the king, and accused him of ingratitude in intemperate terms. Henry and his council felt that there could be no alternative but for the law to take its course, and Biron was beheaded in the Bastille on the 31st of July. A.D. 1603.

The death of Queen Elizabeth of England was another source of grief to Henry, to whom she had proved a sincere and efficient friend and ally; he shed tears as for the loss of a mother; and the Duke of Sully was sent to London to congratulate James I. on his accession, and to renew the existing treaties between the countries. Terms of peace were then entered into with the Sultan Achmet, and printed at Paris in the French and Turkish languages. 1604.

We have purposely abstained from alluding to the libertine adventures of Henry, and their fair but frail objects; his entanglement, by a contract of marriage, with Henrietta of Entragues, led to more serious consequences; she was unmeasured in her resentment at the non-fulfilment of it, and her father, with the Count of Auvergne and the Marchioness of Verneuil, was implicated in plots against the king, which brought all the parties, with Henrietta, to trial for high treason, of which

A.D.
1608.

they were convicted, and sentence of death passed upon them, but remitted by the king.

Henry, during his reign, had the benefit of the advice, in all affairs of war, finance, and policy, of Maximilian de Bethune de Romy, duke of Sully, as honest and wise a minister, friend, and counsellor as ever sovereign possessed. The king had the wisdom to place implicit confidence in him, and to resist and resent every attempt to impugn his fidelity. Sully, although stedfastly adhering to his Huguenot principles, was retained in office during the early part of the succeeding regency, until his resignation in 1611. He died in 1641, and his memoirs form the first of the autobiographical series during the reigns of the Bourbons, and give the best account of the character and actions of his master.

1610. Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravallac, on the 14th of May, when stepping out of his carriage in the street Ferronerie. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and had reigned twenty-one years. It is said he was occupied at the time in forming the scheme of a federal union of Europe, divided into fifteen states, to be called the Christian Republic: this suggestion does not rest on any sufficient authority.

In manner and conversation Henry IV. exhibited the utmost apparent frankness, combined with great tact and adroitness in never committing himself; he was brave, impetuous, humane, occasionally by

impulse unjust, upon calculation of results, ungrateful, and constitutionally imperious and absolute.

He was twice married,—first, to Margaret of Valois, sister of Henry III., from whom he was separated, by sanction of the church, in 1599, and had no children by her.

His second wife was Mary of Medici, to whom he was married in 1600, and she died in 1642. They had six children, three of them sons,—the Dauphin, a Duke of Orleans, who died young, in 1611; and John Baptist Gaston, who died in 1660: the daughters were,—Elizabeth, married to Philip IV. of Spain; Christina, married to the Duke of Savoy; and Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. of England.

Louis XIII. was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death by the hand of an assassin. The parliament of Paris, then sitting, made an order appointing the queen-mother, Mary of Medici, at once guardian of her son and regent of the kingdom. The states-general could alone appoint a regent, but the parliament, although useful as a judicial tribunal, and in assisting the crown in matters of practical legislation, was always grasping at political power, which it sought only as a means of extending its professional jurisdiction, privileges, and emoluments.

LOUIS XIII.
A.D.
1610.

One of the first acts of the regency was to relieve Sully from his duties. That able minister had, with

1611.

A.D. a revenue of thirty-five millions of francs, defrayed the ordinary expenditure of the state, and paid off two hundred millions of debt, leaving a surplus of thirty millions in the strong chambers of the Bastille. In his stead were appointed three directors of finance,—Chateauneuf de Thou (the historian), Jeannin, with the title of comptroller-general, and Chateaufvieux, chevalier d'honneur to the queen, who was also appointed governor of the Bastille. The treasure accumulated by Sully was soon dissipated; the pensions, at the end of the last reign not exceeding 623,000, were increased in one year to four millions one hundred and seventeen thousand livres, to gratify the rapacity of the courtiers. The Florentine adventurer, Concini, afterwards Marquis d'Ancre, and a *maréchal* of France, married Eleanor Galigai, who had accompanied the queen from Italy, had become her prime favourite, and acquired such full dominion over her, that during seven years d'Ancre and his wife virtually governed France.

1614. Great discontent was manifested at the profuse expenditure of the regent and her Italian favourites, when the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Vendôme, Alexander, grand-prior of France, the young Duke of Mayenne, the Dukes of Longueville, Guise, Nevers, Rohan, Luxembourg, and Tremouille, headed by the *Maréchal* de Bourbon, retired from the court, and gave the signal for

civil war. An arrangement, called the peace of St. Menehoud, was entered into, by which several concessions were made to the malcontents,—one of them being an immediate convocation of the states-general. They were convened accordingly; and, as on all former occasions, produced no beneficial results, and did not again meet until after the lapse of 175 years, on the memorable 5th of May, 1789. A.D. 1614.

The parliament, influenced by the Marêchal de Bouillon, with as little success required a reform in the administration of public affairs. The Prince of Condé, irritated by a non-compliance with the terms of the treaty of St. Menehoud, and still more at the neglect experienced by him at court, published a manifesto against the government, and put himself at the head of a body of Calvinists. 1615.

A treaty, then concluded between the queen and the prince, appeared calculated to restore peace, when Mary de Medici, by the advice of the Marêchal d'Ancre, caused the prince to be arrested, upon which the other nobles, his former allies, left the court, and prepared for war. The queen assembled three armies to meet them, commanded by the Duke of Guise, the Count d'Auvergne, and the Marêchal de Montigny. 1616.

In this year also, Richelieu, a dependant on the Concinis, was made secretary of state. To attain power he had submitted to receive, with docile

A.D.

versatility, every suggestion of his patrons, and gained a position which ultimately enabled him to govern with absolute sway the kingdom and its king.

1617.

The war was now carried on with vigour against the malcontents and the Huguenots. The king, who had his succession of favourites, was at this time governed by de Luynes, who, although introduced merely as a page, had curried favour by his skill in raising speckled magpies. He advised that d'Ancre should be assassinated, a measure approved by the king. Vitri was intrusted with the execution, and d'Ancre was killed on the bridge of the Louvre. His death put an end to the civil war. The queen was removed to Blois, and her favourite, Eleanor Galigai, the wife, and now the widow, of d'Ancre, was tried for sorcery, and, on being asked what spells or incantations she had resorted to for obtaining her influence over the queen, returned for answer, that she exercised no other power than that of a strong mind over a weak one. She was condemned by the parliament to be burnt, with permission to be first beheaded.

1619.

The queen made her escape from Blois, and went to Angoulême. Richelieu, now bishop of Luçon, who had been exiled by de Luynes, and since recalled by him, acted as mediator between the king and his mother; they met, and a treaty was signed between them at Angoulême, on which the queen retired to Angers.

Hostilities were renewed, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of the treaty of Angouleme, and the war was continued with various success during three years, until tranquillity was restored by a formal confirmation of the edict of Nantes. A.D.
1620.

Richelieu, having been advanced to the dignity of cardinal, took his place in the council under the patronage of the queen, and he who had been the protégé of d'Ancre and his wife, acquired the confidence of the Maréchal de Luynes,—thus conciliating each party by an assumed flexibility of character, and gradually rendering the whole state subservient to his rule. 1621.

The cardinal could not, however, avoid becoming the object of many cabals; the authors of them were punished with the utmost severity, and many individuals of rank and station were decapitated. Whether the danger was real or imaginary, Richelieu made it the pretence for increase of power, and for the protection of his person, by a *garde du corps*, which attended him on all occasions. The disunion which existed between the king and his brother, Gaston, duke of Orleans, was a fruitful source of trouble to the kingdom, at the same time giving greater scope to the cardinal for the display of his authority. To remove all rivalry he abolished the offices of constable and admiral of France, under the pretence that these high commands might be prejudicial to the crown. 1626.

1627.

- A.D. His next design was to crush the Huguenots, and to attack their chief bulwark, la Rochelle,—they having no other security for their religious freedom than such as numbers, fortified towns, and the sword could supply. La Rochelle, being attacked with the utmost vigour, was defended with equal energy; but the heroism of its brave defenders could not resist the influence of famine,—the English fleet, which had come to its relief, having been compelled to withdraw without being able to effect its object. Rochelle was taken, its walls and defences were levelled with the ground, and such of its inhabitants as had escaped the ravages of famine, pestilence, and the sword, were
1630. either executed or expelled.
- The cardinal, threatened by the intrigues of the great nobles, encouraged, as they were, by the first prince of the blood, resisted their attacks with undaunted fortitude, and caused many of their heads to fall on the scaffold. He, at the same time, defeated the machinations of Austria, and carried on a successful war against Spain. He
1631. entered into alliance with Sweden and the Catholic house of Bavaria, and, amid these great undertakings, had to contend against an insurrection promoted by the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, whose life was reluctantly spared by the cardinal, while that of Montmorenci was sacrificed
1633. upon the scaffold. The duke upon this withdrew

into Flanders to the queen-mother, but could obtain no aid from the emperor, who was himself ill able to resist the northern powers of Germany. The Duke of Lorraine ventured to take up arms against France, but he was defeated in every engagement, and most of his towns surrendered to the king. 1635. A.D.

The war with the emperor proceeded slowly, and that against Spain ended with the taking of Roussillon, and its annexation to the crown of France.

Another and more powerful favourite than Luy-nes now arose in the person of Cinq Mars, who, by his fascinating address, acquired such influence over the mind of the king, and at the same time made such open avowal of hostility to the cardinal, that the disgrace and fall of Richelieu was universally anticipated, when he so alarmed the king by the apprehension that Cinq Mars was conspiring with the Duke of Orleans, that the morose and jealous monarch basely surrendered his favourite to the vengeance of the cardinal, although the alleged proceedings had been taken at the instance of the king himself. Cinq Mars and his associates were arrested, tried, and convicted of treason, and the king consented to the execution of his bosom friend at the bidding of a man who was hated by him only less than he was feared. 1642.

The arrest of Cinq Mars took place at Narbonne, and he was decapitated at Lyons with de Thou, whose only crime was being cognizant of the duke's

A.D.

communications to Cinq Mars, and not revealing them to Richelieu. The cardinal was himself dying at the time, but to make sure of his victims he followed them in a boat to the place of execution. He always travelled with an immense retinue, and his carriage comprised more than one apartment. On one occasion, entering with it a street in Fontainebleau, which narrowed at its termination, the fronts of the houses were pulled down to enable his Eminence to pass. Mary de Medici preceded him to the grave by a few months,—she died at Cologne, having been driven from France by the cardinal, and lived in such a state of penury there that, during a severe winter, she did not rise from her bed, having no money left wherewith to purchase fuel. Louis XIII. survived his minister by six months only. He died at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 14th of May, in the forty-second year of his age, and in the thirty-third of his reign, leaving two sons,—Louis XIV., and Philip, the ancestor of the existing house of Orleans, who married Henrietta Anne, daughter of Charles I. of England.

1643.

Louis XIII. takes his place between two of the greatest sovereigns of France,—Henry the Great, his father, and Louis the Great, his son. Montesquieu has observed, “that Richelieu reduced him to the second rank in his own kingdom, in order to make him first in the estimation of all Europe.” And yet this formidable minister, who, during

upwards of twenty years, governed France by the combined power of the sceptre and the axe, was jealous of the fame of Corneille as a poet, and wrote, under a borrowed name, a tragedy in competition with the *Cid*. The Parisians, who could submit to any despotism which did not affect their accomplished taste and acute critical perception, applauded the *Cid*, and condemned its rival, although the cardinal had done his best to pack an audience in its favour. The *Calembourg* current on the occasion ran thus:—

“En vain contre le *Cid* le cardinal se brigue :

Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue.”

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS DURING THIS REIGN.

	A.D.
Expulsion of the Jews from Paris,	1615
Palace of the Luxembourg built,	1616
The Jardins des Plantes first established at Paris by M. Bouvard, first physician to the king,	1634
Edict fixing the first meridian in the western part of the Isle of Ferro, one of the Canaries, (since changed to Paris),	1634

The Académie Française founded by the Cardinal Richelieu, under royal letters patent, in January of this year, but not registered by the parliament of Paris until July 1637, notwithstanding a direct application from the cardinal to the president, and *lettres de cachet* issued by the king, and then only registered, subject to the introduction of a clause limiting the duties of the academy to the ornament, embellishment, and augmentation of the French language,—thus exhibiting the invariable tendency of the parliament to usurp a control over public affairs out of the pale of its judicial and constitutional functions, with no other view than to promote its professional interests and political influence—1635.

LOUIS XIV.
(le Grand,
etc., etc.)

A.D.
1643.

Louis XIV., at the age of five, succeeded to the tottering throne of a kingdom engaged in war with the empire and with Spain, on both its frontiers of Flanders and the Pyrenees, and disturbed at home by a factious nobility, intent on recovering its privileges during a long minority and a female regency. The late king had by his will constituted a council of regency, with the Prince de Condé at its head: this judicious provision was disregarded by the parliament, who, at a court held by order of the queen, nominated her guardian of her son, and sole regent, without restriction. The Prince of Condé acquiesced, and the queen immediately appointed Cardinal Julius Mazarin, an astute Italian, trained to office by Richelieu, her prime-minister, and intrusted him with the education of the king.

The Spaniards at this time were laying siege to Rocroy, to the relief of which the Duke d'Enghien, the eldest son of the Prince de Condé, then only twenty-one years of age, advanced, engaged, and defeated the Spaniards at the celebrated battle of that name, in which their commander, the Count Fuentes was killed, and the siege was raised. The following year Enghien pursued his victorious career in Germany, where Turenne was placed under his command, and nobly earned the baton of *maréchal*. The duke engaged the imperialists under General Merci at Fribourg: this battle lasted three days, and to secure the victory Enghien threw his baton

into the enemy's entrenchments, and followed it sword in hand. A shot passed through the pommel of his saddle, and the scabbard of his sword was carried off by a musket ball. His troops enthusiastically seconded him, and the enemy was routed. Thionville, Oppenheim, Philipsburg, Spires, Landau, Worms, and Mayence were the fruits of these victories, thus securing the whole course of the Rhine. In Flanders the Duke of Orleans, supported by the Marêchals Meilleraie and Gassion, was equally successful, taking Dunkirk and other towns; while, on the frontier of the Pyrenees, the Marêchal de la Motte was defeated by the Spanish general, Don Philip de Silvia. A.D.

Enghien and Turenne continued in command in Germany, and gained the great victory of Nordlingen, in which Merci, general of the imperialists, was killed.

The war continued four years longer, and is known as the Thirty Years' War, in which the Swedes, as the allies of France, distinguished themselves for their discipline and courage. A peace was concluded at Munster, better known as the peace of Westphalia, by which the power of Austria was reduced; the rights of the Protestants established; an eighth electorate created; and the first foundation laid of a European balance of power. France acquired by this treaty Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with Pignerol, Brisac, and a great 1648.

portion of Alsace. Pomerania, and the Isle of Rugen, with its dependencies, were ceded to Sweden.

The cardinal, having succeeded in putting an end to the foreign wars, had now to contend against a civil one, of which he was personally the object. At the first period of his ministry, he had been annoyed by a cabal called *les Importans*, of which the Duke of Beaufort was the head. It was easily suppressed, and the duke, who, it was surmised, sought Mazarin's life, was arrested and confined at Vincennes. The other members of it now joined the Fronde,—an inexplicable name for an inexplicable object. The circumstance of Mazarin being a foreigner was sufficient to displease the Parisian populace, and he was obnoxious to the nobles because he was pursuing the same course of policy as his master, Richelieu, in curbing their pretensions. The parliament joined both, not caring for either, but hoping in the *mêlée* to obtain an accession to its irresponsible power.

The parliament, in which Matthieu Molé was the leader, began the attack by a decree of union with all the other parliaments of the kingdom for resisting the acts of the minister, upon which two of the presidents, Guyan and Barillon, were arrested, and an attempt was made to seize three other presidents, Potier, Blancmenil, and Broussel. The people were prompted to demand their liberation; chains were

drawn across the streets, and barricades constructed, upon which Mazarin relinquished his intention. The Duke of Beaufort, who had been five years in Vincennes, made his escape, and put himself at the head of the people, whose idol he was. De Retz, the coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris, and afterwards a cardinal; the Duchess of Longueville, and the Prince of Marsillac, her admirer, better known as the celebrated Duke of Rochefoucauld; the Prince of Conti; the Duke of Vendome, and the Duke of Nemours, were the principal members of the league, of which the Duke of Bouillon was the ostensible head, and Turenne the general. On the side of the court were the Prince de Condé; the Maréchal de Grammont, and the Duke of Châtillon; as for the Duke of Orleans, he vibrated from side to side as the Abbé de la Rivière dictated. The king and court were thus compelled to quit Paris, and retired to St. Germain-en-Laye. The city was blockaded by the royal troops. De Retz, who was titular bishop of Corinth, headed a sally from Paris, in which he was repulsed, and his defeat was entitled "*La première aux Corinthiens.*"

We have given an account of the origin of this civil war, and the names of the principal performers in what might be called a farce but that many lives were lost in the skirmishes, rather than battles, that occurred, in the course of which Condé besieged Paris, which was defended by his former friend and

A.D. comrade, Turenne. The court repeatedly withdrew to St. Germain, and Mazarin was three times banished, and on one occasion a price was set upon his head by the parliament. All these proceedings are related in the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, and in scores of contemporary historiettes. At length a reconciliation took place, without concessions or stipulations on either side. Mazarin was received in Paris with acclamations, and retained undiminished influence until his death.

1657. The king attained his majority, but, sensible of Mazarin's sufficiency for the government, and of the inexpediency of disturbing his absolute authority, feeling also the risk that might attach to his then assuming the guidance of affairs, would not interfere with the cardinal's arrangements. A courtier observing that the king appeared unequal to the task, Mazarin replied that there was more stuff in that youth than was requisite for the formation of four great kings.

The king's education had been neglected, but his faculties of mind were not altogether uncultivated, while his native talent and acuteness of observation supplied apparent deficiencies. In external accomplishments he was unrivalled. He could vault into the saddle with inimitable grace, and the most accomplished courtiers could scarcely compete with him in the exercises of the dance or the chase, the joust or the tournament, and the dramatic pagean-

tries of the court. These, of course, attracted the admiration of female spectators, which he was not slow to reciprocate, and the first attachment he formed was to the beautiful Mary Mancini, the niece of Mazarin, at the time that the cardinal was concerting the marriage of the king with the infanta of Spain. The cardinal had observed the growing passion, and insisted on their separation, to which the king reluctantly submitted, made a farewell visit, and wept as he took leave, upon which Mancini reproachfully said, “Vous pleurez, vous êtes Roi, et je pars.” She thought that, as king, he might detain her. He knew that, as king, it was his duty to relinquish her. Through life he never belied that feeling, nor suffered, as his grandfather, Henry IV., had done, his affections as a man to enter into conflict with his duty as a sovereign,—his kingship absorbing or superseding every other claim.

Peace being concluded with Spain, by which Roussillon, Artois, and Alsace were ceded to France, 1659. the king married the infanta, and soon after Mazarin and the queen-mother died. The king 1661. then assumed full sovereignty, and one of his first demonstrative acts, which he had never occasion to repeat, was to enter the chamber of parliament, booted, with whip in hand, and in hunting costume, to attend a meeting for witnessing the registration of some royal edicts. The king, silencing every preliminary form, in a tone of loud command, or-

- A.D. dered the instant registration of the edicts, and further, that no assembly for such a purpose should for the future be convened. He then dismissed the ministry,* continuing Colbert only in the administration of the finances, and devoted himself to the superintendence and control of every department, evincing great judgment in the selection of the several secretaries and clerks. He remodelled the naval and marine staff, so as to put it in a condition of equality with those of England and Holland.
1667. His first care was to establish his council of state, and three subordinate councils of finance, commerce, and despatches, which latter was always held standing,—the only person sitting being a secretary to record the minutes. On constituting these councils the youthful king announced his intentions in the following words: “Je veux faire moi-même mes affaires. J’entends que tout me soit communiqué, depuis la dépêche diplomatique jusqu’à la dernière requête.”

On the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain, he revived an obsolete claim to the succession on behalf of his wife, and invaded the low countries with an army under the command of Turenne,

* Boileau, in the opening lines of his *Discours au Roi*, 1665, thus celebrates this autocratic dismissal of all ministerial aid:—

“Jeune et vaillant héros dont la haute sagesse
N’est point le fruit tardif d’une lente vieillesse,
Et qui seul sans ministre à l’exemple des Dieux,
Soutiens tout par toi-même, et vois tout par tes yeux.”

Condé, Luxembourg, Grammont, and Crequi. Surrounded by his courtiers, he followed the army in his carriage, and shared the triumphs of his generals. England, Sweden, and Holland, alarmed at his progress, formed an alliance to oppose it. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded by their mediation, by which Franche Comté was restored to the empire, while the towns taken in Flanders were retained by France.

It could not be expected that the king, entertaining so strong a conviction of the claims of absolute power, and of what he considered essential to it, entire subservience to his will, would long tolerate a duality of religion in his dominion. His great political tutor, Mazarin, was equally exclusive in his sentiments with his predecessor, Richelieu, but had been compelled to compromise them in his dealings with Cromwell, the Huguenots, and the Fronde; and, in the early period of his reign, Louis might have felt restrained by the high names still engaged in the support of the reformed religion,—the Duke of Bouillon, the Prince of Condé, Turenne, and others. The abjuration of Calvinism by Turenne, effected, as was alleged, by the arguments of Bossuet, seconded by the more prevailing influence of the king, was followed by a royal edict for abolishing the judicial tribunals established for the protection of the Huguenots, while, at the same time, the Jansenist

A.D. schism broke out in the one and undivided church of Bossuet. Of a better character was an edict, originating with Colbert, declaring that to engage in maritime commerce should not derogate from the privileges of nobility.

1672. The king, indignant at the conduct of the Dutch, for having, in the preceding year, entered into an alliance against him with Sweden and England, concluded a treaty with Charles II. against the United Provinces, and invaded them with an army of 200,000 men, under Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg. The passage of the Rhine was considered a great military exploit, and the army, gaining every intermediate fortress, advanced to Amsterdam. The Dutch offered terms which were rejected; they had then no alternative but either to submit to the most degrading conditions, or to inundate their country. They chose the latter, and, after a drawn battle at sea between their fleet and the combined fleets of England and of France, in which de Ruyter was killed, the sluices were opened, and the French were obliged to retire from the flood,—more than one-third of their army perishing by an epidemic disease induced in consequence.

1674.

A new coalition was formed against France by an alliance between the United Provinces and the emperor, with many of the German princes. Hostilities commenced in the Franche Comté, when it was a second time subdued by the king in person,

supported by the Duke d'Enghien. Turenne commanded the army in Germany, and, with inferior numbers, drove the allies across the Rhine, and, after several victories, tarnished his great name by an act of vengeance directed by the war minister, permitting the devastation of the Palatinate, where two cities and twenty-five towns and villages were reduced to ashes, with an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. In the Netherlands the battle of Senef was fought between the Prince de Condé and the Prince of Orange, in which twenty-five thousand men were left dead upon the field, and the victory was claimed by both parties, with no beneficial result to either.

The emperor found it necessary to oppose the celebrated General Montecuculi to Turenne: their armies were on the point of engaging, when Turenne was struck by a ball while reconnoitring a battery, and died upon the spot. This loss spread consternation throughout the French army, of which Montecuculi took advantage, crossed the Rhine into Alsace, and was met and arrested in his progress by the great Condé. After the last exploit the hero retired from the public service, and his example was followed by Montecuculi, with the remark, that "a man who had encountered the Condés and the Turennes, should not compromise his reputation by meeting inferior opponents."

The king in person commanded in Flanders, where

A.D. Bouchain, Valenciennes, and Cambray surrendered to him; the Prince of Orange was compelled to raise
 1676. the siege of Maestricht, and St. Omer and Cassel were rescued from the enemy. The campaign presented a series of victories and triumphs; Ghent and Ypres submitted to his arms; and Louis entered as master into the ancient duchy of Lorraine.

The tide of success was interrupted for a time by the marriage of the Prince of Orange to the Princess Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, upon which a treaty of peace was entered into between Charles II. and the United Provinces, his mediation was offered and accepted, and an armistice agreed to, ending in the peace of Nimeguen, forming the climax of the acquisitions of Louis.
 1679. He may be considered as dictating the terms of the treaty, or treaties, for there were three, namely, with Spain, with Holland, and with the empire. By them Franche Comté was ceded in perpetuity to France, with the cities of Valenciennes, Condé, Bouchain, Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Vervick, Bailleul, Cassel, Menen, Bovai, Mauberge, and Charlemont, while Philipsburg was restored to the emperor in exchange for Friburg and Huningen, yielded to the king. The Duke of Lorraine declining to be a party to the treaties, possession of his duchy was retained by the French until a partial restoration of it was arranged by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick.

We have now conducted Louis to the pinnacle of power, which the treaty of Nimeguen had confirmed to him. He had lived to carry out the great object of his reign, according to the scheme of his two great examples in political science, Richelieu and Mazarin, the establishment of a national unity, combined with an individual unity of power in the sovereign, justifying the accuracy with which Louis defined his position by the expression “l'état c'est moi.” A.D.

We shall only briefly notice the wars and combinations which were resorted to from time to time to reduce the power of the king, proving to a certain extent successful, but never materially altering the frontier of France, or abating the pride of “le grand monarque.”

The king had been some time occupied in constructing the palace of Versailles, commenced in 1661, and finished in 1683. The immense expense of this gorgeous pile, and of its internal decorations; the unlimited profusion of expense of the entertainments at the several palaces; and the claims of the wars, had exhausted the resource of the kingdom, and nothing but the indefatigable energy of Colbert, in promoting the commerce and encouraging the manufactures of France, could have supplied the means so long. On his death, and Louvois succeeding, the whole financial system was dissolved, and the most reckless expenditure ensued. 1684.

- A.D. On the death of the queen, an inoffensive, amiable princess, who had never shared much of the king's society, or more of his affection than the expression on his being apprised of his loss, that it was *le premier chagrin* she had ever caused to him, he married Madame de Maintenon, the widow of Scarron, the poet. She was a woman of singular tact and ability, and maintained her influence over the king to the last, for, although the king had formed intimacies with too many ladies of his court, he had never suffered himself to be governed by any one of them. She obtained his concurrence in founding with her the religious seminary of St. Cyr, and it had been well if her influence had rested there, but, in her bigoted, and, it may be hoped, sincere, devotion to Romanism, she encouraged the fatal suggestion of the Jesuits for revoking the edict of
1685. Nantes, and sending troops of dragoons, by way of missionaries, into Languedoc for the conversion of the Huguenots, or Camisards, as they were occasionally called there and in the Cevennes, on which occasion many thousands of the inhabitants were indiscriminately massacred, and about 800,000 of the most intelligent and industrious artisans of France sought refuge in England, Holland, and Prussia, each of which countries benefitted by their honest labour, and where their descendants may still be traced, several of whom earned, as they deserved, wealth, rank, and honours.

These intolerant demonstrations of the king happily met their corrective retribution by the revolution in England, and the happy accession to its throne of William III., who, as Prince of Orange, had already, but with comparatively inferior resources, made successful war on France. He was now indefatigable in promoting another coalition against it, and succeeded in entering into alliance for the purpose with the emperor, Holland, and the German states: it was known as the League of Augsburg; and hostilities commenced forthwith. A.D.
1688.

The French army, under the command of the dauphin in person, commenced operations by the taking of Philipsburg, together with Manheim, Treves, and the greater part of the Palatinate, which was a second time entered and ravaged with a ferocity far exceeding that manifested on a former occasion by the forces under Turenne. Nothing could exceed the misery of the population,—their habitations burnt, and men, women, and children wandering in the depth of winter without sufficient clothing, food, or fuel, perishing by thousands in the woods and open fields. The Earl of Marlborough, in command of the English troops, was placed under Prince Waldeck in Flanders, who defeated Marêchal Humieres there, upon which he was recalled, and superseded by the Duke of Luxembourg. In Italy the whole of Savoy was reduced by Marêchal Cati- 1689.

A.D. nat, who, during this campaign, proved himself the worthy successor of Condé and of Turenne.

The defeat incurred by Humières was redeemed by the brilliant victory of Fleurus, gained by Luxembourg over Prince Waldeck and the Dutch and English troops. Of the allied army six thousand were left dead on the field, eight thousand were taken prisoners, and all the artillery, with two hundred pair of colours. The French, under Tourville and Chateau-Renaud, were equally successful in two naval combats with the combined Dutch and English fleets. The two Dutch admirals were killed in the engagement off Beachy Head, with a great number of officers and men; and Lord Torrington, 1691. the English admiral, was on his return committed to the Tower.

Louis in person besieged Mons, took and entered it in triumph, and returned to Versailles, leaving to Luxembourg the further prosecution of the campaign; and in Italy Catinat encountered an opponent of equal value with himself in Prince Eugene, who compelled the French to retire from Piedmont.

The English retrieved their naval discomfiture 1692. by the glorious victory of the 29th of May, by Admiral Russell, over Tourville, who had sixty-three ships, the English and Dutch having ninety-nine.

The king in person laid siege to Namur, and took

it, Vauban acting as engineer, while Cohorn assisted in the defence, thus engaging the two greatest engineers of Europe; but the town surrendered within sight of King William and his army. The campaign then closed with the celebrated battle of Steenkirk, the most fiercely contested during the whole war, and in which the great military talents and experience of King William were compelled to succumb to the still higher range of the strategical resources and unsurpassed intrepidity and military science of Luxembourg. In the thickest of the fight rushed three princes of the blood,—the Duke de Chartres, only fourteen years of age, Louis of Bourbon, great nephew to the great Condé, and the Prince Conti,—all rivals for fame, and performing prodigies of valour. The event was long doubtful, but, Boufflers bringing up a reinforcement to the French, William by great exertion was enabled to effect a retreat in good order to the position from whence he had made the attack. The three princes were received in France with enthusiastic acclamations; the roads were lined with people all the way to Paris, where the ladies of the court welcomed the heroes with their approving smiles, and conferred the name of Steenkirk on some new-fashioned habiliment, while the gentlemen bestowed it on a recently invented cravat, as in England, a few years later, the Ramiel wig commemorated a more splendid victory.

In the next campaign the French in Flanders,

A.D. under Luxembourg, and in Italy, under Catinat, still maintained the ascendancy. Luxembourg obtained a signal victory at Neertanden, when so many colours were taken that the *maréchal* was called upholsterer to Notre Dame. This was followed by a series of victories, and a third devastation of the unfortunate Palatinate, when Heidelberg was plundered and burnt.

Louis was at the height of his grandeur when thus alone contending against all Europe allied against him, but successfully resisted by his four great armies. His glory, however, was on the wane; his victories brought nothing about; his navy, however, was formidable, and his distinguished admiral, Tourville, encountered Sir George Rooke, who had four hundred vessels under convoy, and Tourville, had he been ably seconded, would have made prize of all. Lord Berkeley made a descent on France, in which he was repulsed with great loss, and in revenge for which Havre and Dieppe were bombarded and greatly damaged.

1695. At this time the great commander, Luxembourg, died, which proved an irreparable loss. Villeroy was appointed to succeed him, who was circumvented in all his movements by King William, who succeeded in retaking Namur, and the Dutch possessed themselves of Pondicherry. Louis, with exhausted finances, could now make no sufficient head against the enemy, and used every endeavour to

enter into negotiations for peace, and, by way of commencement, made a private treaty with the Duke of Savoy, and gladly accepted the offer of the King of Sweden to be the mediator for a general peace, to which the belligerents acceded, and Newburg House, a palace belonging to King William, near Ryswick, was appointed as the place of congress. Pending these conferences, hostilities were partially continued, and Villeroy besieged and took Ath, and King William succeeded only in preserving Brussels; but the king experienced a sensible mortification by the failure of the Prince de Conti, who had been elected king of Poland by the intrigues of Cardinal Polignac, and was refused admittance into Dantzic,—Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, having been called to succeed John Sobieski as king. During the conferences and these proceedings, the Duke of Portland and Marêchal Boufflers met in sight of both armies, and signed the terms proposed by the French plenipotentiaries.

In pursuance of those terms a treaty was signed, by which Louis consented to restore the Palatinate, Treves, and Lorraine to their right lords; to confirm the elector of Cologne; and to cede Spanheim to the Swedes; in addition, he undertook on no account to dispute William's title to the crown of England, nor to render any assistance to James II. To Spain Louis made restitution of

A.D.

1696.

1697.

all his conquests in Catalonia, and of the provinces of Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault; in addition, a general armistice and recognition of their independence was agreed to with the United Provinces, in consideration of a restoration of Pondicherry to France. And thus ended a long and sanguinary warfare, with little abatement of territorial aggrandisement to France, but destructive to its finances and better interests of commercial enterprise and manufacturing industry.

Peace had not been long established before indications appeared of a renewal of war in Europe, arising out of the state of Spain, and the apprehension of a disputed succession to the throne. Charles II. was in a precarious state of health, and had no issue; he was nearly imbecile, and the government was in the hands of the queen and her minions.

Louis and the Emperor Leopold were grandchildren of Philip III., each having married a daughter of Philip IV., and therefore the Dauphin and Joseph, king of the Romans, were in the same degree of relationship to the throne, with the preference in favour of France by reason of the marriage of Louis to the eldest daughter, but, as one of the terms of that marriage, she had solemnly renounced for herself and issue all claim to the succession. This renunciation was now declared void by Pope Innocent XI., as based upon compulsion, and con-

trary to the laws of God and man. All the parties A.D.
 being Catholic, the decision of the Holy See was
 binding upon them, and so far they started on
 equal terms.

In anticipation of the king of Spain's death, two 1700.
 partition treaties, at different dates, had been en- 1702.
 tered into between France, Great Britain, and the
 states-general, for dividing the Spanish dominions
 between the two houses of Bourbon and Austria,
 after which the king died, and a will was unex-
 pectedly produced, bequeathing his entire kingdom
 to Philip, duke of Anjou, the second son of the
 dauphin, and which will was supposed to have been
 made under the influence of the Pope and Cardinal
 Portocarero, both of them devoted adherents of
 France. Louis expressed his inclination to abide
 by the last partition treaty, but referred the matter
 to his ministers, the majority of whom determined
 in favour of accepting the will, to which he assented,
 and addressed explanatory and apologetic notes to
 his two allies, and dispatched his royal grandson to
 Spain with this charge: "His late majesty of Spain
 has constituted you his successor; the grandees
 require you, the people desire your presence, and
 I give my consent. Bear in mind that you are a
 prince of France; obtain the affection of your sub-
 jects by the mildness of your government, and
 prove yourself worthy of the throne you are called
 upon to occupy." After some ingenious but hollow

diplomatic communications between the Marquis de Torcy and the Earl of Portland, and terms of so humiliating a character been proposed by the latter, as Torcy alleged would not be submitted to after the loss of four pitched battles, war was declared against Louis by the triple alliance of the empire, England, and Holland.

We cannot, within any reasonable compass, enter into the details of the ten campaigns which ensued; they were all more or less damaging to the interests of the king, whose cause was occasionally nobly vindicated by Catinat, Villars, and Vendôme, although often thwarted by the feeble character and conduct of Chamillard, the principal minister at Paris, and the creature of Madame de Maintenon. Chamillard, though a well-meaning man, was altogether incapable of guiding the affairs of France under its present untoward condition, and of the increasing infirmities and age of his master.

In addition to these foreign foes, Chamillard had the indiscretion to provoke a further and last revolt of the Huguenots in the Cevennes, by revoking all the industrial privileges conferred on them by Colbert. The most atrocious cruelties were again perpetrated, every meeting for religious worship dispersed by the sword, until the whole population was roused to insurrection, and Villars, with an army, sent to suppress it, but who met with insupe-

rable obstacles from the nature of the country and
 its peculiar fastnesses. The insurgents received
 countenance and support from England, and an
 armistice on favourable terms was concluded with
 their gallant leader, Cavaliere, a journeyman baker,
 on whom the king conferred the rank of colonel.
 He afterwards came to England, and was made
 governor of Guernsey.

A.D.

1703.

The armies of the allies were under the chief
 command of two as great captains as any of those
 whose high achievements we have had occasion to
 record,—the Earl of Marlborough and the Prince
 Eugene, acting under the immediate instructions
 of William III., combining the dictates of consum-
 mate wisdom with the soundest judgment, resulting
 from long personal experience.

The Earl of Marlborough, by one of the most
 masterly efforts of activity and skill, succeeded in
 forcing the Elector of Bavaria's lines at Donawert,
 at the head of ten thousand British, and thus saving
 Vienna and the empire from the imminent peril
 in which they had been placed. He then defeated
 the armies of France and of Bavaria, took the town
 of Donawert, and returned to Maestricht on the 2d
 of June, having quitted it only on the 8th of May.

1703.

The crowning event of the campaign, and the
 severest blow, up to that period, ever inflicted upon
 France by a foreign enemy, was the battle of Blen-
 heim, or Hochsted, gained by Marlborough and

1704.

A.D. Eugene over Tallard, the Elector of Bavaria, and Count Martin. The rout was fearfully complete, nearly thirty squadrons perished in the Danube, 10,000 were killed upon the field, and 13,000 taken prisoners; 100 pieces of cannon, 22 mortars, 200 pair of colours and 100 standards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3,000 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, 2 bridges of boats, 15 pontoons, all the baggage, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the victors, and Tallard became their prisoner.

The news of this tremendous defeat spread consternation over Paris and throughout the kingdom; they knew not how to break it to the king. Madame Maintenon undertook that duty, by saying to him "The king cannot always be the victor." He anticipated the rest, and listened with imperturbable fortitude to the particulars; issued orders for new levies, and sketched a plan for the rest of the campaign. He had, in addition, to encounter the intelligence of the defection of Portugal and Savoy from his cause, and the capture of Gibraltar by the English. As some compensation his fleets had done him good service, and his admiral, Count de St. Paul, took three English line-of-battle ships, and a valuable Baltic merchant fleet under their convoy. In Italy, Vendome engaged Eugene at Cassano, with such doubtful success, however, as
1705. that each party celebrated a *Te Deum*, and had to lament many thousands slain.

The next great engagement was that of Ramillies, A.D.
 gained by Marlborough over the Elector of Bavaria
 and Villeroy. The household troops of France
 performed wonders, and had defeated the Danish
 and Dutch allies, when Marlborough came to their
 rescue with 20,000 men. The household troops
 were all killed or taken prisoners; the victory was
 complete; and the best appointed army France 1707.
 could send into the field was annihilated; still
 Louis was undaunted; he received Villeroy with
 respect, and summoned all his resolution in pro-
 viding for the continuance of the great struggle in
 which he was engaged; the principal fortresses in
 Flanders being lost, he immediately recalled Ven-
 dome from Italy with a view to their recovery.

Vendome, with extraordinary ability and reso-
 lution, entered on this duty with the best army
 that could be collected, under the nominal command
 of the Duke of Burgundy, but was met and defeated 1709.
 at Oudenarde by Marlborough and Eugene; he,
 however, avoided more serious consequences by a
 masterly retreat.

During all this period Louis was exerting every
 effort, by the intervention of Torcy, to suggest pro-
 posals for peace, for which he was prepared to make
 many sacrifices, and which he could afford to do
 without in the least infringing on the ancient terri-
 torial boundaries of his kingdom. The English,
 under Anne, their new sovereign, appeared will-

ing to entertain his propositions, but the Dutch withheld their concurrence. Louis made known, by a public declaration, the sacrifices he had proposed; his subjects were indignant at the refusal experienced by their *grand monarque*, and made the most extraordinary efforts on his behalf. A numerous army was placed under the command of Villars, who took his stand at Malplaquet, where a most sanguinary battle took place,—the Dutch were three times repulsed with dreadful slaughter; the English forces came to their support, and the French were driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Saart and Tancere. The *marêchal* was wounded in leading back the troops, who made a fine retreat, under Boufflers, to Valenciennes. The allies lost 20,000 slain upon the field; the French, not 8,000. Another such victory, if victory it could be called, would have been fatal to the allies.

The enthusiastic support afforded to Louis by his subjects did not induce him to relax in his efforts for peace, and, notwithstanding his want of success in the conferences at Gerhacydenburg, he availed himself of the better opening offered by a change of ministry in England, and terms were proposed by the agency of the Abbé Gualtier, a French priest, residing in the family of the Earl of Jersey. After much communication and strong remonstrances from the Dutch against the privacy of the

proceeding, preliminaries were agreed upon between the two courts, with an intimation that they were prepared to meet the other powers in congress at Utrecht to conclude a general peace. The congress was held accordingly, when the first proceeding was a suspension of hostilities, which were still pending in all quarters of the globe, one of the last engagements being a brilliant victory obtained by Villars over Prince Eugene at Denain, which was of the greatest importance to France by its influence on the proceedings at Utrecht.

On the 11th of April the treaty with Great Britain, Savoy, Portugal, and the States-general was signed. The terms, as regarded England, being the recognition of the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover; the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk; the cession, in America, of Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson's Bay, and the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca confirmed to England by Spain, on the title of Philip V. to the crown being acknowledged. The emperor declining to treat, Villars was sent to force Prince Eugene's lines at Friburg: this he accomplished, and took the town. Eugene upon this proposed terms of peace, which were agreed to by Villars, and the two great generals, meeting as diplomatists, signed a treaty. Villars, at their first interview, addressed the prince thus: "*We* are not enemies; yours are at Vienna, and mine at Ver-

A.D.
1711.

1712.

1713.

A.D. sailles,"—alluding to the factions in their respective courts.

The king, borne down by bodily pain and infirmity, now that peace was universally restored, applied his mind, with wonted fortitude and unclouded faculties, to the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and was introducing many reforms, when his long continued indisposition took a fatal turn: this he had anticipated, by making a will constituting a council of regency, for the purpose of excluding the Duke of Orleans, whose fidelity he suspected, and whose ambition he dreaded. The
1715. king died on the 1st of September. His son Louis, the dauphin, had died in 1711, having married Mary Anne Christina, sister of the Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had three sons,—Louis, duke of Burgundy; Philip, duke of Anjou, king of Spain, born in 1683; and Gaston, duke of Berri.

The Duke of Burgundy married Mary Adelaide, daughter of the Duke of Savoy. He died also in 1711, leaving three sons, the two eldest of whom died, having been successively dukes of Brittany; Louis, the third, survived, and became king by the title of Louis XV.

The king's only brother was Philip, duke of Orleans, married first to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Charles I. of England, by whom he had no son. On her death he married Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Louis, elector Palatine, by

whom he had Philip, duke of Orleans,* afterwards regent of France, who married Frances Mary de Bourbon, styled Mademoiselle de Blois.

Of the character of Louis XIV. a fair estimate may be collected from the preceding facts. It was altogether artificial—a personation almost from the cradle to the tomb—during a reign of seventy-two years, three months, and eighteen days of royal absolutism. He was born on the 5th of September, 1638, and on the 21st of April, 1643, the day of his baptism at the chapel of the old palace of St. Germain, he was brought after the ceremony to the bedside of his father, in the rich dress he wore on the occasion, when Louis XIII., then in the last stage of a lingering disease, contemplating him with a complacency which he had never before vouchsafed to any human being, asked him his name; the child, with undaunted intrepidity, replied, “Louis Quatorze.” His father only said, “Pas encore, mon enfant,” and verified the anticipation by dying on

* Immortalised by Pope as “the godless regent trembling at a star,” whose grandson was the notorious citizen Egalité, the father of Louis Philippe, king of the French (1830); each generation of this family in its turn justifying the apprehension of their ancestor felt by Louis XIV., by whom he was called “un fanfaron des crimes,”—a similar opinion being entertained of his descendant, Louis Philippe, by Louis XVIII.

Louis XIV. was supposed to have had a still nearer relation, one of the many versions of the story of the mysterious state prisoner wearing an iron mask being, that he was the elder or twin-brother of the king.

the 14th of May following. From this time forth, Louis, during his boyhood, exhibited a grace and dignity which defied competition, as it repressed familiarity,—no one ever presuming to suggest an idea which he did not either prompt or encourage; hence, after his memorable appearance, whip in hand, in the chamber of parliament, the expression “states-general,” and any allusion to the rights or claims of the subject, whether noble or *roturier*, was never so much as whispered in his hearing, except in the guise of humble supplication. On such occasions, Louis held it ungracious for a sovereign to put a direct negative on a request, and his answer to that effect was therefore conveyed conclusively, and without appeal, by the single phrase of “C’est un cas.”

His was no barren assumption of power, but a substantial exercise of it, not only in his own dominions, but throughout Europe. It extended likewise to the other quarters of the globe. Louisiana was named and colonised under his auspices; the Sultan Soliman sent embassies to Paris; Tripoli was bombarded once, and Algiers twice, for piratical insults offered to the French and other Christian flags. The Pope performed all his biddings, and decided the question of precedence in favour of the Most Christian Majesty of France over the Most Catholic King of Spain.

The Genoese having supplied ammunitions of

war to the Algerines, Louis required that the Doge and four senators should sue for pardon. They came to Versailles, where the king received them sitting on his throne, his plumed hat on his head, and graciously accepted their submission. The Doge, being afterwards shown over the gorgeous apartments of the palace, and asked what he had seen most worthy of admiration, answered, "Myself."

Other evidence of his supremacy may be adduced by the fact that two kings of England and some of their ministers were his pensioners. Several of the leading members of the House of Commons, tories as well as whigs and patriots, received pecuniary gratuities from the hands of his ambassadors; while the crowning scene of all was his reception, as described by Madame de Sevigné, of James, on his flight from England, alighting from his carriage at the gate of the palace of St. Germain. On this occasion the royal *embrassade* was considered by the courtiers as one of the most sublime spectacles of protecting grace ever presented to human eyes.

The obsequiousness of these courtiers kept pace with the increasing grandeur of their monarch,—
"grew with its growth, and strengthened with its strength."

Baron Grinon gives many amusing instances, traditional to his time, and deserving of remembrance, as typical of the willing submission of a highly cultivated and refined people to their acknow-

ledged and despotic chief. We will quote only two of those anecdotes, one being when Louis, at the age of sixty-four, asked one of the courtiers at his levée, what might be the age of some general officer who had been mentioned. He was answered, with a still lower bend of the head and person—no one ever standing upright in the august presence of the “grand monarque”—“Mais, sire, l’âge de tout le monde, soixante et quatre.” At another time, being informed that a noble lady was about to be confined, and an important succession depending on the sex of the expected infant, the king asked, “Well, which will it be—a boy or a girl?” the ready reply was, “Comme il plaira à votre majesté.”

As we have before observed, Louis was the very concrete of absolutism with no alloy; he had, or, at all events, exhibited, no human failings, much less follies; even his amours, immoral and illicit as they were, involved no interference with his regal claims, unless, in his last years, his union with Madame Maintenon may be considered an exception, although her influence, and that of the Jesuits, was still based on his ruling passion, of requiring implicit obedience to his will, the resistance to which caused the cruel persecution of his Calvinist subjects, and the dragonnades in the Cevennes. Otherwise he was not gratuitously cruel, passionate, or vindictive; the law took under him its equal course; commerce was protected; arts and

sciences were promoted ; literature, in all its branches, encouraged, and men of letters, in and out of France, were patronised and pensioned.*

* The grand siècle of Louis XIV. is best illustrated by the following list of eminent individuals who flourished in it, and attained an historical and European celebrity. We might indefinitely extend the catalogue by including the names of many other persons who have earned equal distinction by their learned and useful labours, limited to national and provincial eminence :—

STATESMEN.—Colbert, Louvois, Letellier, Pontchartrain, Pomponne, Mazarin, Fouquet, Harlai, Poitiers de Novien, Lepelletier, de Retz, d'Aguesseau.

WARRIORS.—Turenne, Condé, Catinat, Villars, Luxembourg, Berwick, Vendôme, Crequi.

NAVAL COMMANDERS.—Duquesne, Tourville, d'Estrees, Chateau-Renaud, Forbin, Jean Bart, Duguay-Trouin.

DIVINES.—Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, Flechier, Saurin, Mascaron, Nicole, the Arnaulds, Père-la-Chaise, St. Real.

PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN OF SCIENCE.—Descartes, Bayle, Malebranche, Pascal, de Lisle, Nicholas Sanson, Vauban, Tournefort, Jacques Savary, Jacques l'Enfant, Gui Patin.

LITERARY.—La Marquise, de Sevigné, Saumaise, Dacier, Hardouin, Montfaucon, Maimbourg, Mezerai, Tillemout, Bruyère, Basnage, Daniel, Vertot, Bussy-Rabutin, Calprénède, Ducange, Motte le Vayer, le Sage, Rollin, d'Herbelot, Bochart, Chardin, Thevenot, Barbeyrac, Bouhours, Duhamel, de la Houssaye, Perault, Menage, Blondel, St. Evremond, d'Ablancour, Moreri, René, Rapin, de Thoyras, Marquis de l'Hôpital, Dancourt, la Comtesse de la Fayette, Madame de Motteville, Rochefoucault, Mabillon, Bouchardon.

POETS AND THE DRAMA.—Racine, Boileau, Molière, la Fontaine, P. Corneille, Benserade, Deshoulières, Sauteuil, Scarron, Qui-

nault, Rotrou, T. Corneille, Crebillon, Regnard, J. B. Rousseau, Destouches, Chaulieu, Sarruzin, Chapelain, Madlle. Scudery, Lulli.

ARTISTS.—Le Sueur, Poussin, le Brun, Mignard, Puget, le Nôtre, Rigaud, Picard, Girardin, Mansard, Claude Gelée, commonly called Lorraine, the Coypels, Watteau, Bourdon, J. T. Simon.

SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS established by Louis XIV., chiefly on the suggestion of Colbert :—

1648. Royal Academy of Sculpture and Painting established at Paris.

1663. Foundation of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

1665. Endowment of a French School of Painting at Rome.

1666. Académie Royale des Sciences.

1669. Royal Academy of Music, having the superintendence of the Opera.

1671. Royal Academy of Architecture.

1679. Institution of a Professorship of Civil Law.

1682. Establishment of Schools at Brest and Toulon for instruction of Gardes Marines, and at Metz and Tournou for military instruction of the younger children of the nobility.

1693. Institution of the Order of Merit of St. Louis.

Under Louis, also, the Manufactories of the Sèvres Porcelain, of Plate-Glass, and of the Tapestry of the Gobelins, were established; and, on the acquisition of Pondicherry in 1680, being the first footing obtained by France in India, he promoted the establishment of the first Trading Company of France with India.

Louis XV., third son of the Duke of Burgundy, LOUIS XV.
 and great-grandson of Louis XIV., at the age of A.D.
 five years succeeded to the throne. The parliament, 1715.
 having been during half a century limited to the performance of its judicial and only legitimate duty, availed itself of the favourable opportunity of a long minority and a weak and capricious regency, to usurp the functions of the states-general by convening an assembly of peers, in which they jointly rejected the will of the late king, and nominated the Duke of Orleans to be regent of the kingdom, without restriction. His first public act, of liberating most of the prisoners confined by *lettres de cachet*, gained him some popularity; but, although not destitute of talent, he had no capacity for business, and was frivolous in manners, as he was depraved in morals. He found an exhausted treasury, and added to an enormous debt, or deficit, by a reckless expenditure, lavished on the most discreditable objects.

To meet this financial difficulty, many plans were suggested, and among others the expediency of a national bankruptcy was considered, and rejected, not on account of its immorality, but in apprehension of its danger.

The scheme adopted was the establishment of a Royal General Bank, under the firm of Messrs. Law and Company, with the privilege of their notes being taken as cash in all the public departments. 1716.
 Its ostensible source of profit, as a trading company,

was its imaginary intercourse with the Mississippi, Senegal, and the Indies, and it was confidently held out that its mercantile gains would in a few years pay off the national debt. The public ran wild in their anxiety to obtain these billets or notes, which were obtained, at an immense premium, in exchange for cash, and it was computed that the billets issued exceeded in amount by eighty per cent. the whole metallic currency of the kingdom.

The bubble burst, as the South Sea scheme had done about the same period in England; the public clamour was tremendous, and the regent, under the advice of his profligate minister, the Cardinal Dubois, to pacify the public, issued the most senseless edicts on the occasion—among others, one enacting that no person in France should have more than five hundred livres in specie in his possession; in addition, a tribunal, frequently resorted to in former days, called *la chambre ardente*, was renewed, with inquisitorial powers, for making the supposed gainers by the transaction disgorge their profits. This plausible act of retribution was, as might be anticipated, a total failure, only adding to the number of the victims sacrificed to this unprincipled scheme. Law, the inventor of the project, was himself beggared, and by flight abroad escaped the more fatal effects of public indignation, and ultimately settled and died at Venice in 1729. During his short career of prosperity, which in all

lasted but six months, he was created, first, superintendent, and afterwards controller-general, of the finances of France. A.D.

At the same period, Peter the Great of Russia 1717. paid a visit to Paris, where he remained forty-four days, and was treated with the greatest distinction.

The south of France, and particularly the city of Marseilles, suffered from an appalling pestilence, in the course of which M. de Beleance, the bishop, nobly performed the sacred duties of his station.

In the midst of his pecuniary embarrassments, the regent was disturbed by the discovery of a plot at Paris, in which the Duke of Maine had engaged in consequence of his being disappointed of the office of tutor to the king, conferred on him by the will of Louis XIV. The Jesuits were the immediate agents in it, at the instigation of Cardinal Alberoni, the wily Italian minister of Philip V. of Spain, who proved unmindful of the obligations he was under to France for the blood and money expended in seating him on his throne. The object of the conspiracy appears to have been, not only to displace the regent, but to dismember the kingdom.

As the plot embraced hostile movements against the empire and the Protestant succession in England, the regent entered into a quadruple alliance 1718. with the emperor, England, and Holland against Spain. Philip commenced the war by entering into Sicily and Sardinia, and taking some towns in Italy,

- A.D. but was soon dispossessed by Prince Eugene of the conquests he had made; and at sea his fleets were destroyed in several naval combats, particularly one off Syracuse, with the English, under the command of Admiral Bligh. Philip made terms with the allies by disgracing and delivering over
1719. Alberoni to the French, who conducted him over the frontiers into Italy. A peace was concluded by the abandonment, on the part of Spain, of all its pretensions.

Letters patent were issued by the crown, extending the privileges of the university of Paris, and for the encouragement, by a liberal endowment, of gratuitous instruction in it.

- Philip renewing his aggressive measures, war was again declared against him by France and England,
1720. the consequences of which he again averted by submitting to the terms dictated by the two powers.

A conspiracy against the government, and correspondence with the enemy, was detected in Brittany, for which four persons of rank were decapitated at Rennes, and many more executed in effigy.

The parliament of Paris having refused to register the edict of the regent, limiting the amount of specie to be held by any individual, was exiled to Pontoise in July, and not permitted to return until December.

1722. The king, on the 25th of October, was crowned
1723. at Rheims, and, on the 23d of February following,

having attained the age of fourteen, held a bed of justice and declared his majority, and continued the Cardinal Dubois as his prime-minister, who dying soon afterwards, the Duke of Orleans was appointed in his place, and on his death was succeeded by the Duke of Bourbon, who signalised himself by persecuting the Protestants, and promoting the marriage of the king with Maria Lezinska, the daughter of Stanislaus, the deposed king of Poland. The Duke of Bourbon was superseded in his post of prime-minister by the Cardinal Fleury, who acquired much credit by discontinuing all the proceedings against the Protestants, and, although not possessed of much talent, conducted affairs with discretion, and a decided tendency to keep France at peace with her neighbours. A.D.

It was considered expedient, with a view to the succession, that the king should now marry a princess of mature age, and therefore the betrothal with Maria Anna Victoria, infanta of Spain, born in 1718, was set aside on account of her youth, although she had been brought to Paris at the age of four for education, and bore the title of queen; she was now returned to Spain, and, adopting the suggestion heretofore made by the Duke of Bourbon, the king married Maria Lezsinska. This indignity was resented by the king of Spain, war was mutually declared, and hostilities commenced, ending in a treaty of peace, concluded at Seville on the 9th of Novem- 1725. 1729.

A.D. ber, between France, England, and Spain, confirming the quadruple alliance and previous treaties, and by which Spain relinquished all title to Gibraltar. During this war, Jean Bart, one of the most eminent of the French naval commanders, greatly distinguished himself. The African princes were again punished for their piratical enterprises, the Bey of Tunis apologising for them; and Tripoli, on being bombarded, was compelled to send an embassy to Paris humbly to sue for pardon and for peace.

The new colony of Louisiana was almost destroyed by an insurrection or inroad of the Natchez, the aboriginal inhabitants, who massacred nearly all the colonists, after inflicting dreadful tortures upon them, and devastating and destroying their buildings and plantations.

1733. In consequence of the failure of a second attempt, on the part of Stanislaus, to recover the kingdom of Poland, in which he was resisted by the two powerful emperors of Russia and of Germany, Louis declared war against the latter, and sent Berwick to the Rhine, and the veteran Villars, the hero of Denain, into Italy, and who, now at the age of eighty-four, took the Milanese, and died at Turin, where, on being informed that the Marechal Duke of Berwick had
1734. been killed at the siege of Philipsburg, he exclaimed, "That man has ever been in luck's way." Peace
1735. was concluded at Vienna, on the renunciation of Poland by Stanislaus, who received in exchange

the permissive title of king, and a grant for life of the duchy of Lorraine, to revert at his death to France. A.D.

The death of the Emperor Charles VI. again 1740. disturbed the peace of Europe; he made his will in conformity with the provisions of the imperial pragmatic sanction regulating the succession, and which had been accepted by the empire and most of the European powers. He had acceded to the throne in 1731, and in him ended the male line of the house of Hapsburg, originating with Rodolph in 1280, and which had, in uninterrupted succession, retained the archduchy of Austria from the year 1438. The eldest daughter of Charles VI., Maria Theresa,* took possession of Hungary and the hereditary states, and associated her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, with her. Their title, with that of their son, was acknowledged by the European states, with the exception of the Elector of Bavaria, who claimed the empire, and Frederic, king of Prussia, who, with professions of infinite respect for the archduchess-queen, possessed himself at once of Silesia and Moravia, the finest of her provinces. The kings of Poland and of Spain also set up adverse claims, and war was the immediate consequence. The Marechal de Belleisle persuaded Louis XV., in opposition to

* The mother of as distinguished but less fortunate heroine, Marie Antoinette.

A.D. the remonstrances of the pacific Fleury, to combine with Spain and Prussia against the Austrians; this sufficed to bring England to the rescue with men and money, and thus “the queen, the beauty, set the world in arms.” The Elector of Bavaria was first in the field, and, had he marched upon Vienna, might have secured his object, but his
1741. ambition prompted him to conquer Bohemia first, and to enter Prague in triumph; he then was crowned at Frankfort as Charles VII.,—this sacrifice to his pride proving fatal to his cause.

The war assumed a complicated aspect in consequence of the diversity of objects of the parties interested, and the total absence of all concert in the prosecution of their several claims. France alone had no other view than to keep down the growing power of Austria, and Marêchal Belleisle was therefore sent with a considerable army to support Charles VII. and the Bavarians. The German states partially acknowledged Charles, being better pleased to have a feeble head of the empire, than that the imperial sceptre should be within the iron rule of the house of Hapsburg. The dismemberment of the great succession inherited from her father by Maria Theresa, and secured to her by the terms of the pragmatic sanction, to which every state in the north of Europe had not only assented but guaranteed its fulfilment, would have been effected but for her personal energy and fortitude,

and the enthusiastic attachment of her Hungarian subjects. She, with her infant, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II., in her arms, addressed an oration, in Latin, to an assembled multitude of Hungarian nobles in equestrian ranks, who, although they would not recognise the sex of their beloved sovereign, yet rapturously responded to her appeal, and thousands of sabres glittered in the air, while they shouted with deafening acclamations, “Vivat rex Maria Theresa! moriamur pro rege Maria Theresa!” Frederic the Great of Prussia, who had been among the earliest to accede to the pragmatic sanction, and the first to impugn it, was the only one of her assailants who, after various changes and chances of war, was ultimately enabled to profit by it, by retaining Silesia and Glatz. After gaining the important victories of Molwitz and Czaslaw, he made a separate peace with the archduchess, by which those provinces were ceded to him on his acknowledging her other claims, and abandoning the cause of Charles VII. 1742.

She was thus relieved from her most dangerous enemy; her generals were enabled to expel the French and Bavarians from Bohemia, and she entered Presburg in triumph, and was crowned there on the anniversary of her twenty-seventh birth-day. Belleisle gained great credit by a masterly retreat from under the walls of Prague, having one hundred miles of the enemy's country to march

- A.D. through to the friendly city of Egra. He left a garrison of 1800 men in Prague, who capitulated on honourable terms, and were permitted to follow him.
1743. Cardinal Fleury died at the advanced age of eighty-nine, with unimpaired faculties, and in the full exercise, as had been the case with Mazarin, of his political power. On his death, the king formally abolished the office of prime-minister, and undertook the management of affairs and the command of his armies. War, much against the wishes of the late pacific cardinal, had been declared, in the preceding year, by France against Hungary, England, and Holland, and on the 13th of June the battle of Dettingen was fought, in which George, the last king of England who ever did so, commanded in person, with his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and Lord Stair, as generals under him. Marechals Noailles and Grammont commanded the French army. The English claimed the victory, although each party retired from the field, and no substantial advantage was gained by either.
1745. Charles VII. died at Munich, having enjoyed the title of emperor, and little more, during three years of unsuccessful war, having neither civil nor military talent equal to his ambitious pretensions to empire. He might have proved an indulgent and useful sovereign of his hereditary dominions, which were repeatedly invaded and ravaged by the Austrians, while Munich was three times besieged

and taken. His son Maximilian succeeded to the A.D.
 electorate, Munich, its capital, having been already taken possession of by the generals of the queen of Hungary, and which was restored to him and peace made on his relinquishing all claim to the imperial dignity.

The war was continued by the French in Flanders and Brabant, the king commanding in person, accompanied by the dauphin, and his armies commanded by one of the greatest generals of the age, Count Maurice de Saxe, by whom the allied forces of Austria, Holland, and England, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, were defeated at 1745
 Fontenoy, with a loss of 15,000 men, upon which Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend surrendered to the king. In Italy the parties were more equally balanced, while in America the English succeeded in taking Louisburg and Cape Breton.

Maria Theresa had now gained such an ascendancy over the princes of the empire, that she succeeded in procuring her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine and Bar, grand duke of Tuscany, to be elected Emperor of Germany, and he was crowned at Frankfort by the title of Francis I.

The king, with the assistance of Saxe, now promoted, as Turenne had been, to the rank of marechal-general, made a successful progress through Brabant and Flanders, taking all the principal towns and fortresses, making a triumphal entry into Brussels, an

A.D. inroad upon Holland, and possessing himself of several of the Dutch fortresses; while the Prince de Conti besieged and took Namur. The Marechal General de Saxe, under the command in person of the king, obtained another victory over the Duke
1747. of Cumberland and the allies at Lawfelt, in Liège, where the allies lost 10,000 men, and Bergen-op-Zoom, after a siege of two months, was taken by Marechal Lowendahl.

In the East Indies, the French, under Bourdonnaye, took Madras, and obtained some accessions of territory from the native princes in the vicinity of Pondicherry.

The empress-queen had now obtained the empire for her husband, and the certainty, as it has since proved, of its succession in her family, and also increased and consolidated their Italian dominions, at no other sacrifice than of Silesia and Glatz, and therefore lent a willing ear to suggestions of peace. The king of Prussia, the only actual gainer by the war, in consequence of his tortuous policy, which, without any regard to principle, had, according as interest prompted, induced him to act successively with and against each of the other belligerents, finding that nothing further was to be obtained, expressed a desire for peace. England, having engaged in the war from no other motive than to support Maria Theresa in her claims under the pragmatic sanction, the fulfilment of which

had been solemnly guaranteed to her, was A.D.
heartily disposed, with Holland, to a general paci-
fication; and, lastly, France, which country, it
was computed, had sacrificed above 105,000
lives, and added three hundred and fifteen mil-
lions of livres to her debt by the recent wars,
was reduced to so exhausted a condition that she
was willing to submit to any terms that would
enable her government to adopt measures for a
restoration of financial credit, if not prosperity,
and therefore, notwithstanding many brilliant vic-
tories in several quarters of the globe, and the
possession of most of the strongholds in Brabant,
Flanders, Holland, on the Rhine, and in Italy, was
content to surrender them all towards so desirable
an object. With these good dispositions on all
sides, but still subject to many complicated arrange-
ments, a preliminary meeting of the powers, by
their ambassadors in congress, was held at Aix-la- 1748.
Chapelle in March, the preliminaries were signed
on the 21st of May, and the definitive treaty on
the 18th of October,—by it the king gave up all
his conquests except Corsica, and restored Madras
to England, in return for Cape Breton.

The earliest indication of an apprehension of the
consequences of the latitudinarian tendencies of the
French press at this time, appears by an order of 1752.
the council of state for suppressing the first volumes
of the *Encyclopédie*, or *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, but

A.D. which, with a very thin veil cast over its obliquities, was resumed in 1759, and carried on to completion.

This celebrated work was chiefly edited by Diderot and D'Alembert, assisted by Condorcet, Voltaire, and a coterie of the smaller wits of Paris, following out the prevailing tone of society in its salons, encouraged by the profligacy of the court, and the practical, if not avowed, infidelity of the clergy, of whom it was said that they blushed to acknowledge that Gospel by the habitual profanation of which they existed.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was fated to be of no long duration, but by which of the two great belligerents, France or England, it was first infringed, has never been clearly ascertained.

1755. Hostilities commenced between them in North America in consequence of the boundaries between Nova Scotia, Acadia, and Canada not having been clearly defined by the treaty,—each nation endeavouring to enlist the native Indians in its cause, and many bloody encounters took place, in one of which, on the banks of the Ohio, the English general, Braddock, was defeated and killed. No declaration of war had yet been issued by either party, but Admiral Boscawen, with a squadron under his command, interrupted the French commerce on the American coast, upon which the Marquis of Mirepoix, the French ambassador, left London on the 22d of July, delivering a remonstrance, and inti-

mating that reprisals would be made in Hanover. A.D.
 War was then declared by England, and answered 1756.
 by the French by reference to the proceedings in
 America, and thus the Seven Years' War com-
 menced.

A wretched maniac, of the name of Damien,
 made an attempt to assassinate the king, who was 1757.
 only slightly hurt, and the miserable culprit suffered
 death under circumstances of excruciating torture.
 This event, and the previous recovery of the
 king from a dangerous illness, during which some
 anxiety appeared to be entertained by the public,
 afforded a pretext for conferring on him the
 epithet of *bien aimé*, which he contrived, by his
 inordinate voluptuousness and libertinism, so com-
 pletely to live down, that we will not insult our
 readers by the renewed application of it.

The war now spread throughout Europe, and ex-
 tended to India: the French lost all they possessed
 there, and also in America, where George Washington
 first distinguished himself as an officer in the service
 of the mother country. In Europe the French were
 more successful, by taking Hanover, and repeatedly
 defeating the Duke of Cumberland, who was com-
 pelled by the Marechal Duke of Richelieu to enter
 into the memorable capitulation of Closterseven,*
 when 38,000 Hanoverians laid down their arms.

* In one of these engagements a young French officer, the Che-
 valier d'Assas, captain of a regiment of Auvergne, performed an

The king of Prussia engaged in this war in a different position from that which he had before occupied, being now in alliance with England against France and Austria, who, after three centuries of incessant warfare, had now entered into strict alliance against Frederic, with the zealous co-operation of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, and the kings of Poland and Sweden. The Aulic Council of the empire had, in addition, placed the king of Prussia under its ban as a rebel and disturber of the peace of Europe.

Frederic, in the first instance, made some successful inroads on his neighbours; he invaded Saxony, and took Dresden; he achieved many brilliant victories at Lissa, Rosbach, and elsewhere, but could not arrest the progress of the Russian arms. They obtained possession of the whole of Prussia proper, including Konigsburg, its capital, and Memel, its best seaport; Berlin also was taken, and the king was obliged to remove his family to Magdeburg. On the Austrian

act of self-devotion to his country worthy of being paralleled with that of Decius. His commander, the Marquis de Castries, apprehending a surprise from the enemy under the Duke of Brunswick, despatched Assas as a scout to watch the duke's movements. He had not gone far from his regiment before he fell in with and was taken prisoner by some English grenadiers, who told him that if he made the least noise he was a dead man. He instantly, at the top of his voice, roared out, "Advance, my brave regiment of Auvergne; here are your enemies," and was instantly shot.

frontiers he was met with equal, if not superior, A.D.
 military skill by the Marshal Count Doun, by
 whom he was repeatedly defeated, and, having lost
 Glatz, was compelled to retire for the protection of
 Silesia. His condition was now verging to utter
 destruction, when he was saved from it by the
 opportune death of the empress of Russia, who was
 succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., a devoted 1762.
 admirer of the king of Prussia. He immediately
 withdrew his troops, which most probably would
 have joined the Prussians but for the sudden re-
 moval of the emperor from his throne, and the
 accession of Catharine II. to it. She reverted to the
 alliance with Austria; but the king of Prussia
 availed himself of the interval by arranging terms
 of peace.

The affairs of France were now under the direction
 of the Duke de Choiseul, a statesman of distinguished
 talent, who carried into effect, with great tact and
 secrecy, the memorable treaty, or family compact of
 France, with Spain and the whole house of Bourbon.
 On knowledge of which, England declared war against
 Spain, and the loss to it of the Havannah, Manilla,
 and its ships of war was the immediate consequence.

France had never waged so disastrous a war; its
 navy was reduced to two line-of-battle ships,—le
 Tonnant and l'Intrépide,—with some frigates and
 lesser vessels; and its colonies in America, Asia,
 and Africa had been taken by the English. These

A.D. substantial losses, however, were not felt so severely by the people of France as the distress consequent on the immense expenditure entailed by the war, and the failure of all endeavours, by increased taxation or otherwise, to meet it. Choiseul saw no alternative but peace at any price, in which his able coadjutor, the Duke of Praslin, minister for foreign affairs, cordially concurred. Instructions were forwarded accordingly to the French ambassador at London, who entered into immediate negotiations with Lord Bute, the favourite and minister of George III. The preliminaries of peace were soon adjusted, and the treaty concluded at 1763. Paris on the 13th of February.

Yet for this treaty, involving such sacrifices to France, and corresponding advantages and accessions of colonial territory to England, Lord Bute endured much reproach from the public and in parliament,—his only and sufficient reply to both being, that he wished for no more gratifying tribute to his name and fame than this inscription on his tomb when he should die: “Here lies the Author of the peace of 1763, between the kingdoms of England and of France.”

And so ended the Seven Years’ War, in the course of which more pitched and scientific battles were fought than during any preceding one of much longer duration. Two cities were also taken by escalade,—Prague by the Marechal de Belleisle,

and Port-Mahon by the Duke of Richelieu. So A.D.
extraordinary were the proceedings of attack in
each case, that it was said that an eye-witness of
the operation would hardly believe his own senses
on the occasion.

In the next year Choiseul bestowed a still 1764.
greater boon, not only on his country, but on
Europe, by promoting the expulsion of the Jesuits.
The attempted assassination by Damien, and a
murderous attack on the king of Portugal, had
brought them into increased discredit, upon which
Choiseul was apprehensive of venturing further
than to propose to the pope some additional restric-
tions on the order, to which Clement XIII. abruptly
replied, "That he had rather abolish the order alto-
gether than that it should be subjected to any such
conditions," upon which Choiseul replied, "Then
be it so," and the bull for its abolition was issued.

For this, and probably for other similar acts of li-
beral indiscretion, Choiseul was visited by dismissal
from office, at the immediate instance, it was said,
of one of the titled prostitutes of the court.*

The dauphin and his wife died in successive 1765.
years, also the queen and her aged father, Stanis- 1766.
laus, formerly king of Poland, by whose death, as

* Madame du Barry, who had succeeded Madame Pompadour
in office. This wretched woman was guillotined at Paris in
December 1793, in the fiftieth year of her age, convicted by
the Revolutionary tribunal of having worn mourning in London
on the death of the tyrant (Louis XVI).

A.D.
1768.

arranged by treaty, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar reverted to the crown of France.

The parliament of Paris, elated by their recent meeting in assembly the peers as a court for the trial of the assassin, Damien, renewed, with increased pertinacity, their remonstrances,—thus impugning at once the prerogatives of the crown, and usurping the privileges of the states-general, when the matter was soon brought to an issue by an incident arising in Brittany. M. Chalotais, the procureur-general, in the parliament of Rennes, had animadverted, with considerable vehemence, on some regulations introduced by the Duke of Aiguillon, the governor of the province; the parliament complained to the court of the arbitrary conduct of the duke, but could obtain no answer or redress, upon which all the members gave in their resignations, an example which was followed by the other parliaments, who acted in concert as one body. The duke was in consequence formally accused before the parliament of Paris; the king was advised to consent to a trial taking place, and himself assisted at some of the sittings, which were held at Versailles, until it was suggested to the king that it was a dangerous measure thus to proceed against the governor of a province, and that it might be drawn into a precedent for calling upon the king to justify the acts of his government. The king on the spot stayed all proceedings, accom-

panied with very rigorous injunctions to the members to confine themselves within their constitutional limits; they refused compliance, and the ordinary law business was discontinued, to the great prejudice of the public. The king then held a bed of justice, under the advice of the Chancellor Maupeou, at which the parliament of Paris was suppressed, and the whole order of magistracy abolished, being superseded by the creation of six superior councils or tribunals for the administration of law. A.D. 1771.

This was an unpopular measure with the public, under the delusion that the parliament had a common interest with the people, the contrary being the fact, as, during the Fronde, and before and after it, the agitations of the parliaments were invariably directed against the crown, in favour only of the nobles and clergy.

The king, after this just exercise of power, relapsed into that state of indifference towards public affairs, and of bodily indisposition, the effect of the habitual indulgence of his sensual habits, that he became a ready victim to a second attack of small-pox, having once before gone through that complaint in the year 1728. He died on the 10th of May, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his reign. 1774.

Louis XV. was brave, humane,* and affable; had

* We fear some abatement must be made from this epithet, on account of the sanction given, or at least no royal veto inter-

some knowledge of the arts, and a taste for literature, and willingly promoted the establishment of institutions and academies for the education of youth and the promotion of science. Cardinal Fleury exercised much influence over him for good until his own death,—the king being then upwards of thirty years of age, in happy union with his posed, in respect of the excruciating torments inflicted, in 1757, on Damien for his attempted assassination of the king, alluded to by Pope in his line, “Luke’s iron crown, or Damien’s bed of steel.”

A still more barbarous sentence was executed, in 1766, on a youth hardly emerged from boyhood, called the Chevalier La-barre, who, with some children of his own age, and younger, was convicted of having committed some scandalous outrage on a crucifix fixed on the parapet of the bridge at Abbeville. He was sentenced to undergo the ordinary as well as extraordinary torture, to have the end of his tongue cut off, and the rest of it torn up from its roots by pincers, and then to be burnt or scorched to death at a *petit feu*, or small fire. The horror excited by this punishment, which was strictly carried out, was so great that the parliament, who had pronounced the sentence, was constrained, by the expression of unqualified indignation on the part of the public, altogether to release the youthful accomplices, on whom the same sentence had been passed. The parliament, in extenuation of its share in these infamous proceedings, alleged that they were adopted under the immediate influence of the priests.

The parliament of Toulouse, ever distinguished for its burning zeal, had caused a person of the name of Calus to be burnt for no other crime than that of Calvinism, and had pronounced a similar sentence on his friend, one Sirven. The most creditable act of Voltaire’s life was his having, at much pains and cost, brought the case of Calus under public notice and animadversion. The parliament had to retrace its steps, the sentence was rescinded, and the memory of the unhappy sufferer rehabilitated. Sirven was pardoned and set free.

queen, and the court circle then tolerably respectable. On the death of the cardinal, snares were laid for him by some profligate courtiers of both sexes; he had not sufficient strength of mind to resist temptation, and he fell into the lowest depths of pollution and depravity.

His grandson and successor, Louis XVI., survived him, as did four unmarried daughters, Adelaide, Victoria, Sophia, and Louisa.

The two other grandsons of Louis XV. were Louis XVIII. and Charles X. Thus, by a singular coincidence, the lineal succession to the throne in the Capetian line was a third time interrupted by three brothers intervening:—

1st. The direct descendants of Hugh Capet ended in the three sons of Philip IV. (le Bel),—

Louis X.

Philip V.

Charles le Bel.

2d. The line of Valois terminated in the three sons of Henry II.,—

Francis II.

Charles IX.

Henry III.

3d. The Bourbons with the three grandsons of Louis XV.,—

Louis XVI.

Louis XVIII.

Charles X.

LOUIS XVI.

A.D.
1774.

Louis XVI., dauphin and duke of Berri, succeeded to the throne on the death of his grandfather, Louis XV., on the 10th of May, 1774. He had been married to Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne of Lorraine, archduchess of Austria, sister of the Emperor Joseph II., and daughter of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, afterwards empress of Germany.

The marriage took place on the 10th of May, 1770, and was rendered fatally memorable by an unhappy casualty which occurred at an intended exhibition of fireworks in honour of the marriage, and which were to be on the grandest scale ever before witnessed, and to take place in the square of Louis XV. An immense multitude thronged to view the sight, and filled the entire square and its approaches. There was only one practicable exit from it, and which, it was rumoured, was obstructed. An alarm was raised, and a rush was made towards that only outlet, and the consequence was appalling: heaps upon heaps were trampled upon, and, in the agony of despair, knives were drawn, with which successive layers of the dying and the dead were stabbed, in the hope of self-extrication. The number who died was never accurately ascertained, but, on the lowest computation, above one thousand persons expired on the spot, and as many suffered by contusions and other injuries in consequence. By some additional

fatality, the firework apparatus exploded, and several hundreds were either killed on the spot or drowned in the Seine in an endeavour to escape.

The first act of the youthful king, on his accession, was the re-establishment of the several parliaments in their accustomed functions: this was done to gain a temporary popularity, and against the advice and strong remonstrance of Turgot, who wisely preferred the six law councils or tribunals created by Louis XV. The king applied himself to better purpose in clearing his court of the impure elements which had been introduced into it, and in reducing the expenditure of himself and household, and relinquished, in favour of the public, the customary tax or collection of the *joyeux avènement*.

He then dismissed the entire ministry, and inconsiderately recalled Maurepas to office, who had been disgraced since 1749 for writing some satirical verses on Madame Pompadour. The seals were bestowed on M. Miromesnil; the Count de Muy was appointed minister for war; Vergennes for foreign affairs; Sartine for the marine; and Turgot as administrator of the finances.

The object still pressing most heavily on the government was the public debt and the deficiency of the revenue, and Turgot applied himself with equal energy and ability to grapple with both difficulties, and the king, approving his designs, and

A.D. further to promote them, associated Malesherbes with him.

1775. By the advice of these two honest ministers, the following reforms were immediately effected:—The abolition of preparatory torture on the examination of criminals; the enfranchisement of the serfs still attached to the soil of the royal domains; the abolition of the tolls or impositions called *les barrières*, *jurandes*, and *maitrises*, and the relief of the occupiers of land from their liability to make good the deficiencies of their neighbours in the payment of the taxes; an edict was also issued for the abolition of the vexatious and oppressive duty of the *corvée*, or the compulsory obligation to personal service in the repair of roads and highways. This edict, so essential to the relief of the agriculturist, was denied registration by the parliament of Paris, upon which, by the advice of Turgot, a bed of justice was held to compel the registration. Many, perhaps too many, other reforms were suggested by Turgot, and some might have been attended with better prospect of success, had he listened to the more temperate counsels of his friend Malesherbes, by adopting a more conciliatory and gradual process of amendment; as it was, he too boldly announced his intention of proposing the immediate abolition of all feudal claims; the payment of taxes by the two privileged orders on an equal footing with the *tiers état* or *roturiers*; to suppress monasteries; recall the

Protestants, and invest them with all civil rights, A.D.
and for granting full liberty of the press.

It is not to be supposed that these reforms, all calculated for the relief of the people, could be viewed with favour by the privileged classes or by the parliament; a popular cry was raised against Turgot, on the pretence that his measures were all intended to favour the farmers and bakers, and so raise the price of bread; corn-riots were the consequence; brigands were hired to burn stacks and pillage bakers' shops; it became necessary to suppress these movements by marching troops against the insurgents, and at Dijon alone five hundred of the deluded populace were slain. Further offence was given by Turgot's suggestion that the approaching coronation should be solemnised at small expense in Paris. In this he was overruled by the other ministers, and it was celebrated with more than ordinary pomp and expense at Rheims. The prison department was that more immediately attended to by Malesherbes, and a great many persons were liberated in consequence, and although he and Turgot could not succeed in abolishing the *lettres de cachet*, the number issued was greatly reduced.

This accumulation of reform raised a powerful cabal at court, with Maurepas at its head; the king too readily yielded to the malign influence, and the two honest ministers were dismissed. M. de 1776.
Clugny, a mere nullity, was appointed to succeed 1777.

A.D. Turgot, and, dying soon afterwards, M. Necker, a banker from Geneva, was selected to succeed him.

England had been for years past engaged in endeavouring to reduce her North American colonies to obedience, and to submit to taxes on tea and stamps towards the general expenditure of the mother country. The king and people of France took a deep interest in favour of the colonists and against their ancient enemy, England. The Marquis de la Fayette went to America, and tendered his services to Washington, the general of the insurgents, was received with distinction, and, on his return to France, had no difficulty in inducing other young officers, and about 800 volunteers, to embark with him to America to serve in the ranks of the malecontents, to the great improvement of their military skill and discipline. Franklin and Silas Deane, in 1774, were accredited by Washington to the court of France, and, on the Declaration of Independence being issued in 1776, they were received and acknowledged as the representatives of the new Commonwealth. Men, arms, and ammunition, which had before been covertly supplied, were now openly sent to America, and these facts being avowed by the French ambassador, he withdrew from London, and mutual declarations of war ensued, to which Spain, as a consequence of the family compact, soon became a party.

M. Sartine, with indefatigable diligence, had suc-

ceeded in recovering the French navy from the deplorable condition to which it had been reduced towards the close of the reign of Louis XV., and was enabled to send out a fleet under the Count d'Orvilliers, who engaged the English admiral, Keppel, off Ushant; it proved a drawn battle, no ship on either side being taken. In the West Indies, Admiral Barrington repulsed the French under d'Estaing, and compelled them to return into Martinique; the Marquis de Bouilli, governor of that island, took St. Dominica from the English, who in return took possession of St. Lucie.

The Emperor Joseph II., brother to the queen, paid a visit to Paris, under the assumed title of Count Falkenstein, when all imperial honours of reception were paid to him; he afterwards travelled under the same name to St. Petersburg, where he was magnificently entertained by the Empress Catharine, and arrangements entered into relating to the Turkish frontiers and the Crimea, which had been, in 1771, added by that illustrious sovereign to her dominions.

In the last reign, M. Lally had contributed to establish and extend the possessions of the French at Pondicherry, and the adjoining territories, in the East Indies, but had exercised his command with such severity, and committed so many acts of individual oppression, as to excite, on his return to France, such a storm of persecution, at the instance of the

A.D.

aggrieved parties and their relations, that, on trial for these crimes before the parliament, he was convicted, sentenced to be beheaded, and executed accordingly. His son, M. Lally Tollendal, now petitioned for a reversal of the sentence, and made such eloquent appeals to the king, the public, and the parliament, that, on reference to the latter, the sentence was reversed, and the memory of M. Lally rehabilitated. At a subsequent period Count Lally Tollendal was distinguished for his eloquence and writings in support of the king.

1779.

Hostilities still prevailing, the French succeeded in taking Senegal, on the coast of Africa, from the English; and, in the West Indies, Count d'Estaing took Granada and St. Vincent. Off the latter island, the French brought the English fleet, under Admiral Byng, to action, with no other advantage on either side than that the French retained the islands.

Spain, which had now consented to receive an ambassador from the United States, entered heartily into the war, and joined its fleet, under the command of Admiral Cordova, to that of the French under d'Orvilliers,—thus acquiring such a numerical superiority as to oblige the English admiral, Harely, to retire into port from before them, by which great dissatisfaction was caused in England.

The Spaniards were now encouraged to attempt the recapture of Gibraltar, and laid siege to it by

sea and land, and the combined efforts of France and Spain on the occasion were gallantly and successfully resisted, during a protracted siege, by General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield. A.D.

The English, much disconcerted, but not dismayed, by the unexpected success at sea of the French, sent Admiral Rodney with a fleet to the West Indies, who, on his way, off Cape St. Vincent, met the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Langara, who was defeated, with the loss of five sail of the line taken, and two sunk. Rodney then, with twenty ships, proceeded to the West Indies, following the Count de Guichen, who had been sent from Brest, with twenty-three ships, to replace the Count d'Estaing. On the 20th of March they came to an action, in which neither could claim the victory,—the French exhibiting the greatest bravery, while complaint was made by the English of the conduct of some of their captains. Both fleets returned to their ports in Europe. 1780.

In America a considerable force, under the command of Count Rochambeau, was safely disembarked at Rhode Island, and a declaration promulgated there on behalf of the king, undertaking to enter into no peace with England except on terms of her recognising the independence of America.

The Dutch having entered into terms with the Americans, war was declared against them by Eng-

A.D.
1781.

land, and Rodney took immediate possession of their island of St. Eustatius, in the West Indies, which was soon after retaken by the French.

In America, the French admiral, de Grasse, obtained a victory over the English fleet, under the command of Admirals Graves and Hood, off the Chesapeake, which disappointed Lord Cornwallis of receiving the reinforcements he had been led to expect from Sir H. Clinton. The English fleet returned to New York to refit, while the French remained masters of the Chesapeake, and Lord Cornwallis and his whole army were made prisoners of war. These victories were decisive in favour of the independence of America.

The war after this languished, although a sharp encounter at sea took place off Madras, in the East Indies, between the French, under Admiral Suffrein, and the English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes. The result was indecisive,—the French fleet retiring to a Dutch port in Ceylon, and the English to Trincomalee. Minorca, after a siege of St. Philip of six months, was taken by the Duke de Crillon, and in the West Indies the Marquis de Bouilli took Nevis, St. Christopher, and Montserrat, and with the Count de Grasse laid a plan for taking Jamaica, where Admiral Rodney arrived in time for its defence, and, on the 12th of April, battle was joined between the fleets, and the English obtained a decisive victory, taking ten sail of the line,

and sinking two,—de Grasse being wounded and taken prisoner. A.D.
1782.

The subjugation of the American colonies being now considered hopeless, and the British House of Commons having declared the inexpediency of continuing the war, a change of ministry took place, and, overtures of peace being made and cordially accepted, a treaty, most honourable and advantageous to France, and not otherwise to England, was agreed to and signed on the 3d of September 1783. by the Duke of Manchester and the Count de Vergennes.

The French public were highly gratified by the result, not only as it obtained for them, as they hoped, a grateful friend and ally in America, but also as redeeming them from the effect of the humiliating terms of the peace of 1763, and the odious condition it imposed on them of demolishing the fortifications of Dunkirk to the satisfaction of a British commissioner.

The war had been attended with such extraordinary expense, that Necker, being unable to defray it otherwise than by a succession of loans, presented to the king his celebrated *compte rendu*, which was immediately made public, and which, after a full detail of existing difficulties, stated, in conclusion, the only remedy to be an equal liability to taxation throughout all orders of the state. The king, surrounded by the privileged class, had no alternative

A.D. but once again to submit to their influence by accepting the tendered resignation of the finance-minister, who was replaced by M. Joly de Fleury, and he, not proving equal to the exigency, was succeeded by M. d'Ormesson, who held office but a short time to make room for Calonne, named comptroller-general, a clever and unprincipled courtier, who was encouraged in his vanity and self-confidence by the parliament having unexpectedly sanctioned his measure of a loan, and registered an edict accordingly.

1785. The queen at this time had a second son, the first, who was born in 1781, having, happily for himself, died in 1789.

Calonne next advised the king to convene a meeting of notables, to obtain their sanction to the creation of new taxes to redeem the deficit of 140 millions, adopting Necker's scheme of an equal repartition. This renewed the vehement opposition of the nobility; they rejected the principal impost, the land-tax, and substituted some minor charges, upon which the meeting was dissolved.

1786. The other taxes were disapproved by the parliament, who declined to register the edicts, which they were compelled to do at a bed of justice held by the king, and, by way of punishment for their contumacy, were banished to Troyes, but, after an exile of a month, were recalled. The Duke of Orleans, who had been ordered to retire to one of his country seats, was permitted to return.

In the same year a treaty of commerce was entered into between France and England, at the instance of the very able ministers, the Count de Vergennes and Mr. Pitt; it gave no satisfaction to the commercial men of either country, which may be considered as an indication of its being a wise and useful measure. Consequent on this treaty, an edict was issued, conferring on the Protestants all the privileges and immunities heretofore enjoyed by them under the provisions of the edict of Nantes. A.D. 1787.

The queen, whose youth and incautious neglect of the observance of strict court etiquette rendered her, in a peculiar manner, obnoxious to the malevolent observations of the great party opposed to the court, became unaccountably named, but without the slightest proof of being implicated, in a scandalous and mysterious transaction relating to a diamond necklace, in which the chief performer was the Cardinal de Rohan, prince-bishop of Strasbourg, and great almoner of France.

The few facts that were ever disclosed arose out of the sudden arrest and conveyance to the Bastille of the cardinal, at the moment that he was, in his full costume, about to assist at the celebration of high mass.

The order for this arrest was issued, it appeared, in consequence of a demand made on the queen by some jewellers for payment for a diamond necklace,

which, they pretended, was bought for her use by the agency of the cardinal.

This prince of the church was notorious for his dissolute and intriguing habits, and was associated with the worst characters, male as well as female, about the court, and, there was little doubt, had swindled the jewellers, at the instance of his profligate associates, under the pretence that he was commissioned by the queen, and had authorised application to be made to her for the amount.

The Countess de la Mothe, a descendant of the royal house of Valois, played a principal part in this infamous conspiracy, of which the Duke of Orleans, a malignant assailant of the queen whenever he had opportunity, was suspected of being the promoter.

The necklace was soon unmounted and scattered among the accomplices. The parliament, by order of the king, took notice of the proceeding, and the cardinal was obliged to appear before the chamber of peers to answer interrogatories in a degrading companionship with the swindlers. His Eminence was acquitted, but such of the others as had not absconded were severely punished. The Countess de la Mothe, notwithstanding her high birth, was burnt in the hand by the common executioner, and imprisoned for life. And it was recommended to the cardinal, notwithstanding his acquittal, to withdraw to the seclusion of an abbey in Auvergne.

This transaction was the fertile source of an addition to the scandalous and atrocious libels against the queen, unceasingly circulated with a view to impair her just influence by degrading her in the opinion of the public, and for rendering her an object of abuse and calumny to an ignorant and ferocious populace.

The Count of Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs, died this year, and was a great loss to the king and the nation; he was a man of talent and probity, and had proved himself to be an able negotiator, particularly by his last labour, the commercial treaty with England, which, as we have before observed, was unpopular in both countries, and the subject of much controversy. It became gradually better appreciated, and if happily a longer period of trial could have elapsed, the wisdom and practical utility of its provisions would have been established by commercial and manufacturing advantages diffused over both countries—by an extended application of capital, and an improved experience of the wants and resources of each nation,—applying a stimulus to inventive and industrial enterprise in both.

The meeting of the notables was held in February, being the first instance of such an assembly since 1626, under the administration of Richelieu; it consisted of 137 members, comprising the princes of the blood, the high clergy and nobility, the

king's councillors, and the deputies of the parliament and of the Pays d'Etat, with some mayors or chief officers of the principal municipalities. They met at Versailles, their only functions being to indicate the means for ameliorating the condition of the finances of the kingdom, and for establishing the future regular administration of the revenue, regard being had to the existing deficit of 140 millions. In consequence of the inquiries thus instituted, the comptroller-general, Calonne, gave in his resignation, and quitted France. He was a shallow but showy man, of winning address, fluent and plausible, but incapable of the close application required by his office, and of grappling with the great and peculiar difficulties of all kinds in which it was now involved.

He was succeeded by Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, afterwards of Sens, and then a cardinal, and designated as chief of the council of finance. He was a man of no talent whatever, except for the lowest grade of party and political intrigue, and yet shortly afterwards was appointed prime-minister.

The notables rejected most of the suggestions which had been submitted to them by Calonne, and separated after agreeing on the six following articles or resolutions:—1. The expediency of an immediate loan of six millions ; 2. The establishment of provincial assemblies for an equal repar-

tition of the taxes; 3. The absolute abolition of the *corvée*; 4. The suppression of the *gabelle* and other similar imposts; 5. The removal of all fiscal barriers to the frontiers of the kingdom; and 6. The establishment of a council of finance. The king approved all these articles, and gave an example of his concurrence by introducing regulations of the strictest economy in his own household, and issued declarations sanctioning a free traffic in grain throughout France, and the appointment of provincial assemblies as recommended by the notables, also referring to those assemblies the duty and the power of effecting a pecuniary commutation for the *corvée*.

The king sent to the parliament two edicts for registration—one imposing a stamp-duty on certain instruments, and the other for doubling the land-tax and for re-establishing the third twentieth penny heretofore paid; the parliament took time to deliberate, and requested accounts, on which the king summoned it to Versailles to a royal sitting, or bed of justice, where he caused the two edicts to be registered, and, in furtherance of his endeavours to relieve the financial burthens, ordered for sale, for the public service, the royal chateaux of Choisy, la Muette, Madrid, Vincennes, and Blois, and all the houses possessed by him in Paris. In the mean time the parliament entertained a petition representing the abuses of authority and prodigality of the ex-comptroller, Calonne, and gave permission

for evidence to be adduced in support of such petition.

The council of the king upon this sent a prohibition to the parliament against taking any further proceedings against Calonne, and, to prevent further acts of contumacy, the parliament was banished to Troyes, and some of the provincial parliaments which were in league with it were also exiled. The two brothers of the king, with a guard of troops, were sent to the courts of accounts and of aids to compel the registration of the edicts in question. Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.) was well received by the populace, but the Count d'Artois with expressions of dissatisfaction; after which, the parliament of Paris, having been individually dealt with by Brienne, was recalled, and the edicts were registered.

These civil troubles afforded no leisure to the king or his ministers to attend to foreign affairs, and they consequently were not in a condition to assist their friends in Holland of the republican or Louvesteen party,—Brienne being more solicitous to subdue the parliaments than to resist the Stadtholder, who was reinstated by the entrance of a Prussian army into Amsterdam, with the immediate support and concurrence of the English government. A renewal of the war against Prussia and England, as it would have appeared to have been undertaken in the cause of liberty, would have

been highly popular, and, by diverting attention from domestic broils, might have averted the greater evils which ensued, and contributed to restore tranquillity to France at home, and glory to her arms abroad, instead of which she was degraded in her own estimation and that of Europe by allowing her party in Holland to be thus subdued and persecuted.

On the 19th of November another *séance royale*, or bed of justice, was held before the king, when the parliament attended, and an edict was registered for raising 440 millions by various expedients. Duval-d'Esprémesnil, Robert de St. Vincent, the Abbé Sabatier de Cabre, Freteau, and the Duke of Orleans, strongly opposed the registration, upon which Freteau and de Cabre were, with the Duke of Orleans,* banished.

* The banishment of the Duke of Orleans amounted to no more than an order that he should withdraw to one of his country mansions, and from which he was too soon recalled. His unnatural and insidious conduct towards the king contributed more than any other single cause to the downfall of the throne. By the profligacy of his life, and the offensively affected coarseness of his demeanour and conversation, he had disgusted the queen, whose unguarded expression of her opinion gave rise, on his part, to the most bitter and vindictive hatred, terminating only with her death, towards which he, in common with his Jacobin associates, contributed. He entertained an equal animosity against the king, from whom he never experienced anything but courtesy and indulgence. By his speeches and example he encouraged the parliament in its perverse and mischievous resistance to the royal authority, and, by the misapplication of his unbounded wealth, he fomented the seditious demonstrations of

A.D. On the 18th of December, the king published his declaration of an intention to convene the states-general at the end of five years.

1788. The parliament commenced the new year in its wonted and unconstitutional course of interfering with the royal authority, but always taking plausible grounds for its proceedings,—thus, in the present instance, they took upon themselves, on the 4th of January, to make a decree against the issue of *lettres de cachet*, and for the recall of all persons in exile, and against other arbitrary acts of the government: this was cancelled by the king on the 17th, but repeated by the parliament on the 18th of the same month. On the 29th the king issued a declaration restoring, in its full force, every immunity conferred on the Calvinists by the edict of Nantes, and formally annulling every subsequent restriction of that edict, beginning with the revocation of it in 1685, and following up his benevolent intentions, the king issued an edict for the abolition of what was called “the question” or “preparatory torture.”

the dregs of a brutal populace by suborning them to insult their sovereign, and hiring the infamous Marat and a venal press to vilify the queen by propagating the coarsest and most unmanly calumnies against her. He thus carried out to perfection the habitual perfidy of his race, and the retribution of the guillotine, and the pause of half an hour opposite to the gate of his own palace of the vehicle which conducted him to it, was scarcely a sufficient punishment for the enormity of his crimes.

Two circumstances, exciting some interest in the scientific world, occurred this year—one the death of the great naturalist, Buffon, at the age of eighty, and the other the loss of two frigates, the Boussole and the Astrolabe, which had sailed from Brest on a voyage of discovery in 1785, under the command of Captain J. F. G. de la Perouse, the last dispatch from him being dated 10th March in this year, from Botany Bay.

In 1791 two ships, under the command of Captain d'Entrecasteaux, were dispatched on a voyage in search of Perouse, and returned with no certain or satisfactory information. An interesting account of both voyages—that of Perouse being collected from reports from time to time transmitted by him and his officers—was published, with an atlas attached.

The parliament of Grenoble recorded a resolution, threatening to sever Dauphiné from France; then that of Paris inflamed the minds of the public by a parading, *ad captandum* declaration, importing that France was a monarchy governed by a king according to certain fundamental laws, and propounding, in addition, the following articles:—1. The right of the reigning house to the throne to be in the male line and order of primogeniture; 2. The right of the nation to insist that no subsidies should be granted but by the states-general; 3. The validity of the existing provincial and other customs, and capitularies;

4. The immovability of the magistrates; 5. The right of the provincial courts to revise the edicts of the king, and not to register any but such as should be conformable to the fundamental laws of the state, and to local customs; 6. The right of each citizen (one of the earliest instances of the misapplication of that term to the general inhabitants of an extensive country) to be tried by no other judge or tribunal than the one to which he may be legally amenable; 7. The right of each citizen, and without which all else would be useless, to be tried immediately after arrest by such judge or tribunal.

In consequence of the part taken by them in this discussion, the leaders, MM. Duval-d'Esprémesnil and Goislard de Monsabert, were arrested that evening in the great chamber of parliament. An officer of the household, Vincent d'Agoult, at the head of 800 Swiss guards, executed the arrest, and was rewarded by the appointment of governor of the Tuileries.

The king, on the 8th of May, in a court of parliament, required the registration of several edicts, among others one for imposing stamp-duties upon certain law proceedings, another relating to the jurisdiction of parliament, and for creating a *cour plénière* to judge in the last appeal according to the common law of the realm, such court to be composed of the princes and peers, and of a certain

number of magistrates, military officers, and prelates selected by the king, the captain of the guard being always one of the court. A.D.

The parliament of Rennes declared as infamous all who should consent to act as members of the *cour plénière*.

Seditious movements, encouraged by the parliaments, took place at Rennes and at Grenoble; blood was spilt at each, and two regiments were sent to the latter place to take the principal members of the parliament into custody, and were resisted by the inhabitants and populace, and at Rennes the royal edicts were burnt. In this state of affairs, the king, by the advice of his council, cancelled the resolutions of the several parliaments made in derogation of the royal edicts, and exiled the eight parliaments which had impugned his authority. 1788.

The great council of state, after instituting inquiries as to the mode and form of convening the states-general, appointed the period of the meeting to be in May 1789, and in the mean time suspended the functions of the *cour plénière*. The clergy, in a particular manner, had become impatient at the delay of five years, originally interposed for the meeting of the states, and protested against it.

The king, in the month of August in this year, gave audience to ambassadors sent by his ally, Tippoo Saib, the sovereign of the Mysore, and who had been supported by France in all his designs

against the English, his armies being disciplined by French officers, and men, arms, and artillery supplied.

The cardinal prime-minister, de Brienne, being unequal to cope with his financial difficulties and with the manifestations of popular discontent; having also failed in an invitation to Necker to act with him in office, gave in his resignation, and retired with benefices, pensions, and pecuniary grants to himself and family to the amount of about 800,000 francs. He was succeeded by Necker,* who had held the office of finance-minister from 1778 to 1781. This re-appointment was highly popular, and the first demonstration of public opinion in Paris in its favour was the burning of Brienne in effigy at the foot of the statue of Henry IV. The populace, however, proceeded to more overt acts of sedition; the military were in conse-

* The character of Necker has been well portrayed by M. Lamartine in his recent account of the Constituent Assembly:—
“His countenance betrayed the man; pride, solemnity, stateliness devoid of character, a lofty forehead, a confident eye, a close and ungracious mouth, foreign features, in which German gravity struggled with French shallowness; self-satisfaction, disdain for others, affected good nature, feigned modesty, the attitude of a servant who protects his master—such was the exterior, and such the man.”

The above traits comprise most of the characteristics of that large and increasing class of public men in England designated by Canning, when describing the person of its then principal representative, as the most extraordinary of ordinary men. (The original is still living, but lost in a crowd of rival M.P.'s).

quence resorted to, and some persons were shot; pardon and an amnesty were, however, readily granted to the ringleaders, too evidently exhibiting the weakness of the public authorities.

The king, on the 25th September, sent to the parliament of Paris, which, with the other parliaments, had been reinstated, an edict for registration, announcing a convocation of the states-general on 5th May, 1789. The parliament deliberated, and submitted to register it, subject to an express clause, that the form and proceedings of the intended meeting should in all respects be conformable with those of the last meeting held, under Louis XIII., in 1614, and providing that the three orders of clergy, nobility, and *tiers état* should vote separately in distinct chambers, the deputies of each order being equal in number with one another, and a majority of any two of the three orders determining every question. Thus the same parliament, which, for its own interested purposes, had once recommended a reunion of the orders, was now alarmed at the consequences, and reversed its decision,—incurring, by this double dealing, the loss of the public confidence.*

* The identity of the name of the French judicial parliament with that of the English legislative and representative body has produced a tendency in both countries to attribute to each some identity of duty. The simple fact being, that the parliaments of France were originally mere courts of justice, the presidents and other members of which paid for their appointments. From an early period they obtained the privilege of assisting the peers

On the 8th of November a second assembly of the notables was held at Versailles, composed of the same classes as that of February 1787, and was now convened to determine on the composition of the states, the form of convocation, the order of the elections, the manner of regulating the several provincial assemblies, and the instructions to be given by them to their deputies.

In consequence of the inquiries so recommended by the notables, the states of Dauphiné unanimously decided that the number of deputies which that province should contribute to the states-general should be based on the amount of population without re-

on trials for high-treason and offences against the state, and also the duty was imposed on them of recording and registering all edicts issued by the crown, with the privilege after, but not before such registration, to remonstrate once, and but once, against any supposed error or inconsistency in an edict. Louis XIV., at the age of twenty-three, and during the remainder of his long reign, silenced them as to all but their judicial functions, and Louis XV. acted more efficiently by abolishing parliaments altogether, substituting one great judicial council, and five subordinate tribunals: this was the wisest act of his reign, as the most unwise one of that of Louis XVI. was his restoration of the parliaments, by whom he was most ungratefully requited. This explanation, we are aware, will prove unnecessary to most of our readers; at the same time we would repeat what we have incidentally stated in former pages, that the parliaments of France had no common sympathies with the people, to whose interests they were most frequently opposed,—their primary object being the extension of their privileges and influence by fomenting dissensions between the crown and the aristocracy, supporting either as might best suit their own interests.

ference to taxation; they were fixed accordingly at thirty deputies, five for the clergy, ten for the nobles, and fifteen for the *tiers état*. There being, however, no law or custom to govern the number of deputies to be sent by each province or bailiwick, the parliament, jointly with the peers, sitting in assembly together, decided that it rested with the wisdom and discretion of the king to determine such numbers, also the day of the first meeting, and the periodical return of it, including a recognition of the right of the states to impose all taxes, and which should fall rateably on all the subjects of the state, thus abolishing all class taxation; likewise to establish the responsibility of the ministers, the individual freedom of the subject, and the legitimate liberty of the press.

The notables, to whom these resolutions of the parliament and peers were referred, considered that the number of deputies should be for each bailiwick the same as had been returned in 1614, and on the question of the equality of the numbers of the *tiers état* with those of the clergy and nobles combined, a large majority of the notables were adverse to granting such equality. Of the seven bureaux into which the assembly was divided, that over which Monsieur (Louis XVIII.) presided, was the only one which voted for such equality, after which the assembly of the notables was dissolved.

At a special meeting of the dukes and peers of

France, held at the Louvre on the 20th of December, a declaration, in the following terms, was signed by thirty individuals, and presented to the king:—"Sire,—The peers of your kingdom are desirous of presenting to your majesty and to the nation proofs of their zeal for the prosperity of the state, and of their anxious wish to cement a happy union among all the orders of it, by imploring your majesty to receive the expression of their solemn engagement, which they humbly present at the foot of your throne, to bear their full proportion of all the burthens imposed for the public service and welfare in the just ratio of their property, without any exception or reservation whatever in their favour. They doubt not but that these sentiments would be participated in by all the gentry of the realm were they assembled to convey their unanimous wishes to your majesty."

This was one of the many fatal instances of the want of that energy and *esprit du corps* for which the aristocracy of France had been heretofore distinguished, and who were now prepared either to emigrate or succumb to the democracy, in either case making shipwreck of their fortunes or their lives, and in many cases of both.

The nobles of Brittany, at a meeting of their order, unanimously determined not to send any deputies to the intended assembly of the states-general, in the hope that the absence of the repre-

sentatives of so important a province might invalidate its proceedings, justly anticipating that no possible benefit to the kingdom could be expected from it.

On the 27th of December an ordonnance was issued by the king, determining—1st. That the number of deputies to the states-general should not be fewer than 1,000.

2d. That this number should be elected by a just and reasonable computation of the respective claims of population and taxation; and

3d. That the number of deputies of the *tiers état* should be equal in number to those of the two other orders combined.

And royal letters to the bailiwicks for such elections were issued accordingly.

LOUIS XVI. AND HIS FAMILY.*

THE KING.

Louis XVI., born at Versailles on the 23d of August, 1754—first named duke of Berri, then dauphin, 1765, king of France and of Navarre, 10th May, 1774—consecrated and crowned at Rheims, 11th June, 1775—married, 10th May, 1770—guillotined, 21st January, 1793.

THE QUEEN.

Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne of Lorraine (archduchess of Austria), sister of the emperor, born at Vienna on the 2d of November, 1755—queen of France and of Navarre—guillotined, 16th October, 1793.

1. Louis Joseph Xavier Francis (dauphin of France), born at Versailles on the 22d of October, 1781—died, at Meudon, 4th June, 1789.
2. Louis Charles,† born on the 27th of March, 1785—first named duke of Normandy, then dauphin on the death of his brother, and Louis XVII. on the murder of his father—died in the Temple at Paris, 8th June, 1795, by a slow and cruel process of malignant and deliberate murder, inflicted on him with the direct sanction and under the superintendence of the municipality of Paris, during a period of nearly three years, being, at his death, of the age of ten years, two months, and twelve days.
3. Maria Theresa Charlotte of France (countess of Marne), born at Versailles on the 19th of December, 1778—married, at Mittau, 10th June, 1798, to her cousin, Louis Anthony of Artois, duke of Angoulême—died, at Frohsdorf, in Austria, in her seventy-third year, 19th October, 1851, leaving no issue.

SISTER OF THE KING.

Elizabeth Philippine Marie Helene of France, born at Versailles on the 3d of May, 1764—guillotined at Paris, 10th May, 1794, in her thirtieth year.

* The particulars of the sufferings and resignation of the royal victims will be found in the periodicals and memoirs of the time, and we would particularly refer to those of Clery, Edgeworth, the Duchess of Angoulême, Choiseul, Goguelat, and Madame Campan.

† The soul-harrowing details of the atrocities perpetrated on this innocent and amiable child may be found in all the contemporary annalists, but we would, in an especial manner, refer to the interesting work of M. Beauchêne on the subject, and to the admirable summary of its contents in the Quarterly Review for September, 1853.

BROTHERS OF LOUIS XVI.,

AND THEIR MALE DESCENDANTS.

1. Louis Stanislaus Xavier of France (count of Provence, monsieur), born at Versailles 17th Nov. 1755—married, 14th May, 1771, to Marie Josephine Louise of Savoy, who died 14th Nov. 1818—king of France and of Navarre as Louis XVIII., 3d May, 1814—died 16th Sept. 1824.

2. Charles Philip of France (count of Artois), born at Versailles 9th Oct. 1757—married 10th Nov. 1773—king as Charles X. 16th Sept. 1824—deposed 29th July, 1830, by the usurpation of Louis Philip of Orleans—abdicated 2d Aug. 1830, in favour of his grandson, Henry V.—died, at Goritz, in Illyria, 4th Nov. 1836, in his eightieth year.

Maria Theresa of Savoy, born 31st Jan. 1756—died 24th June, 1805.

- (1.) Louis Antony of Artois (duke of Angoulême), born at Versailles 1st Aug. 1775—grand-prior of France—married, 10th June, 1799, to Marie Therese Charlotte of France, daughter of Louis XVI.—died, at Goritz, in Illyria, 3d June, 1844, leaving no issue, and having renounced all claims in favour of Henry V.

- (2.) Charles Ferdinand of Artois (duke of Berri), born at Versailles 24th Jan. 1778—married on 23d April, 1816—assassinated 14th Feb. 1820.

Carolina Ferdinanda Louisa (princess-royal of the two Sicilies), born 6th Nov. 1798.

Henry Charles Ferdinand Marie-Dieudonné (duke of Bordeaux, count of Chambord), king of France and Navarre as Henry V. on the abdication of his grandfather, Charles X., and the renunciation of his uncle, the Duke of Angoulême—last male heir of the line of Bourbon, in lineal descent from Henry IV.—born (posthumous) 29th Sept. 1820—married, 7th Nov. 1846, to Maria Theresa Beatrice Gaetano, born archduchess of Austria 14th July, 1817, eldest daughter of Francis IV., duke of Modena (no issue, 1855).

LINES

QUOTED BY LABERIUS IN THE YEAR 1618, AS HAVING BEEN WRITTEN
FIFTY YEARS BEFORE THAT TIME BY A PROTESTANT ADVOCATE
OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

“ Festinat propere cursu, jam temporis ordo
Quo locus et Franci majestas prisca senatus
Papa sacerdotes, missæ simulacra Deique
Fictitii atque omnes superos exosa potestas
Judicio Domini justo sublata peribunt.”

In the dark volume of resistless fate,
What various changes threaten Gallia's state;
Within the period of one luckless hour
The Roman pontiff's arrogated power,
The monarch's lawless and despotic sway,
The venal senates that his will obey,
The mass, vile mummary, the priest's deceit,
The sculptured idol, superstition's cheat,
All that the soul in slavish fetters bind,
Debase the soul, or vilify mankind,—
These, while Eternal Justice rules this ball—
These—these by Heaven's own high behest shall fall!
In endless ruin and confusion hurled,
A dread example to a wondering world. •

BOOK III.

THE MONARCHY OF FRANCE—ITS FALL.

CHAPTER I.

Revival of prosperity in France during the first twelve years of the reign of Louis XVI.—Financial difficulties—Ministers of Finance, Turgot, Malesherbes, Calonne, Necker, Brienne—Observations on the Causes leading to the Convocation of the States-General—Royal letters issued to all the Bailiwicks of the kingdom, requiring Deputies to attend the States-General on the 5th of May, 1789.

WE have no doubt or difficulty in pronouncing the precise epoch of the fall of the ancient monarchy of France as coincident with the meeting of the states-general on the 5th of May, 1789. Antecedent and secondary causes have been traced up to various earlier periods, although similar dangers had been repeatedly occurring, and as repeatedly surmounted.

In fact, France had never been in a more prosperous condition than during the first twelve years of the reign of Louis XVI., and its fall can only be attributed to his being the most moral, liberal, and amiable sovereign the people of France ever possessed, and for that very reason he became an

object of ferocious and virulent animosity, evoked by the convocation of the states-general, and their wilful misprision of their duty.

The lowest grade of the Parisian population was one mass of profligacy, ignorance, and infidelity, fitting instruments to minister to the ambition of the equally profligate and irreligious demagogues who raised the tempest in which, by a just retributory visitation, most of themselves miserably perished.

The revolution could not have happened during the reign of Henry IV. or Louis XIV.; they would have crushed the dastards in the bud; nor would it in the reign of Louis XI. or Louis XV.: the former would have indulged the ringleaders with personal experience of the *chausse trappes* and *oubliettes* in his castle of Plessis les Tours, and witnessed from his pleasant little window there an exhibition of gibbets carefully supplied with agitators by his friend, the provost-marshal; while, as regarded Louis XV., his vices, so congenial with those of his subjects, became an element of his popularity, and obtained for him the name of *bien aimé*; he, however, knew no such word as concession, and suppressed the insolent encroachments of the parliaments of France by instant abolition, and would no doubt have met any suggestion of reform, on the part of any one of his ministers, by that *coup d'œil foudroyant*—that formidable look with

which he petrified Voltaire on his once presuming to address his majesty in a tone of ordinary familiarity.*

France, after the accession of Louis XVI., gradually recovered from its slumber of sixty years, and in the year 1787, at the very eve of the revo-

* This incident is thus related by some of the poet's biographers:—

Voltaire was most anxious to propitiate the favour of Louis XV., which, he thought, might be compatible with the republican sentiments contained in his tragedy of the death of Julius Cæsar; it had already been acted at the college of Harcourt, and excited such alarm as to raise a discussion in full council whether the author should be banished or sent to the Bastille. Louis, though he had an instinctive horror of Voltaire, yet thought it but reasonable that he should know the play before he condemned its author. Voltaire prevailed on Cardinal Fleury to have the play acted in the small private theatre,—the author, as was the custom, standing at the back of the royal chair. At the scene in which Cæsar announces to Brutus that he is his father, and then thus alludes to Pompey,—

“ Crois-tu, s'il m'eut vaincu, que cette âme hautaine
Eut laissé respirer la liberté romaine ?
Sous un joug despotique il t'aurait accablé :
Qu'eut fait Brutus alors ?

“ *Brutus.*—Brutus l'eut immolé,”—

the king exhibited some emotion, upon which Voltaire, mistaking it for admiration, and being himself excited, touched the shoulder of the king, saying, “ Eh bien, sire ”——, and was proceeding when Louis darted on him a “ coup d'œil foudroyant ” which stupefied the author, who was instantly withdrawn from the royal presence, and, when he recovered utterance, could only say to the Duke of Richelieu, “ Racine would have died upon the spot,” after which Voltaire retired for a season to the residence of Madame Chatelet in the country.

lution, was in a more prosperous state than at any period since the death of Louis XIV.; she had concluded a successful war by an honourable peace, had entered into a beneficial treaty of commerce with her ancient enemy, England, and was in amity with every other power. Louis XVI. found the treasury empty—had an immense load of debt—no credit—the army reduced—the navy extinct—and, worse than all, neither morals nor religion in the court, and little of either elsewhere. The king applied himself to supply those deficiencies; the army was restored, and the navy revived so successfully as to be able to compete with that of England for the sovereignty of the seas,—riding triumphant on more than one occasion in the Channel, while that of England was compelled to retire within its own ports,—and the French admirals, d'Estaing, de Vaudreuil, Lamotte-Piquet, Latouche-Treville, d'Orvilliers, and Suffren, emulating the fame of their gallant predecessors of a preceding century, Tourville, Duguay-Trouin, and Jean Bart. Louis also, in America and on the ocean, retrieved the military and naval honours of France, and, by his own example of economy and moral conduct, afforded every prospect of giving renovated lustre to a monarchy of which he was the sixty-ninth successive representative.

The only substantial difficulty was the derangement of the finances, towards the recovery of which

the broad and fertile territory of France would, properly applied, have supplied abundant means. Vergennes being dead, Turgot and Malesherbes* were the only two trustworthy ministers of the king; the former, unfortunately, was repulsive in manner and uncompromising in principle, while the latter, of irreproachable character, but advanced in years, did not feel equal to incur the responsibility of acting independently of his colleague, and the king was compelled to sacrifice them both to the interested prejudice entertained against them by the court and aristocracy. The king and Turgot well appreciated one another. Louis said of Turgot, "He and I are the only persons in the country who have any regard for the people:" and Turgot did equal justice to his master by saying, "Nous avons un roi honnête homme." Had

* It is of Chrétien Guillaume Lamoignon de Malesherbes, the upright and venerable magistrate, the eloquent voluntary advocate for his king, the wise minister, the learned councillor, and above all the simple and the honest man, that Madame Geoffrin, on a conversational endeavour to define real simplicity of character, said, "It is a quality often affected; but see M. de Malesherbes: there is a man *simplement simple*."

Yet this great and good and innocent man, at four-score years of age, was, with his whole family, sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and taken, on the 22d of April, 1792, to the place of execution, with his sister, his daughter, his son-in-law, his grand-daughter, under fifteen, and her destined husband. It was said, but much doubted, that the fiends who pronounced this sentence had sufficient compunction to turn aside their heads to avoid the sight of their victims.

the king been as firm as Henry IV. or Louis XIV., and Turgot as prudent as Suger, Sully, or Colbert, France might have been saved ; but, on Turgot's dismissal, Necker succeeded ; he was perhaps honest, but, with much vanity and conceit, brought to the situation only the elaborate details of a bank or a counting-house, with no ability or genius whatever for eliciting and applying the resources of a great kingdom ; he again was succeeded by a set of shallow and dishonest pretenders, until the question of finance vanished amid the weightier matters which attracted attention, and was lost in the one common ruin which engulfed them all.

Madame de Stael, in one of her eloquent publications, deems it incumbent on her to controvert the declamations which have been written to prove that the eight centuries of the Capetian dynasty, which we have just brought to a close, were years of tranquillity, and the nation a bed of roses. " Forgetting (as she adds) the Knights-Templars burnt under Philip le Bel ; the triumphs by the English over the Valois kings ; the war of the Jacquerie ; the assassinations of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy ; the perfidious cruelties of Louis XI. ; the French Protestants condemned to the most cruel deaths by Francis I., while he was in amicable alliance with the German reformers ; the horrors of the League, crowned by the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day ; the conspiracies against

Henri IV., and his assassination; the civil war of the Leaguers; the arbitrary scaffolds erected by the Cardinal de Richelieu; the dragonnades; the revocation of the edict of Nantes; the expulsion of the Protestants, and the war of the Cevennes under Louis XIV." No doubt a very fearful picture of human depravity, and of the abuse of power; but it should be remembered that a great portion of these crimes were committed during a dark period of bigotry and superstition; and yet, could these crimes be condensed into one focus of fourteen months' duration, they would be surpassed in atrocity, and in every element of cruelty, by the acts perpetrated during the Reign of Terror at the close of the eighteenth, and partially renewed at the end of the first half of the nineteenth, century. So much for civilisation and the progress of intellect, in the absence of the purifying influences of Gospel truth.

It has been inconsiderately objected to the king that he was infirm of purpose, and disposed to adopt half measures; but, considering that he was not a man of superior intellect, he appears, on most occasions, to have exercised a reasonable discretion in contending with the circumstances of peculiar difficulty in which he was involved, and particularly that, after the dismissal of Turgot, no one honest minister was submitted for his choice.

To that large class of writers, as well as readers, who are prone to judge according to the event, and

are only *sage après coup*, and, after the occurrence of the revolution, have found manifest indications of it in various bygone events, as well recent as remote, we can only oppose the general absence at the time of any such prophetic vision, while, on the contrary, innumerable instances occur, up to the very period of the revolution, of unbounded confidence in the stability of affairs in France, and this by shrewd observers well able to form an opinion. Horace Walpole repeatedly, in his letters, adverts to the unshaken loyalty of the population of France, and the Duke of Richmond of that day was so apprehensive of the consequences of the Wilkite seditions, that he expressed an intention of falling back on his French peerage and residing in France, to enjoy its happy condition of loyalty and tranquillity; while Gibbon more emphatically in his history, when noticing the fiscal burthens of France as compared with those of Roman Gaul, observes that the difference may be rendered more evident by the condition of the same country “as it is now governed by the absolute monarch of an industrious, wealthy, and *affectionate* people.”

CHAPTER II.

REVOLUTIONARY AND MONARCHICAL ANARCHY.

Chronological Summary of the Proceedings of the States-General
—Their opening on the 5th of May, 1789—Assumption of the
style of National Assembly on the 17th of June following,
passing through the grades of Constituent and Legislative
Assemblies, and terminating in a National Convention on the
21st of September, 1792.

1789.

MAY 4th.—The States-General assembled in Paris on the day be-
fore that appointed for their opening. They consisted of 1,200
members, classed, according to their three orders, as follows:—

	Royal Family, - -	3	}	8
	Princes of the Blood, -	5		
1. THE CHURCH.	Cardinal, - -	1	}	305
	Archbishops, - -	10		
	Bishops, - -	36		
	Abbés, - -	25		
	Canons, - -	16		
	Curés, - -	217		
2. NOBLES.	Dukes and Princes, -	19	}	354
	Marquises, - -	75		
	Viscounts and Counts, -	90		
	Gentlemen, - -	99		
	Military, - -	71		
	Carry over, - -			667

		Brought forward,	-	-	667
3. TIERS ETAT,—					
ROBE.	{	Advocates,			346
		Judges,			
		Procureurs,			
		Notaries,			
COMMUNES.	{	Mayors and Baillis,	23		187
		Proprietors,	-	65	
		Merchants,	-	60	
		Medical Men,	-	16	
		Bourgeois,	-	23	
Total,					1,200

A solemn procession took place of the king and the three orders to the church of Notre Dame, all the dignitaries of the state attending, and, with the court, clergy, and nobles, exhibiting extraordinary magnificence in their dresses, chiefly of purple, and hats richly plumed,—the *tiers état* in their ordinary simple clothes, in most instances covered by a plain black cloak. It was observed of the Duke of Orleans that he kept in the rear of his order, and endeavoured to mingle with the foremost of the *tiers état*. The Bishop of Nancy preached a very appropriate sermon, which, notwithstanding the presence of the king, and the sanctity of the place, was loudly cheered.

5th.—The states-general went again, in grand costume, in procession to Versailles, where they were received in the great hall prepared for the occasion, after which their session commenced. The king then took his place on an elevated throne, the queen by his side; the courtiers and spectators occupied the galleries and tribunes; the clergy took the right side of the throne, the nobles the left, while the *tiers état* were arranged on benches at the bottom of the hall, facing the king.* A slight movement was

* The king, on seeing the duke at the end of the hall, said to him, "I invite you, cousin, to take a place near me;" the rude reply was, "I can do that by right any day; I am well where I am." A rougher answer was addressed to the unhappy sovereign a short time afterwards, on his asking David, the celebrated painter, when his portrait of him would be completed, and being told in reply:—"I will never paint a tyrant's head until it shall roll off a scaffold at my feet." It was currently said of the Duke of Orleans that, having exhausted every species of depravity, mis-called plea-

excited on the entrance of the Count of Mirabeau, but a look from him sufficed to repress any demonstration. The two first orders, according to their privilege, kept on their hats; the greater number of the *tiers état* did so also, and when peremptorily required, by the Marquis de Brezé, the grand-master of the ceremonies, to be uncovered, they altogether disregarded the injunction, and some treated it with marked derision. After this scene had subsided, the king, from his throne, read the following speech:—

“GENTLEMEN,—

“The day is at length arrived which my heart has so long panted to see, and I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation it is my glory to command.

“A long interval has elapsed since the last convocation of the states-general, but, although these assemblies have not for some time been held, I have not been dissuaded, by the example of my late predecessor, from re-establishing a custom from which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

“The public debt was already immense at my coming to the throne, and has increased under my reign; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause, and the augmentation of taxes the consequence of it, but an unequal levy has caused them to be more severely felt.

“A very general discontent, a too great desire for innovation, have taken hold of the people’s minds, and will end in misleading their judgment, if they do not hasten to fix them by wise and moderate counsels.

“It is with confidence, gentlemen, that I now assemble you, and I rejoice to see that it has been justified by those dispositions which the two first orders of the state have shown to renounce

sure, he sought a continuance of the same luxury in crime, so far imitating that “*fanfaron des crimes*,” his grandfather, the regent. He was so imbued with vice, that courage had no part in his composition,—it being notorious that, when sent out as Duke of Chartres, under the Admiral d’Orvilliers, he, in the engagement off Ushant with the English under Admirals Keppel and Palliser, slunk into the safest corner of the cabin during the heat of the battle.

their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

“ I have already ordered very considerable retrenchments of expense ; you will, moreover, furnish me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly ; but, in spite of the resources which the strictest economy can suggest, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish. I shall order to be laid before you the exact state of the finances, and, when you have examined them, I am assured you will propose to me the most effectual means to establish them on a permanent footing, and strengthen the public credit. This great and salutary work will claim your most earnest attention ; it is that which will secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain its consequence among foreign powers.

“ The public spirit is in a ferment, but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counsels but those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, gentlemen, have been able to judge, on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided ; but the spirit which will rule over your deliberations will answer for the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has ever been the love of their king. I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

“ I know the authority and power of a just king surrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy : these have caused the glory and splendour of France ; I ought and I ever shall be the support of them.

“ But whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may—you ought to—hope from me.

“ May a happy union reign in this assembly, and may this epoch become ever memorable for the happiness and prosperity of the country. It is the wish of my heart—it is the most ardent desire of my prayers—it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

“The keeper of the seals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the state of the kingdom.”

The keeper of the seals, M. Barenten, then addressed the meeting, reiterating the sentiments of the king, and was followed by M. Necker, who read a long memoir on the state of the kingdom, and made a longer harangue in explanation of it, thus fatiguing by his prolixity those who were not offended by the lessons he presumed to inculcate. He concluded by presenting very elaborate accounts in detail of the receipt, expenditure, and revenues of the kingdom, of which the following was the short analysis and result :—

				Livres.	
Public debt,	-	-	-	3,090,000,000	
FIXED RECEIPTS.					
Régies, fermes,	-	-	284,347,000	} 475,294,000	
GENERAL RECEIPTS.					
Tailles, capitations, vingtiemes,	-	155,655,000	}		
Imposts upon State lands,	-	24,556,000			
Retained for pensions,	}	- 10,736,000			
Miscellaneous receipts,					
EXPENDITURE.					
Interest on the perpetual debt and annuities,	-	-	162,486,000	} 531,444,000	
Gages des charges, emoluments, indemnités, &c.,	-	-	80,327,000		
King's household,	-	-	25,000,000		
Princes' household,	-	-	8,240,000		
Chancellor,	-	-	3,173,000		
Strangers, Swiss troops, &c.,	-	-	7,480,000		
War,	-	-	99,160,000		
Marine,	-	-	40,900,000		
Treasury,	-	-	5,803,000		
Traitements des fermiers, &c.,	-	-	20,094,000		
Pensions,	-	-	29,560,000		
Police, and other expenses of Paris, at the charge of the Treasury,	-	-	3,985,000		
Miscellaneous expenses,	-	-	45,236,000		
Deficit,	-	-	-		56,150,000

Orders were issued that the deputies of each class should meet in the chamber assigned to it. Independent of the great or common hall, which was appropriated to the *tiers état* alone, but was large enough to hold them all, two other chambers were set apart, one for the nobility, and the other for the clergy. The *tiers état* had the advantage, therefore, of being in possession of that apartment which, in the event of a union, could alone contain the entire estates, whom it was their great object to unite.

The first business to be transacted by the deputies was the verification of their powers, and the question was whether it should take place in common, or by class. The third estate contended that they should witness the legitimacy of each other's claims; the clergy and nobles, on the contrary, insisted on their right to a separate and independent verification of their powers. This did not yet touch the question whether their ulterior votes should be by the majority of the aggregate number, or of the orders only; but it nearly affected it, and from this day this vital difference arose, which ought to have been foreseen, and might then have been avoided.

Notwithstanding, therefore, this arrangement of the separate chambers, the *tiers état*, on the first evening of their sitting, came to the following resolution:—

“That the deputies of the clergy and of the nobility should unite with the deputies of the *tiers état* in the common hall for proceeding to the verification of their respective powers.”

6th.—The *tiers état* attended in their great hall, waiting for the clergy and nobles who were meeting in their several chambers, when the clergy, by a majority of 133 over 114, and the nobility, by 188 over 47, determined that the powers should be verified by each order separately. The great schism thus commenced on the second day of their meeting.

8th.—Deputation from the clergy to the nobles, recommending a union of the three orders.

10th.—Presentation of deputies to the king.

13th.—The nobles refuse to unite, on which the clergy propose commissioners of conciliation.

15th.—The Count d'Artois apprises the nobles that the king, his brother, has ordered him to discontinue his attendance on their meetings. "But," said the prince, "I give to this chamber my full assurance that the blood of my ancestor, Henry IV., has been transmitted to my heart in all its purity, and that, so long as a drop of it remains in my veins, I will prove to the entire universe that I am worthy of my birth as a gentleman of France."

18th.—The *tiers état* name their commissioners of conciliation.

19th.—The king gives permission to the journals to report the proceedings of the states-general.

20th.—The clergy make a formal renunciation of their pecuniary emoluments.

23d.—Assembly of the commissioners of conciliation, when the nobles renounce their pecuniary privileges, and with the clergy, by deputation, attend the *tiers état* to inform them of such, their respective renunciations, and to express their concurrence in any measure for the equal repartition of all taxes and public burthens, and that this is done in conformity with the instructions contained in the great majority of the cahiers held by them from their constituents.

26th.—Report made by the commissioners of conciliation.

28th.—The king suggested another meeting of the commissioners to be held in the presence of his keeper of the seals and of commissioners added by himself.

29th.—The *tiers état* require that the minutes of the meetings of the commissioners should be signed by such commissioners.

JUNE 1st.—M. Atilly named president of the chamber of the *tiers état*.

2d.—M. Atilly resigned, and M. Bailli was elected in his place.

5th.—The commissioners agree in a report.

7th.—The *tiers état* divide themselves into twenty bureaux.

9th.—The assembly of the clergy resolve that the report shall be signed by their commissioners.

12th.—The *tiers état* for a last time invite the two other orders to an union.

13th.—Three curates of Poitou commence the defection of the

clergy by taking their seats with the *tiers état*, and depositing their credentials.

14th.—Six other curates join the *tiers*, one of whom was the Abbé Gregoire.

15th.—The nobles transmit to the king their resolution, by which they require many modifications in the report of the commissioners as to the verification of powers in common, and receive from the king the following answer: "I have examined the resolution of the order of nobles, and observe with concern that it persists in various reserves and qualifications in the scheme of conciliation proposed by my commissioners; more deference on the part of the nobles might have led to the union I so much desire."

15th.—A tenth curate took his seat among the *tiers état*. The nobles communicate to the *tiers* their answer and reasons.

17th.—The *tiers état*, in union with a few obscure members of the clergy, at a sitting held at night, declare, on the motion of the Abbé Sicyes, by a majority of 580 over 569 votes, that they are the only legitimate re-union, it being evident that there can exist no negative body between it and the throne, and, after a long discussion as to the name their meeting should adopt, and various denominations proposed, that of NATIONAL ASSEMBLY was, on the motion of Legrand, carried. Their first act was to declare all existing taxes and charges illegal, not having been imposed by the states-general; they then immediately provisionally re-enacted them all, but to continue in force only until the day that the assembly should, by any means, or for any cause, be separated or dissolved. This decree, which was in itself the REVOLUTION, and by which the audacity of the leaders of the *tiers état* was manifested, would not have been proposed or adopted if the nobility had exhibited less imprudence, or the government more decision.

19th.—The majority of the order of the clergy vote for uniting with the commons.

20th.—The great hall of the commons being closed for the purpose of holding a royal sitting, Bailli, their president, conducts them to the tennis court (Rue St. François), where they swore

not to separate until they should have given a constitution to France.

22d.—149 members of the clergy unite with the *tiers état*, assembled in the church of St. Louis.

23d.—Royal sitting held in the great hall, the three orders all attending, the king being present with his ministers, except Necker, who disapproved of this measure. The king addressed the meeting, complaining of the divisions which had taken place between the orders, at the same time insisting on the necessity of keeping those orders distinct as essential to the constitution of the monarchy, and to act in union on no other questions than those of finance; he then annulled the resolutions of the *tiers* of 17th July, and prohibited the entrance of the public into the hall.

In a second address, the king enumerated the privileges he had conferred upon the people in these words, "I may add, without, I trust, deceiving myself, that no other sovereign than myself ever did so much for any nation, but then what other nation ever deserved so much by its noble sentiments as France?" This declaration recapitulated the several heads of reform conceded by the king, comprising thirty-five in number, and of which the following were the principal:—
1. No tax to be imposed or loan effected without the consent of the representatives of the nation; 2. An annual account to be rendered in such form as the states-general should prescribe; 3. The application of the public moneys to be determined in like manner; 4. Abolition of the pecuniary privileges of the clergy and nobles; 5. Security of property, whether real or personal, and individual liberty; 6. Regulations for the grants of patents of nobility; 7. Abolition of *lettres de cachet*; 8. Liberty of the press; 9. Establishment and constitution of provincial assemblies; 10. The states-general to have the control of the royal domains, of the customs, and in all commercial matters; also the abolition of the *corvées*, and modification of the rights of mortmain, the better regulation of the militia, and a revision of the civil and criminal codes. The king then dismissed the assembly by saying:—

"I have thus expressed my views and intentions; they are in

conformity with my anxious desire to promote the public welfare, and if, by a fatality far from my contemplation, you should abandon me in this beneficent undertaking, *alone* I will accomplish the relief of my people,—*alone* I shall consider myself their real representative, and, knowing, as I do, their wishes as contained in their cahiers, knowing also the perfect coincidence of those wishes with my intentions, I shall proceed with all the confidence which such a conviction should inspire towards the object I have in view.

“Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your plans, none of your proposed arrangements, can have the force of law without my special approbation. Thus I constitute the material guarantee of all your respective rights, and the several orders of the state may rely on my impartiality, and any mistrust on your part will be an act of great injustice towards myself. I am doing all I can to promote the welfare of my people, and it may be considered a rare event that the only ambition of a sovereign is to induce his subjects to appreciate and receive the benefits he is desirous of conferring on them. I now command that you separate forthwith, and meet to-morrow, each order in the chamber appropriated to it, and resume its sittings, and I further order the grand master of the ceremonies to prepare the chambers accordingly.”

The king withdrew, and the clergy, all but a few curates, retired with the whole of the nobility, but the *tiers état* remained. The Marquis de Brezé, the master of the ceremonies, repeated the king's command, upon which Bailli alleged that he was placed there by the vote of the assembly as their president, when, Brezé still insisting, Mirabeau rose and addressing him said, “Go tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not separate but by the power of the bayonet.” The assembly, electrified by this emphatic answer, sanctioned it by acclamation, and instantly, by a majority of 486 votes against 341, decreed the inviolability of its members.

This scene was the last display of regal authority on the part of Louis XVI.; he was too mild to enforce submission, and his ministers too imbecile to inspire firmer counsels. Sicyes, Mira-

beau, and Bailli were sensible that, should the king's concessions be hailed by acclamation with the gratitude to which they were entitled, their occupation as demagogues would cease; they therefore, with the Duke of Orleans, stimulated the assembly to resistance, and the populace to sedition, to murder, and to plunder; the vilest passions of the vile were roused, and by the malign influence of this unrighteous combination the king and kingdom fell.

And here the subject of our labours would find its natural termination in the ruin of the monarchy, but that the unhappy king survived his sovereignty, and we should consider our work incomplete were we not to pursue the revolutionary anarchy to its end, after six years of terror and misrule *—

“A wild and dream-like trade of blood and guile,
Too foolish for a tear, too wicked for a smile,”—

The first semblance of a government appeared on the 26th of October, 1795, in the form of a Directory, and two chambers, established by one of a numerous succession of constitutions, ultimately subsiding into the patriarchal condition of an absolute autocratic despotism.

We shall, therefore, now more briefly record the absurdities and enormities of revolutionary anarchy from the 17th of June, 1789, when the states-general, of their own authority, without any reference to their constituents, declared themselves a National Assembly, to the Directorial period in 1795.

JUNE 24th.—151 ecclesiastics join the National Assembly.

25th.—47 members of the nobility, with the Duke of Orleans, do the same, taking precedence only in the order of their returns.

27th.—By the express order of the king, the remaining clergy and nobles join the National Assembly, thus at length composed of a fusion of the three orders.

30th.—The prison of the Abbaye St. Germain forced open by a seditious mob, and several of the French guards liberated who had been guilty of acts of insubordination.

* We would refer to Mr. Carlyle's account of the Revolution as containing a very graphic and authentic record of its crimes, and we are not sure that the uncouth style in which it is written does not add to its effect without detracting from its accuracy.

JULY 2d.—Nine German regiments and other troops are ordered to Paris and Versailles, under the command of the Marêchal de Broglie, to the great alarm of the inhabitants of both places.

10th.—The National Assembly requires of the king the removal of those troops.

11th.—Necker dismissed, to the consternation of Paris.

12th.—The Prince Lambese, at the head of the German and Swiss troops, forces the Tuileries, notwithstanding the resistance of the populace and of several of the military.

13th.—Paris being in a state of the greatest alarm and agitation, a national guard is formed and organised by the bourgeoisie, amounting to 48,000 men.

14th.—The Bastille stormed and taken by the populace, aided by some of the French guards; the governor, the Marquis de Launay, and his next in command, massacred, and their heads on pikes paraded through the streets; seven prisoners only were found, and liberated of course, though confined for crimes deserving of far greater punishment than what they had incurred.

15th.—In consequence of these demonstrations, an extensive emigration of the nobility and gentry took place, headed by the Count d'Artois and the Prince of Condé, leaving only with the king his brother (monsieur), his sister, the queen, and the two children.

The king went to the chamber of the *tiers état* (still in Versailles), who were for the first time recognised and addressed by him as a national assembly, announcing the removal of the foreign troops, his approval of the formation of the national guard, and gave to the president a letter for the recall of Necker.

16th.—Appointment of La Fayette as commander-in-chief, of Bailli as mayor of Paris, and of the Viscount de Noailles as major-general of the national guard, thus completing the triumph of the popular party, and reducing the king to the third rank in the state, next after the National Assembly and the municipality of Paris.

17th.—The king went to the Hotel de Ville, accompanied by one hundred members of the assembly, announced his concessions, put on the tricolour cockade, was received with acclamation by

the people, and with cool respect by the civic authorities, and then returned to Versailles.

22d.—Paris again in a disturbed state, owing to the high price of bread, which the people attributed to M. Toulon and his son-in-law, M. Berthier, who were accused of monopolising corn, and were subjected to the most cruel torments until they died, and the most horrible atrocities perpetrated on their bodies after death, amounting to a degree of cannibalism equalled only by the horrors inflicted by the negro insurgents of St. Domingo on their massacre of 500 whites. On the same day, M. de Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, was killed by a pistol-shot on his leaving the Hotel de Ville.

23d.—The king permitted the regulars in the French army to transfer their services to the national guard.

AUGUST 1st.—The mayor of St. Denis massacred by the populace on account of the high price of provisions.

4th.—Memorable sitting at night of the assembly, when the Viscount de Noailles, without any previous notice, carried unanimously, in a frenzy of affected patriotic enthusiasm, a motion for the abolition of all feudal rights, signoral jurisdiction, the franchises and immunities of the *pays d'états*, of cities, and of corporations, with all collective and individual privileges. The electric spark spread throughout the assembly, each member was desirous of laying his contribution on the altar of anarchical destruction, with special care, however, that the sacrifice should damage his neighbour rather than himself; thus the Bishop of Chartres proposed the abolition of the rights of the chace; a noble of the sword moved the suppression of the venality of law-appointments; and a man of law proposed the extinction of all the privileges of the nobility: these were all no sooner announced than carried. By this infatuated demonstration, it was alleged and expected that the state would be regenerated, the finances re-established, the famine abated, and the public troubles appeased. This first step of the assembly in that devious path of licence rather than of liberty which they had traced out for themselves, was hailed with applause by the Parisian mob and the provincial malecontents, who, by this removal of local authority, lost

all sense of duty as of shame, gave themselves up to the impulses of their worst passions, destroyed the mansions and titles of their ancient lords, exhibiting the most afflicting spectacle of a general conflagration of castles, abbeys, and many manufactories, accompanied by pillage, murder, and devastation, and with acts of barbarity and cruelty hardly exceeded by their metropolitan brethren, encouraged by a continued series of arbitrary arrests, instant executions, malignant informations and proscriptions rewarded by unmitigated confiscation.

7th.—Necker, on his return to office, proposed to the assembly a loan of 30 millions, which was decreed accordingly at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

12th.—Suppression of ecclesiastical tithes, affording another instance of the ignorance and precipitation of the assembly in thus inflicting absolute destitution on the church, affording no benefit whatever to the state, and conferring a boon on parties who made no claim, and had no right, to the benefit conferred.

13th.—The king accepts the title of Restorer of the liberty of France.

24th.—*Te Deum* chanted in the churches in consequence.

A decree importing that the undefined liberty of the press is one of the inalienable rights of man, and another that no man shall be molested for his opinions, whether religious or otherwise, except they infringe the law.

27th.—Scarcity of provisions, and especially of bread, prevails at Paris, and gives rise to violent attacks on the bakers and their shops.

The assembly, at the instance of Necker, decrees that the loan of 30 millions shall be replaced by a loan of the same amount, with interest at 5 per cent.

SEPTEMBER 6th.—The prisons of St. Lazarus demolished by the mob.

7th.—The ladies contribute their jewels to the relief of Paris.

9th.—The National Assembly decrees itself to be a permanent body.

10th.—Decreed that the legislature shall consist of one chamber only, in opposition to Lally Tollendal, and others, who were

in favour of a king and two chambers, whereas this decree combined all their powers in one, by creating a despotic democracy, which, if not the most lasting, is the most fearful of all despotisms, owing to the infinity of its agents, and the interminable variety of its caprices.

12th.—Decree for limiting the duration of the legislative body to two years.

15th.—Decree establishing the inviolability of the person of the king, and the indivisibility of the hereditary succession in the male line.

20th.—The king undertook to cause the decrees of 4th August to be promulgated throughout the kingdom.

22d.—The king sent his plate to the mint for the public service.

26th.—M. Necker presented an alarming report of the finances to the assembly, who adopted his suggestions in consequence.

OCTOBER 1.—The Garde du Corps interchanged banquets at Versailles with the Flemish regiments, which the queen honoured with her presence; white cockades were worn, and loyal and royal sentiments expressed, exaggerated reports of which reached Paris, and excited an irritable ferment in the populace. This was an imprudent proceeding, and these military would have been better employed in subduing the rabble than in thus unnecessarily ministering to their animosity; but the invariable error of the king's friends was not their sparing to give offence, but being too sparing of the means they still possessed for enforcing obedience.

5th and 6th.—The scum of Paris—even worse, the scum of its worst districts, the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, comprising a large concourse of men suffering from the effects of crime, poverty, and starvation, brought upon themselves by that emigration of the upper classes which their seditions had compelled, and the consequent stagnation of trade—gathered to the Hotel de Ville, and there announced to the authorities their intention to go to Versailles to exterminate the aristocrats; they proceeded accordingly, armed with pikes and other weapons, and accompanied by women of the most abandoned character. They

were followed by La Fayette, and such of the national guard as he could assemble. Some of the ringleaders at night gained admission to the palace, and even reached the apartments of the queen, assassinating two of the guards stationed at the door; the multitude in the courts vociferated for the king, who at length addressed them from a balcony, promising compliance with their request that he would proceed immediately to Paris: this, after a time, with a sight of the national guards, quieted them, and they marched back to their dens, carrying with them as trophies the heads on pikes of the two officers of the queen's guard whom they had slaughtered. Others of the guards were also murdered by them, who did not retaliate, being ordered by the king not to draw or fire upon the people. No doubt was entertained but that the authors of this outrage were Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans; the national guards finding it difficult to procure any provision, while the insurgents appeared to have been abundantly supplied.

The king, at one o'clock in the afternoon, proceeded with his family to Paris, and, on arriving at the Hotel de Ville, was received by Bailli the mayor, the author of the Travels of Anacharsis, who greeted him with an insolent pedantic harangue, stating that, as, in a former age, Henri IV. had conquered his people, so in this the people had conquered their king.

6th.—The Breton Club, originally founded at Versailles by some curates of that province, was now enlarged and established in Paris by the name of the Jacobin Club, its meetings being held in the convent of that name in the Rue St. Honoré, where a similar meeting was held during the period of the League by a band of fanatic priests and ruffians inviting to regicide and murder.

13th.—Decree for the removal of the National Assembly to Paris, and its inseparable union of residence with the sovereign, the place assigned for its meetings being the *manège* of the Tuileries, now the site of Nos. 36 and 38 Rue de Rivoli.

15th.—The Duke of Orleans, apprehensive of being denounced as the cause of the outrages of the 6th, demanded of the assembly a passport for England, which was granted; he was arrested,

however, at Boulogne, but afterwards permitted to proceed by the influence of his accomplice, Mirabeau.

19th.—First sitting of the National Assembly at Paris, gradually, from this time, becoming the mere organ of the dictates of the Jacobin Club, in consequence of which Lally and Mounier, the leaders of the moderate party, quitted the assembly and France; the only division now in the assembly being as to who should go farthest in promoting extreme democratic opinions.

21st.—A baker, falsely accused of creating a monopoly of bread, was hanged at his own door; the king and queen consented to name the posthumous infant of this unhappy man at the font of baptism.

22d.—The assembly appointed a committee for making domiciliary visits, with inquisitorial powers of search and interrogation.

NOVEMBER 2d.—Decree made, on the motion of Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, by a majority of 588 over 346 votes, for placing at the disposal of the nation all ecclesiastical property and revenues.

7th.—Resolution for the exclusion from the assembly of the ministers of the crown.

11th.—Necker presented to the assembly his scheme of a national bank.

20th.—Patriotic gift made to the public by the assembly and the municipality of Paris of their silver buckles.

25th.—Address presented to the assembly from the Corresponding Society of London.

DECEMBER.—Long discussions during this month on the subject of the finances, the constitutions of the provincial municipalities, and on the irregular proceedings of several of the parliaments.

26th.—Monsieur, the brother of the king, attends at the Hotel de Ville, and justifies himself from the accusations circulated against him for supposed intercourse with the Marquis de Favras, who had been recently arrested on a charge of counter-revolutionary acts, and concluded with an eloquent vindication of his loyalty to the king, and devotion to the best interests of the people.

1790.

JANUARY 4th.—Request of the assembly that the king would state the amount required by him for his civil list.

6th.—Sequestration of the income of all absentees.

12th.—Decree for dividing France into 85 departments, each department into a district, each district into a canton, each canton into a municipality.

13th.—That Paris should form one of such departments.

15th.—A young Englishman named Nesham, who saved the life of a citizen in the troubles of Vernon, received from the municipality of Paris the civic crown and a sword as a tribute of public gratitude.

21st.—A priest, his wife, and children received with welcome by the assembly.

25th.—Decree for abolishing the prejudice entertained against the families of criminals in all cases.

26th.—Decree prohibiting members of the assembly from accepting any situation whatever under government; this was resisted by Mirabeau, as placing the legislative in direct antagonism to the executive body; he could not obtain, even by way of amendment, that the ministers should be present at the deliberations of the assembly.

28th.—Decree in favour of the Jews of Spain, Portugal, and Avignon.

FEBRUARY 4th.—The king visits the National Assembly, and engages to defend the constitutional liberty of the people as now established; and each member swears to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king—to maintain, with all his might, the constitution as established by the National Assembly, and as accepted by the king.

Te Deum chanted and illuminations in honour of the king.

6th.—Decree that the parliament of Rennes has forfeited its claims to citizenship.

19th.—The Marquis de Favras, convicted of high treason, is executed at the Place de Grève with extraordinary solemnity,

being the first execution in respect of difference in political opinion.

24th.—Decrees for the abolition of feudal rights, and of all honorary distinctions.

MARCH 9.—Decree that the colonies shall form an integral portion of the French empire.

12th.—Report on a new memorial, by M. Necker, on the finances.

Publication made of the great red book of the court, containing the particulars of all pensions and gifts emanating from the crown, which, while it exposed the plunder and venality of the courtiers, established the personal economy and self-denial of the king.

16th.—Decree for the abolition of *lettres de cachet* and all other exercise of arbitrary power.

17th.—The assembly determined on the sale of national property, chiefly consisting of ecclesiastical estates, to the extent of 400 millions, to meet the repayment of the assignats created on 19th December.

21st.—Decree for the suppression of the *gabelle*, and the substitution of other imposts for it.

20th.—M. Roland is named by the king minister for the interior.

APRIL 3d.—The Prince de Conti took the civic oath.

6th.—Institution of juries in criminal cases.

9th.—Decree that the debts of the clergy should be adopted by the nation, all their property having been confiscated for its use, and there appearing, by a statistical return, above 58,000 clergy in a state of destitution.

11th.—The Abbé Maury and the Viscount Mirabeau threatened by the populace on their leaving the National Assembly.

17th.—Agitation at the Hotel de Ville on the subject of the busts of La Fayette and Bailli, whose conduct was viewed with suspicion by the populace.

22d.—Pascal Paoli introduced a deputation of Corsicans to the National Assembly.

27th.—Decree authorising the free transit of grain throughout the kingdom.

30th.—A body of insurgents at Marseilles obtains possession of the fort of Notre Dame de la Garde.

MAY 12th.—Foundation, by La Fayette and Bailli, of the Club of the Feuillants, in opposition to that of the Jacobins,—the plan of it being to comprise within itself all the administrative offices, with the consequent control of the assembly and the king. The two clubs inundated France with their pamphlets and manifestoes, and the Jacobins, being the most unscrupulous of the two, prevailed.

20th.—Decree, after long discussion, that the prerogative of peace and war belonged of right to the nation. This was warmly opposed by Mirabeau.

24th.—Institution of a court of cassation, to be fixed and sedentary.

27th.—Establishment of tribunals of commerce.

29th.—Necker presents his account of the revenue and expenditure of the kingdom during the months of April and of May.

JUNE 10th.—Letter read from the king to the National Assembly, suggesting the sum of twenty-five millions as the annual payment for the civil list, which was granted by acclamation, and the sum of four millions for the dower of the queen.

Decree for removing the four figures of conquered nations attached in chains to the statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires, opposed unsuccessfully by the Abbé Maury.

11th.—The mayor of Paris announces to the assembly the project of a national federation, and which was fixed for the 14th of July.

The individuals of the royal household devote their silver buckles on the altar of their country.

16th.—Decree that the ministers of the Catholic religion should be salaried by the state.

17th.—M. Camus announces that the people of Avignon had passed a unanimous resolution in favour of their union with France.

19th.—Decree for abolishing the hereditary claim of nobility,

and at the same time suppressing all qualification by birth, and all external badges of superiority. The Viscount Mathieu de Montmorenci distinguished himself by his zeal in promoting this vote for extinguishing, as he alleged, all anti-social distinctions; to efface and remove from the constitutional code every vestige of nobility; and to discontinue the vain and ostentatious display of liveries.

Repeated disturbances and massacres during this month at Nismes.

JULY 14th.—First general federation of the French: this took place in the Champ de Mars on the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, and at which, exclusive of the officials, from the king downwards, upwards of 400,000 individuals—comprising deputations and national guards from all the departments, and the greater part of the population of Paris—attended. An immense gallery was constructed in front of the military school, in the midst of it a tent containing the throne, compartments reserved for the queen, the dauphin, and the princes and princesses; then, in due order on the ground, were disposed the members of the National Assembly and of the *federés*, in all 12,000; and the representatives of the army and navy, including the national guards, amounting to 18,000. In the centre of the Champ de Mars the altar of the country was raised, where the ceremony of the mass was solemnised by Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, bishop of Autun. The *federés* and the deputies then took the civic oath, and last of all the king pronounced it in these words: “I swear to the nation to employ all the powers delegated to me, to maintain the constitution, and to cause the laws to be executed.” Bursts of enthusiastic satisfaction followed on this scene; they were the last genuine emotions of the kind that the real friends of liberty in France have at any time since experienced.

15th.—Decree that the oriflamme of the federation should be displayed in the hall of the National Assembly.

Account taken of the value of jewels and plate, dedicated to the service of the public, deposited in the mint of Paris from 22d September, 1789, to 14th July, producing about 12,500,000 francs,—a comparatively small sum, considering the appeals made

and the supposed object in view, but satisfactorily evincing a want of confidence in the actors behind the scenes.

28th.—The department of Ardennes represents to the assembly that leave had been given for some Austrian troops to march over a part of the kingdom. The minister, M. Montmorin, explained the motives, which did not appear satisfactory to the assembly, who decree against it.

AUGUST 5th.—Decree instituting justices of the peace and family tribunals.

6th.—Abolition of the right *d'aubaine*, or seizure of effects, in respect of foreigners dying in France, but the relief so afforded to be subject to reciprocity in the laws of the state to which such stranger may have belonged.

The soldiers of the Swiss regiment of Chateaufieux, in concert with some French troops of the line, afford the first instance of revolt, and, supported by the inhabitants of Nancy, have a murderous conflict with the national guards in the streets, but ultimately return to their duty.

15th.—Address to the king to ascertain what country seats he would wish to retain.

17th.—Full liberty of conscience and all civil rights confirmed to the Protestant adherents to the Confession of Augsburg and of the Helvetic Communion.

22d.—M. d'Agremon guillotined at the Carrousel.

25th.—Decree prohibiting ecclesiastics of every degree from exercising any judicial function.

27th.—The king renounces the several country seats mentioned in a former letter addressed to the assembly in answer to their application of the 15th.

SEPTEMBER 5th.—Necker dismissed from the ministry, which is announced by him to the assembly, who receive the intimation coolly; it is heard by the people, of whom he had been the idol, with indifference, and by Mirabeau and the factions with pleasure, and his head, which had been loaded with civic crowns, was all but proscribed, and he left France for ever as a fugitive, —thus ended his third ministry, and with it his political career.

6th.—Decree for suppressing all the parliaments of France ; the functions of which had been gradually superseded by the creation of the court of cassation and other tribunals. The parliaments had been much mortified, and their ambitious views disappointed, by the proceedings of the states-general towards the convocation, of whom they had so much contributed, and now, after a period of nearly five hundred years of their existence, from the time of Philip le Bel, were most righteously visited for their incessant acts of disobedience and disloyalty towards their sovereigns.

10th.—Report on the state of the finances, when the aggregate amount of debt appeared to be upwards of 1,900 millions.

29th.—After a month of stormy discussion, the assembly decree, by a majority of 502 over 423 votes, the issue of 800 millions of assignats, compulsory and without interest, towards the liquidation of the public debt.

OCTOBER 16th.—Interest at 3 per cent., from this day, to be paid on the issue of assignats.

28th.—Fourteen chateaus plundered and burnt in Dauphiné.

NOVEMBER 10th.—The sections of Paris require the dismissal of the ministry.

11th.—Plunder and destruction of the Hotel de Castries.

16th.—Corsica constituted a single department.

20th.—On the report of Barnave, the chateau of Vincennes placed at the disposal of the municipality of Paris for the reception of prisoners, all the other places of confinement being full to overflowing.

21st.—M. Dupont de Tertre is appointed keeper of the seals, and M. de Portait minister of war.

27th.—The assembly concludes its labour of establishing the civil constitution of the church, and which, by imposing oaths on those who conformed, caused a schism, which was followed by the emigration of the non-jurors ; it thus became a fruitful source of disunion and disturbances in the provinces, and, it being essential that three bishops should administer the oath and consecrate the priests, it was difficult to find that number, until Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, tendered himself for the office, and

supplied two coadjutors ; he thus became the patriarch of the new church, which he soon afterwards, at the age of thirty-eight, abandoned for the more congenial pursuits of the state.

DECEMBER.—The king, yielding to the threatening importunities of the majority of the assembly, accepts the decree for exacting an oath from such of the clergy as should submit to the new civil constitution of the church.

The assembly decree a statue to the author of *Emile* (J. J. Rousseau), and grant a pension to his widow.

1791.

JANUARY 13th.—Decree regulating the election of bishops and curates by a majority of the votes of the inhabitants.

14th.—The notorious Gobet named bishop of Paris.

19th.—Insurrection and massacres at Douai.

Issue of a small silver coinage, of 30 and 15 sou-pieces, to the amount of 15 millions.

FEBRUARY 1st.—The assembly requests the king to send commissioners to appease the troubles in St. Domingo.

9th.—Address to the king to send out a vessel in search of *La Peyrouse*.

12th.—Decree giving full liberty for the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco throughout France.

13th.—Decree for abolishing all trade-corporations, the *maitris*es, the *jurandes*, and all industrial and professional exclusive privileges.

22d.—Crowds assemble at the Luxembourg in consequence of rumours that Monsieur was about to leave the kingdom. He shows himself, and assures the public that he has no intention of separating himself from the king.

28th.—In consequence of the numerous emigrations, the leaders of the republican party, Barnave, Barrere, Merlin of Douai, and Robespierre, propose a severe law of prohibition and summary punishment, which is strenuously opposed by Mirabeau, who could only obtain an adjournment of the question.

The populace of St. Antoine gather round Vincennes, and

commit great ravages, but are foiled in their endeavour to obtain possession of it and to kill all the prisoners.

A club established in opposition to the Jacobins, and calling themselves Monarchists, and being well armed, in the apprehension that the king's person was in danger, gain admittance into the Tuileries, when the king, fearing a conflict between them and the national guards, orders them to deliver up their arms, on which they are insulted and assaulted even in the presence of the king, and on their leaving the palace are exposed to missiles of every description from the mob.

MARCH 22d.—Decree excluding females from the regency.

25th.—The majority of the king fixed for the future at eighteen.

26th.—Decree for the uniformity of weights and measures.

APRIL 4th.—Death of Honoré Riquerti, count of Mirabeau, at the age of forty-two. The best epitaph that could be inscribed on his tomb would be that his death was as injurious to the best interests of France as his whole life had been. There is reason to believe that he had made terms with the court for counteracting the machinations of the Jacobins; the last display of his transcendant eloquence was in opposition to the motion against the emigrants, but on that, and on two or three previous occasions, it failed of its usual effect, and the men against whom he was opposed on the 28th of February, would, there is reason to apprehend, have succeeded in putting an end to his power by sacrificing him to the fury of an ignorant and besotted populace.

5th.—The assembly go into mourning for eight days, and decree the appropriation of St. Genevieve for receiving the ashes of distinguished men, and that Mirabeau be the first interred there, which took place accordingly.

8th.—Decree that no deputy to the assembly shall hold office until after having, during four years, ceased to be a member, nor obtain any situation or other favours from government during the same period.

10th.—The king, unwilling to give offence by receiving the ministrations of the holy week by the hands of a non-juring priest, proposed retiring to St. Cloud for the purpose, upon which

the populace gathered in crowds to prevent his departure, and the national guards did not, or would not, disperse them: this so much displeased La Fayette that he resigned his command, but, on being earnestly solicited by the six battalions under his command to resume it, he consented to do so at the end of three days.

19th.—The king goes to the National Assembly to complain of the violence thus offered to him.

20th.—Institution of the tribunal of cassation as revised and amended.

23d.—The king sends orders to his representatives at foreign courts to give notice that he had taken the oath to support the present constitution.

28th.—Decree allowing soldiers to frequent the clubs of the Jacobins and other friends of the people.

La Fayette, in the name of the national guard, congratulates the king on the noble demonstration made by him to the world by the announcement to foreign powers of the crowning act of completing the constitution and sovereignty of the people of France.

MAY 6th.—Decree for creating 100 millions of small assignats.

16th.—Persons of colour born of free parents in the colonies to have equal rights and privileges with the white population. This hasty and inconsiderate decree was the immediate cause of the civil war and sanguinary insurrections in the colony of St. Domingo.

The members of the National Assembly, by a self-denying ordinance, disqualified themselves from being elected on the ensuing legislative body. This was a contrivance of Robespierre, by this show of magnanimity, to confer the legislative power on the Jacobins.

Decree that the legislative body nominated for two years may be re-elected only for the following two years.

JUNE 1.—Decree abolishing torture, and declaring that all capital punishments shall be by decapitation only. The instrument for that purpose, recently brought into use, was invented by Dr. Guillotin, and called by his name; he was a physician, and member of the Constituent Assembly. He died in 1814.

4th.—No briefs, bulls, or rescripts, emanating from Rome, to be recognised in France, until adopted by the legislative body, and sanctioned by the crown.

The king, intimidated by the violent section of the National Assembly, assented to many edicts which he had hitherto rejected.

Decree depriving the king of the prerogative of pardon, consummating the degradation of the crown, and annulling its best claim to the attachment of the people.

7th.—Law passed against the crime of regicide.

10th.—Secret protest recorded by the king against the validity of the several decrees which he had sanctioned or might sanction under constraint.

11th.—Decree enjoining the return of the Prince de Condé to France on pain of being outlawed and his property confiscated.

21st.—The king, wearied by the insults of the populace, virtually confined for months to the Tuileries under the hourly increasing vigilance of La Fayette and the national guard, with a view to provoke resistance, assailed also by notices of motions, of the most offensive character, daily issued from the club, and viewing the growing tendency of the Republican faction to destroy the monarchy, was at length roused from his inertness to escape from confinement, with his queen, children, and sister, to the frontier, where arrangements had been made for his reception by the Marquis de Bouillé. They set out at one o'clock in the morning, and, on arriving at St. Menehoud, 120 miles from Paris, at eleven o'clock at night, were recognised by the postmaster, Drouet, who immediately apprised the municipality of his suspicions, which were confirmed, and, the national guards being summoned from Varennes, the hussars attending the king were disarmed, and information was sent to the National Assembly. Barnave, la Tour Maubourg, and Pethion were deputed to reconduct the royal family to Paris. The whole arrangement for the journey was injudicious; fugitives of such importance should have adopted the strictest concealment, instead of travelling ten persons in two carriages, with twelve soldiers and other attendants. The unhappy captives re-entered Paris at 7 in the even-

ing of the 25th, and were received by an immense concourse prepared to undertake their ordinary work of massacre, and only prevented by the interference of the national guard.

The king, on his departure from Paris, left a proclamation, which was made public, setting forth the grievances he had endured since the 6th of October, 1789, the period of his compulsory residence at the Tuileries. It concluded with these words:—

“Frenchmen, and you the inhabitants of what Henry IV. called his good city of Paris, distrust the suggestions of the factions; return to your king; he will ever be your friend, and will return to you when your holy religion shall be respected, when the government shall be placed on a stable footing, and liberty established on a firm basis.”

Monsieur emigrated the same night, fulfilling the pledge he had given not to separate from his brother so long as his presence or counsel could be of service.

24th.—The Marquis de Bouillé was suspended from his military functions by the assembly, to whom he wrote repudiating their authority, acknowledging that he was the sole author of the plan for the rescue of the king, and his deep regret at its failure.

The assembly appointed guards to the king and queen, to be responsible for their persons; named commissioners to receive their communications; and declared the assent and sanction of the king, and his other executive and legislative functions, to be suspended. The king, in his declaration to the commissioners, recapitulated the grievances stated in his proclamation, with additional instances of personal outrage and menace.

JULY 17th.—Numerous meetings in the Champ de Mars; martial law proclaimed, and Bailli, the mayor, caused the military to fire, when several of the mob were killed.

30th.—Decree suppressing orders of knighthood, corporations, decorations, titles, distinctions, and all qualifications by birth, carried on the motion of Citizen Ræderer, who, under the Empire, rejoiced in the title of *Count*.

AUGUST 3d.—Decree for the issue of a coinage composed of bell metal and copper.

23d.—Constitutional decree that no member of the royal family should be eligible to any office in the gift of the people.

28th.—The Dames de la Halle (Poissardes) made an offering to the country of the ornaments heretofore worn by them on the *fête* of St. Louis.

SEPTEMBER 2d.—Decree for instituting national *fêtes* in celebration of the Revolution.

3d.—The constitution, commonly called the constitution of 1791, being completed, and deliberately read and approved, a deputation of sixty members presented it to the king.

5th.—Report to the assembly by the deputation of the manner in which the constitution was received by the king, when an order was made for removing the seals from his effects, relieving him and his family from restraint, opening the gardens to them, and the palace to the public.

13th.—The king wrote to the National Assembly accepting the constitution.

14th.—The king went to the assembly, signed the constitution, and swore to maintain it with all the power which he derived from it.

At the request of the king, and on the motion of La Fayette, the assembly decreed by acclamation a general amnesty for political offences, and the abolition of passports.

Te Deum chaunted at Notre Dame, and Paris illuminated, in honour of the king and gratitude for the constitution.

30th.—Last sitting of the National, or, as it was subsequently called, the Constituent Assembly.

The king attended the assembly, confirmed his acceptance of the constitution in a short address, after which the president proclaimed that—"The National and Constituent Assembly declare that their mission is fulfilled, and their sittings terminated."

The sanguinary character impressed on the Revolution at its commencement, still marked the proceedings of the National Assembly, with increasing influence, until its full and

fearful development was accomplished by the National Convention. France was a stage on which wild beasts, or, yet worse, untamed men, preyed on an unarmed population, having no organised resistance opposed to it, until at too late a period in Brittany and la Vendée. The hurricane was overwhelming; at the bidding of the clubs all authority was overturned, from the throne to the humblest village institution. No effort was made to save the monarchy, or to protect individual property; the nobles fled, their castles and mansions were pillaged and burnt, the vilest criminals took possession, and assassinated one another for the benefit of survivorship, well knowing that there was no existing law to which they were amenable. The lesser proprietors followed the example of the nobles, or submitted to the spoiler.

The constitutional code consisted of 300 fundamental articles, any alteration in which was guarded against by so many conditions that it was next to impossible to effect a change in any one of them, thus attempting to obviate future improvement as they had neglected all past experience. In the two years of its existence the assembly had enacted 2,500 laws, not fifty of which remained in force after the lapse of twenty-five years.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

OCTOBER 1st.—First sitting held this day; it was composed of 745 members, of whom above 500 were subaltern advocates, 70 constitutional priests, and as many literary men and second-rate poets, who transferred their allegiance from the coteries of Versailles to the Parisian parvenus, comprising few, if any, proprietors, and still fewer of the deputies possessing permanent property either hereditary or acquired, and only known during the last two years for their loquacity in the clubs and popular assemblies.

18th.—Horrible massacres at Avignon, which, with the Comtat Venaissan, had been recently united to France. Coup-tête Jourdan was the leader in the outrages committed by the French

party, who, during the last two years, had nearly exterminated the respectable inhabitants.

The assembly declared itself legally constituted, and announced the fact to the king; it determined the ceremonial to be observed on his attendance, and abolished the titles of sire and majesty.

29th.—Monsieur was required to return to France within two months, or to forfeit his claim to the regency, and proclamation issued accordingly.

NOVEMBER 7th.—The king went to the assembly, and urged it to take measures for the restoration of order and the peace of the kingdom. Pastoret, the president, answered him in these terms:—"The rights of the people had been forgotten, and all powers confounded; our constitution is settled, and with it the liberty of France; you are bound to cherish it as citizen, as king you ought to maintain and defend it; far from impairing your power, it will establish it, as the constitution has made you the greatest monarch in the world."

9th.—Severe penal enactments passed against the princes and emigrants, calling on them to return by the 1st of January on pain of death.

Massacres at Caen, and eighty-four persons arrested.

12th.—The king refused his sanction to the law of the 9th, and wrote to his brothers, and the emigrants beyond the frontiers, inviting them to return.

The king watched in his apartments by a corporal of the national guard, and prevented leaving them after nine o'clock in the evening.

17th.—Pethion elected mayor of Paris, having 6,780 suffrages out of 10,612 voters; he returned thanks to the Jacobins for electing him, and swore devotion to their cause.

22d.—Prudhomme caused a placard, called the crimes of the queens of France, to be posted on the walls of Paris.

26th.—The deputy Chabot, formerly a Capucin monk, entered the apartment of the king with his hat on.

29th.—Severe enactment passed against such priests as should persist in not taking the oaths.

The king interposed his veto on the laws against emigrants.

30th.—Message from the assembly to the king to intimidate him into withdrawing his veto; the president, Vaublanc, addressed an insolent speech to him on the occasion.

DECEMBER 5th.—Address from the municipality of Paris to the king, insisting on his withdrawing his veto.

14th.—The king went to the assembly and expressed his confidence in the pacific intentions of the emperor, but promised, should he be deceived, to concur heartily in a vote for war, and was applauded.

19th.—The king interposed his veto in respect of the law against the refractory priests.

30th.—The queen went to the opera, and was received with applause.

31st.—Decree of the assembly for abolishing the ceremonial observances of New Year's Day.

1792.

JANUARY 1st.—The brothers of the king and the chiefs of the emigration placed in a condition of accusation and for trial, when their attendance could be obtained, before the high national court at Orleans.

13th.—Plunder by the populace of the grocers' shops in Paris in consequence of the price of sugar having risen to 42 sous.

14th.—The assembly require of the king to obtain a categorical answer from the emperor on his relations with France, and if no answer should be received, the empire to be considered in a state of hostility.

26th.—Answer by the king to the assembly, on their application that he would communicate with the emperor, that he considered any such proceeding unconstitutional.

FEBRUARY 6th.—Complaint to the assembly by Thuriot, that, on attending at the Tuileries with a deputation to the king, both folding doors were not opened, upon which he returned. A discussion ensued; a letter from the king on the subject was received, and answered by the president, on which occasion the title of majesty was omitted.

11th.—A numerous deputation of the dregs of the populace attend at the bar of the assembly to return thanks for its patriotic labours; each man wore a red cap, and was armed with a pike, the symbols of republicanism.

13th.—The king sanctioned the decree for sequestrating the property of emigrants.

14th.—The king wrote to the municipality on the subject of the false and injurious rumours against him circulated in Paris.

28th.—Deputation from Marseilles denouncing the city of Arles.

MARCH 2d.—Creation of a new body of guards to the king, instead of the Garde du Corps, disbanded after the return from Varennes.

4th.—The mayor of Etampes, Simoneau, assassinated by the populace while in the exercise of his functions.

19th.—The assembly discharged the accusation against Jourdan Coup-tête for massacres and cruelties at Avignon. Several of the members loudly protested against this scandalous and criminal amnesty. After which a general pardon was decreed in favour of all over-zealous partisans of the Revolution to the end of November, 1791.

20th.—The king, ill advised by Dumourier, minister for foreign affairs, went to a night session of the assembly and proposed war against the emperor. The assembly, after a short deliberation, and almost with unanimity, decreed war, which was hailed by acclamation, amid cries of "*Vive le Roi!*"

21st.—M. Roland named by the king minister of the interior.

APRIL 29th.—Defeat of Count Theobald Dillon at Tournay, afterwards assassinated by his own troops at Lille.

MAY 3d.—The licence of the press had risen to such a pitch, that the two extreme papers, *l'Ami du Peuple*, by Marat, and *l'Ami du Roi*, by Royon, formed mutual subjects of accusation in the assembly.

8th.—Triumphal entry into Avignon by Coup-tête Jourdan, and celebration of his acquittal by renewed proscriptions and massacres.

13th.—Bruat, a deputy, wrote to the king to order a cane to be restored to him which had been taken from him, as was customary, at the doors of the Tuileries.

The Abbé d'Esquement killed by the populace at Metz.

15th.—Decree of summary deportation against non-juring priests, on information in writing, signed by any twenty individuals who should denounce them as disturbers of the public peace.

27th.—Seditions in Paris, fomented by Pethion, the mayor, to compel the disbanding of the king's guards.

29th.—A night sitting held on the subject, and, on a consent being extorted from the king, the guard was disbanded, Brissac, the colonel, put under accusation, and the king left defenceless.

30th.—The National Assembly, on the motion of Carnot, declared itself in permanent session, rendering the state of anarchy complete. The assembly was composed of three contending parties;—1. The Brissotins, Girondins, or Federalists, whose object was office, indifferent by what means, or under what form of government, it might be obtained. 2. The ferocious and cynical Danton and his adherents, with whom money was the primary inducement, and blood the readiest means of acquiring it. 3. Robespierre and the Jacobins, who sought neither office nor money, but viewed the shedding of blood as the expedient for reducing the nation to the lowest level of republican equality, merging all intellectual and social distinctions in one common condition of existence, the coarsest habits and fare for the coarsest of social communities.

JUNE 1st.—Proclamation of the king for retaining his guard, which, as he alleged, had been disbanded without his concurrence.

8th.—On the proposition of Servan, the minister of war, the assembly determined to form a camp of 20,000 men under the walls of Paris, five armed men to be supplied by each canton in the kingdom; this was a contrivance of the Jacobins to overawe not only the crown, but the national guards, who were not altogether to be trusted.

The king put his veto to the decree against the non-juring

priests, and the formation of the camp, in consequence of danger he anticipated from it, especially as it was known that the choice of the five to be sent by each canton would rest with the Jacobins.

10th.—Petition of 8,000 inhabitants of Paris against the formation of the camp.

13th.—The king, betrayed by his three ministers, Servan, Roland, and Clavière, dismissed them, upon which the assembly voted that they carried with them the regrets of the nation, and the king appointed in their place Mourgues, Dumourier, and Beaulieu.

14th.—Debates ran high on this question, and higher still on the incident of M. Jouneau administering to M. Grangeneuve *des coups de pieds et de canne* (kicks and caning). Guadet denounced both.

19th.—Decree that all patents and muniments of nobility be burnt.

20th.—The assembly, displeased at the dismissal of the ministers, resorted to an insurrection to intimidate the king into recalling them, and, in consequence of instructions to that effect, the artisans of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, in vast numbers, moved to the Tuileries, with a train of female furies. The brewer, Santerre, led them, carrying banners with outrageous inscriptions. A man covered with rags carried on a pike the fragments of a pair of black silk breeches, on which was written, in large characters, "Tremble, tyrant; behold the *sans culottes!*" while a butcher bore on his pike a bullock's heart, pierced through and through, with this legend, "Heart of an aristocrat." The national guards were summoned with precipitation, and in so disorganised a state that they knew not who was their commander, and acted merely as lookers on at a procession. A deputation from the insurgents appeared at the bar of the assembly, their spokesman uttering execrable and indecent libels against the king; this was heard in silence; and the assembly adjourned, leaving the multitude to pursue its work of havoc.

The satisfaction of the mob at their reception was signified by expressions of ferocious joy, savage dances, and exulting songs,

inciting to assassination. In this temper they proceeded to the Tuileries, the avenues and terraces of which were occupied by the national guards, who, having no orders, instead of resisting the progress of the insurgents, opened their ranks to give them free passage. The iron rails were thrown down, the gates and doors burst open with axes and iron crow-bars brought for the purpose, the staircases, halls, and royal apartments deluged with 20,000 ruffians brandishing pikes, cutlasses, saws, faulchions, and long staves shod with iron, and one cannon was drawn into the upper chamber of the Swiss guards.

The king, surrounded by his family, was in a distant room; it was approached, with threats to force open the door. Louis opened it, and presented himself alone to the crowd, who immediately surrounded him, with a thousand hands menacing his head; one pike was on the point of reaching it, when the arm of the *sans culotte* was diverted by a national guard. During two hours every outrage was offered to the king, while he, with intrepid heroism, maintained his position, his countenance exhibiting no trace of apprehension. Men, with hideous countenances and gestures, covered with rags, assailed him in the foulest terms, and interrogated him, calling on him to sanction the decrees of the 24th of May and the 8th of June.

The king, with imperturbable calmness, declared that he would not relinquish the privilege which the constitution had conferred on him, and which he had sworn to maintain. The crowd replied, in the coarsest terms, that what he said was false, and roared out, "Down with the veto; sanction the decrees; recall the patriot ministers; *vive la nation!*" Pressed by the multitude, the king mounted a chair; he expressed a wish to drink, a bottle was handed to him, of which he drank without hesitation; a red woollen cap was presented to him at the end of a pike, and he put it upon his head.

The queen and children had escaped into an inner chamber. The assailants spread over the palace, from the roof to the basement, and ransacked the closets and other repositories for what spoil they could find. Terror prevailed, as murder

appeared imminent ; but whether the passive courage of Louis and the serenity of his countenance had influenced the individuals surrounding him, or the leaders considered the orders they had received had been sufficiently complied with, by degrading but not yet destroying him, or whether from mere lassitude and irresolution, the multitude towards six o'clock in the afternoon began to fall back, the tumult diminished, the vociferations ceased. During the subsidence of the storm, the National Assembly met, took their seats, and Pethion, with several of the Girondins, went to the Tuileries ; he obtained a hearing, and, perhaps apprehensive of future consequences, which might affect his safety, addressed his dupes and instruments in these words : “ *My friends, my brethren, your moderation proves that you are worthy of being free ; retire—I give you the example. People, you have shown yourselves worthy of yourselves ; no excess has tarnished the sublimity of your movement ; hope and believe that your voice has been heard ; but night approaches, evil designing persons may mingle with you. People, great people, retire.* ” It was nine o'clock, the throng dispersed, and silence reigned in the palace.

Not so in Paris, where no change had been wrought in their round of amusements ; the theatres were opened and full, and everything went on as joyously as if a great national festival had been celebrated. The better sort of Parisians commented on these proceedings, lamented them, but exhibited no remorse at their own apathy.

This was the last opportunity which Louis XVI. had to retrieve his fallen fortunes ; several expedients might have been resorted to, but he neglected all ; he might have rallied round him the national guard ; La Fayette, it was said, offered to secure the army, and remove the king and his family to Compiègne, but the court would not be saved by La Fayette. La Rochefoucault-Liancourt commanded some regiments in Rouen, which, with all Normandy, was prepared to support Louis in his constitutional rights, and only waited a signal, which was not given, and thus every hope of a reaction vanished.

The king read the history of Charles I., and concluded that,

by pursuing an opposite line of conduct, conceding instead of resisting, he might escape his fate. He thought that, by a conscientious adherence to the terms of the constitution, he might avoid further annoyance. His real friends were disheartened by his inexhaustible patience, his inaction, and the coolness, if not indifference, with which he allowed himself to be impelled in his downward career.

22d.—A proclamation was issued by the king, in which he stated that no acts of violence should induce him to sanction decrees which he considered injurious to the public interest, and this was the only way in which Louis met the insults offered to him. Pethion, mayor of Paris, issued a proclamation corroborative of his speech to the people. The assembly made a decree against armed multitudes, but no measures were taken for vindicating the constitution, protecting the person of the king, or visiting Santerre and the other ringleaders in the recent disturbances with the penalties prescribed by law.

26th.—The departments of the Somme petitioned the assembly on the subject of the outrage of the 20th, and offered 200 battalions to protect the king.

Similar petitions and offers were transmitted from other departments.

28th.—La Fayette presented himself at the bar of the assembly, denounced the Jacobins, and claimed on behalf of the army the punishment of the authors of the outrages of the 20th, and then retired. This proceeding only strengthened the power of the Jacobins. His effigy was burnt in the public squares, and this man, who aspired to be the chief of a party, if not dictator, saw his popularity fade away; he was powerful only against the old monarchy, but exposed the feebleness of his character when he attempted to cope with the Jacobins, and to stem the torrent of destruction which they threatened.

JULY 1st.—Remonstrances to the assembly against the proceedings of 20th June multiplied, and a petition with 20,000 signatures was presented, when half that number of petitioners might have prevented the insurrection. But to make a signature was the utmost effort of a Parisian: so that, while blaming the in-

action of the king, we may yet acquit him on the ground of his better acquaintance with the inhabitants of his good city of Paris. He knew their indifference, their egotism, and their inertness to every claim but that of pleasure, and this presented a fearful singularity in the history of the period, which goes far to absolve Louis from the reproach of not relying on the loyalty and devotion of his professing friends.

2d.—The Jacobin faction in the assembly procured a decree for disbanding the staff of the national guard, and of the principal provincial cities, amounting in all to 50,000 men.

6th.—All the ministers sent in their resignations; the king thus remained without any official protection against the attacks of the malignants set on by Pethion.

11th.—Decree that the country is in danger.

14th.—Second celebration of the federation in the Champ de Mars; the king renewed the oath of fidelity to the constitution.

17th and 23d.—Deputations from the *fédérés* appeared at the bar of the assembly, a few days only after swearing to maintain the constitution, demanding the suspension of the executive power in the person of the king; a decree of accusation against General la Fayette; the disbanding of the staff of the regular army; the punishment of the directors of the several departments; and the convocation of a national convention. The assembly returned for answer that it applauded the devotion to the public good of the *fédérés* and their civism.

25th.—The National Assembly was informed of the massacres committed at Arles and in Provence, but it adopted no measures in consequence, nor did it notice an extensive massacre of priests at Bordeaux.

27th.—La Mourette moved a resolution of concord in the assembly, which was carried, with acclamation, into instant effect by the members from the right and from the left sides rising and embracing.

M. d'Espresmenil beaten, stripped, sabred, and left for dead in the Palais Royal.

Proclamation of the king on the danger of the country.

30th.—The Marseillois arrived in force in Paris and had an encounter with the national guards in the Champs Elysées, in which M. Duhamel was killed.

31st.—Decree for the issue of 300 millions of assignats, the total amount being 2,200 millions.

AUGUST 1st.—Pethion, mayor of Paris, at the bar of the assembly, accused Louis XVI. of conspiring against the nation, and demanded the abolition of royalty; the Marseillois, at three several times, petitioned to the same effect, and obtained the honours of the sitting.

A decree made that all Frenchmen should be armed with pikes.

5th.—Massacres at Toulon, among others of nine directors of the town and department, suspected of being aristocrats.

9th.—Several deputies to the assembly complained of being beaten on account of their independent votes.

The Duke of Orleans complained to the assembly that the king would not employ him either by sea or land.

A committee of insurrection was formed preparatory to an attack on the Tuileries. Assassinations committed with impunity as well in private houses as in the public places.

The king, since the 20th of June, had been subjected to daily insults and threats of violence, but took no measures either for averting the consequences, or attempting to escape them.

10th.—This day of murder and of surpassing horror, which the assembly was for several days aware of, and yet took no measures to prevent, was ushered in before break of day by the tolling of the tocsin, summoning the *sans culottes* to arms, who filled the Carrousel, and planted some pieces of cannon in front of the Tuileries. The only defensive force of the king was a few companies of grenadiers of the national guard, who had assembled on the first alarm, but without specific orders or superior officers; behind them were 500 Swiss guards, the remaining 500 being in barracks at Courbevoie, five miles from Paris, whom the ministers were afraid to station near the palace. There were, moreover, in the apartments of the palace between 700 and 800

royalist officers and men, who had not joined the national guards, by whom they were consequently viewed with suspicion.

The king passed these troops in review at five o'clock in the morning, and assigned to them their several stations, apparently intending a determined defence. Pethion and Ræderer hastened to the scene, and harangued the national guards, reminding them of their constitutional duty not to be assailants, but to act only on the defensive; this increased their indecision, while regular artillerymen were found prepared to work the cannon at the bidding of the insurgents. On this the king received from Ræderer the ominous advice to take refuge in the National Assembly, then in permanent session. Louis adopted the fatal counsel, and with his family sought the assembly; the knowledge of this false step disheartened his defenders, while it encouraged the assailants. At nine o'clock the *sans culottes* commenced the fire; they were repulsed by the Swiss, who obtained possession of the cannon, but, without orders, without a commander, they lost the benefit of their success; while the king was compelled to sign an order to prevent the remaining Swiss from coming from Courbevoie, and to stop the firing upon the insurgents. Upon this the *sans culottes*, who had fled in masses, returned to the charge, and invested the palace; the Swiss, overcome by numbers, were, with every individual attached to the king's service, murdered. Some small houses in the vicinity were set on fire; the Marseillois plundered what they could, and killed the firemen engaged in extinguishing the conflagration; they then obtained possession of the Tuileries, which they rifled, after assuring themselves of the death of every person engaged in its defence, including several of the national guard. The massacre lasted upwards of two hours, and extended throughout the palace, on the terraces, in the several courts, and in the Carrousel.

In the assembly the Jacobins, recovered from the alarm they had felt at the early period of the conflict, resumed, in a triumphant tone, their discussions, while the minority were hissed and insulted in the hall, and personally assailed out of it.

As the assembly could not deliberate in the presence of the king, he and his family were placed in the box of one of the journalists, where the king was constrained to endure the most unworthy outrages that a sovereign could be exposed to. A set of wretches, covered with rags, sprinkled with blood, and blackened by smoke, succeeded one another at the bar of the assembly, and, encouraged by the howlings of the tribunes, and the approving smiles of the Jacobin deputies, proclaimed the forfeiture of the throne by the king, and in his hearing a decree was proposed and carried for the suspension of his functions, and for the convocation of a national convention. The massacre continued in several quarters of Paris until night closed upon a day in which upwards of 5,000 persons had perished.

11th.—The disturbances, with more murders, were renewed; the statues of kings, including Henry IV., were thrown down, and the symbols of royalty destroyed.

12th.—By order of the assembly, the king and his family were consigned to the custody of the municipality of Paris, in the prison of the Temple.

The ambassadors of all the foreign powers left Paris.

The extreme measures necessarily resulting from the movement of 10th August rapidly followed each other; the judicial proscriptions commenced, frequent domiciliary visits were paid, with similar acts in the departments, under the immediate superintendence of Danton, the new minister of justice.

The estates of the emigrants were put up to sale in small lots, with a view to attach the purchasers to the revolution.

18th.—A decree of accusation was passed against La Fayette, who, with the Generals Alexander Lameth and Maimbourg, and Colonel Bureau de Pusey, and sixteen other persons, escaped over the frontiers, and were made prisoners by the Austrians, who retained in confinement the four officers, as members of the Constituent Assembly.

22d.—The first insurrection in La Vendée took place at the small town of Chatillon.

24th and 25th.—Several persons suspected of being royalists

guillotined in Paris by the sentence of a special tribunal created for the trial of persons implicated in the proceedings of 10th August; among them were M. de la Porte, intendant of the civil list, and M. Durozzi, editor of the *Gazette* of Paris.

SEPTEMBER 2d-6th.—On receipt of the news of the taking of Verdun by the Prussians, the tocsin was tolled at Paris, and alarm guns fired; the *sans culottes*, roused from their lair by the scent of blood, rallied in large groups, forced open all the prisons, except the Temple, which was frequently menaced, and massacred all the inmates of the Conciergerie, la Force, the Chatelet, the Abbaye of St. Germain, the Bicêtre, and the Salpêtrière; detachments entered into the several colleges and seminaries, and murdered all the priests, and incidentally slaughtered every nobleman they could lay their hands upon, and a good coat was considered a sufficient patent of nobility to consign the unfortunate wearer of it to the common fate.

These cannibals, otherwise called Septemberisers, were instructed and paid by Tallien and Robespierre, members of the commune, at whose bidding these massacres lasted five days. The national guards did not consider that they could interfere without the orders of their execrable general, Santerre, who, with Danton, Lacroix, Tallien, Pethion, Manuel, Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille-Desmoulins, and Robespierre, calmly contemplated the anticipated result.

6th.—The assassins, fatigued by their labour, claimed and obtained the promised reward.

9th.—Murder of M. Rochefoucault, the president of the department of Paris.

10th.—Massacre at Versailles of fifty-three prisoners. Several of the provincial cities, as Rheims, Meaux, and Lyons, following the example of the metropolis, massacred their prisoners, priests, and nobles.

21st.—Termination of the Second National Assembly, commonly called the Legislative.

We have seen that, of the three years and one quarter which had elapsed since the first meeting of the states-general, the

first month was occupied by an arrogant claim of the *tiers état* to dictate to the two other orders of the states. On the accession of a small portion of these two orders, they constituted a new body, calling itself a National Assembly. The *tiers état* was composed chiefly of obscure provincial lawyers, who, with some discontented irreligious curés, and a few nobles, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, concurred in every measure calculated to insult the king and degrade the aristocracy.

The progress of the demolition of the ancient monarchy was gradual, originating with the splendid declamations of Mirabeau, the temporary popularity of La Fayette and his supposed military honour failing in its noblest attribute, loyalty to his sovereign. In addition, the unbounded wealth and equally unbounded profligacy of Orleans enabled him to purchase Marat and the press, while the municipality of Paris was gained, and the passions of the populace inflamed by no lesser inducements than of plunder and of massacre.

The moderate men in the assembly could make no head against these malign influences, and sought safety in flight.

The Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, latterly in entire subservience to the Jacobin Club, proceeded with no measured pace in the course prescribed to it.

The Constituent Assembly at first assumed a bold front, and professed a plausible intention in some of its proceedings, but treachery prevailed in all; the Legislative Assembly, in a dependent position, united with habitual perfidy, a timidity only exercised towards good, and basely submitting to the bad; and lastly, by the proscription, exile, or execution of its least unworthy members, it merged into a convention composed of the loudest, most ignorant, and most ferocious of its partisans.

The legacy bequeathed by the assembly to its successors and to France, after a systematic disturbance of every useful principle, may be described in the following short summary of what it actually performed:—

2,200 laws, creating inextricable confusion in all the relations of life, of which not so many as fifty survived as many years.

War with the two greatest powers of the north. Civil war in the Vendée.

The colonies devastated, and some of them lost to France, by the insurrections consequent on the improvident decrees of the assembly.

The finances in a state of annihilation, after an issue of 2,200 millions of assignats and mandates.

Institution of domiciliary visits.

The development of anarchy by the clubs, and revolutionary committees encouraged or instituted by the assembly.

Protection afforded to the brigands and assassins of Avignon.

Refusal to interfere with or to restrain the butcheries by the Parisian populace.

Proscription of classes, and unjust and cruel condemnation to death of many individuals in groups.

Lastly, no one useful law or beneficial institution conferred on France by the Legislative Assembly.

Is it to be wondered at that Louis XIV. had the prudence never to convene the states-general, or that he should have silenced the parliaments, which, by a suicidal fatality, were always at variance with the crown. Louis XV., with more energy than usually attached to his character, not only did not convene the states, but abolished the parliaments; and it is related of him by Madame Campan, that, one evening, at his *coucher*, a nobleman of his court, and one of his most intimate society, on allusion being made to the disordered state of the finances, remarked that it was such as would lead to the convening of the states-general; the king, on hearing this, was roused from his habitual apathy, and, seizing the nobleman's arm, said, in a tone of authority, "Never repeat those words; I am not sanguinary, but had I a brother who was capable of giving me such advice, I would, within four-and-twenty hours, sacrifice him for the continuance of the monarchy and the tranquillity of the kingdom."

CHAPTER III.

REVOLUTIONARY AND REPUBLICAN ANARCHY.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

First Meeting, 21st September, 1792—Abolition of the Monarchy—Establishment of the Republican Era—Execution of the King—Chronological Summary of Proceedings until 26th October, 1795—Formation of the first semblance of a Government by a Directory and two Chambers.

1792.

SEPTEMBER 21st.—Opening of the third Assembly, commonly called the National Convention,—the notorious Pethion being the first president.

The strolling comedian, Collot-d'Herbois, commenced the proceeding by proposing a resolution for the abolition of royalty: on this the hall resounded with cheers. Some deputies recommended a discussion, when the constitutional bishop, Abbé Gregoire, exclaimed, "What need of discussion? Kings are in the moral scale what monsters are in the physical world. Courts are the factories of crimes, and the *tanières* of tyrants; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations." The resolution was carried, the Republic proclaimed, its era to be computed from this day.

22d.—Danton withdrew from the ministry to effect greater mischief out of it.

24th.—Decree establishing a guard for the protection of the convention.

25th.—Decree declaring the republic one and indivisible.

OCTOBER 10th.—The style of monsieur, madame, and mademoiselle abolished, and that of citoyen and citoyenne substituted.

15th.—The order and cross of St. Louis suppressed.

Extensive massacres at Cambray.

The soldiers of the army, under the command of Dumourier, massacre their prisoners.

23d.—Law for the perpetual banishment of the emigrants, and inflicting death, without distinction of age or sex, on those who should re-enter France. This law, comprising, in one enactment, accusation, process, judgment, and execution, is one of the most extensive proscription that has ever occurred in the history of modern Europe since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Petitions presented requiring the trial and execution of Louis XVI. and his queen.

24th.—Marat denounced for having said that 36,000 heads should fall, and for having encouraged the insurrection of the Marseillois.

27th.—Proposition for hastening the trial of the king and queen.

The members of the convention renounced all public employment, as ministers or otherwise, during the next six years.

29th.—Robespierre denounced by Louvet.

Nine returned emigrants executed at the Place de Grève.

Heavy denunciations against Roland.

NOVEMBER 4th.—Robespierre answered the charges adduced against him by Louvet.

7th.—The convention decree that Louis XVI. may be tried, and before them. Only four members, with great caution, and professing pure republicanism, opposed this resolution.

19th.—Decree by which the convention promised protection and assistance to all people who should subvert their own government. The Jacobins, having a great nation for their support, and crime for their motive, thus undertook to unhinge the world, putting no limit to their audacity.

20th.—The minister, Roland, announced to the assembly the

discovery of an iron closet in the Tuileries, containing important private papers and correspondence. When inspected they were of little value, chiefly relating to the cabals of the court, and to the means of obviating the attacks of the revolutionists; they were made of course subjects of charge against the king, but no sufficient evidence was produced of the concealed existence of the closet, or of the authenticity of the papers.

21st.—Issue of 800 millions of assignats.

24th.—The king requested some Latin books to enable him to proceed in the education of his son, and a long debate ensued.

DECEMBER 3d and 4th.—Robespierre, impatient of delay, proposed that Louis XVI. should at once be declared a traitor to his country and a criminal towards humanity, and immediately condemned to death as an example to the world, and on that very spot where the martyrs of the 10th of August had been immolated. "Hercules," he said, "did not resort to law, but at once relieved the world of its oppressors." The motion was not supported, but it was determined that the consideration of the proceeding against the king should occupy the convention every day from noon until six o'clock.

Decree awarding the punishment of death to any and every person who should propose the restoration of royalty.

5th.—The like punishment of death to any one convicted of exporting grain from France.

6th.—A committee named to accelerate the trial of the king.

The prisoners in the Temple were deprived of all cutting instruments, such as razors, knives, penknives, and even curling irons, &c.; their food was also tasted, and they were subjected to the most degrading precautions adopted towards the vilest of criminals.

The busts of Helvetius and Mirabeau broken to pieces, and removed from the hall of the Jacobin Club.

11th.—At an early hour of the morning the prisoners in the Temple heard a clamour outside, when the king, having only Clery, his valet, with him, and having had no previous intimation of the proceedings in the convention, was abruptly led off to

its bar, escorted by a numerous guard and many pieces of artillery.

He was introduced by Santerre, the brewer. Barrère, the president, addressed him thus: "Louis, you are accused by the nation; the National Assembly has decreed that you shall be tried at its bar; the indictment setting forth the crimes imputed to you will now be read. You may be seated." The indictment being read, Barrère proceeded to interrogate the king upon each head of charge, commencing the first general interrogatory thus: "Louis, the people accuse you of having committed a multitude of crimes, to establish your tyranny by destroying the liberties of the nation." Louis submitted to answer the several interrogatories with the utmost resignation, meeting them with direct denial or satisfactory explanation, having had no means of preparation for the purposes of vindication, except what the native truth and simplicity of his character afforded, and he was then reconducted to the Temple.

12th.—Louis was required to name the counsel by whom he would be defended, and he named Target and Tronchet; the former declined the duty, when the aged and virtuous Malesherbes voluntarily undertook it.

15th.—A decree was made offering help and fraternity to all people desiring to be free, and a proclamation to the same effect was promulgated in the conquered and adjoining countries.

16th.—Decree for expelling the family of the Bourbons from the territory of France, with the exception of the prisoners in the Temple, and Philip Egalité, *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans.

17th.—M. Desèze admitted as third counsel for the king.

A deputation from the convention presented to the king in the Temple 107 additional articles of accusation against him, making in all 269.

The king, accompanied by his three counsel, appeared for a second time, by order, at the bar of the convention, with that dignified and resigned appearance which had characterised his demeanour ever since his fall. M. Desèze spoke with much elo-

quence and force of argument; he had proposed to conclude with a pathetic appeal to the feelings of the convention, but, on showing it to the king, and asking his permission to make it, Louis declined, saying, "Non, je ne veux pas attendre."

Desèze having finished, the king addressed the following words to the convention, and was removed to his prison:—

"Citizens,—You have heard my defence, to which I have nothing to add; my conscience is clear, of which I can solemnly assure you in thus addressing you perhaps for the last time. I am reproached for having desired to shed blood, and am greatly distressed at the imputation."

A stormy discussion then arose as to the judgment to follow on this mock trial, and the debates were renewed with vehemence from day to day during the remainder of the month.

1793.

JANUARY.—During three weeks the bar had been thronged with demons ravenous for blood, and the press teeming with incitements to instant execution, denouncing with death the few members who ventured to propose delay. The most vociferous in the convention were Robespierre, Collot-d'Herbois, St. Just, Barrère, Danton, Tallien, and Pethion, who gave signals to their ferocious myrmidons outside, comprising the band of miscreants and convicts bought and organised for the fatal days of August and September to perform the appointed work of murder, and known by the name of Marseillois. With the leave of Chambon, the mayor, Santerre, the commander of the national guard, and Garat, the minister of justice, the principal public functionaries, with the exception of Ræderer, had resigned, and the superior officers of the national guard had been disbanded. The prisons were emptied, assassinations multiplied, and the perpetrators were not molested. A general torpor prevailed among the inhabitants of Paris, contrasted only by the howlings of the brigands while immolating their unresisting victims: no one knowing whose turn

might be next, but taking no means to avert the blow. What hope could be entertained by the better Parisian population, when 60,000 of their national guards had been awed by 6,000 of the provincial *fédérés* thirsting for royal blood? The leaders of the Jacobins were the prompters in this scene during the trial of the king, until not a voice was heard or a hand raised on his behalf, and Louis, one of the best of kings, was left by himself, and to himself.

7th.—The discussion on the sentence to be passed on Louis was brought to a close, and the deliberation as to the form of proposing the question adjourned to the 15th.

8th.—The empress, Catherine II. of Russia, assigned to the French emigrants liberal grants of land in the Crimea, and presented 200,000 roubles to the Prince of Condé towards the maintenance of his forces. She also appointed the Duke of Richelieu governor of the Crimea, an office which he filled with great ability and success, effecting a striking change from Mahomedanism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization.

13th.—The people of Rome assassinated Basseville, the secretary to the Legation of the Republic, and burnt the building of the French Academy of Painting.

15th.—The convention decreed that the questions to be proposed for its decision should be in the following form :—Is Louis guilty? Shall the sentence be submitted to the people? What shall be the punishment? Ay or No.

On the first question, 719 members being present, 693 voted in the affirmative.

On the second question, of appeal to the people, of 717 members present, 10 declined voting; 283 voted for the appeal, and 424 against it.

16th, 17th, and 18th.—Further discussions preparatory to the third question; in expectation of which the bands of Marseillois and Septemberisers crowded the bar and avenues armed with sabres and clubs, applauding the deputies who had declared against the king, and menacing, by voice and gesture, those who held a more moderate tone; this voting on the third question

commenced at eight o'clock, and continued twenty-four hours without interruption,* and the following was the result :—

Members present,	- - - - -	716
„ declined to vote,	- - - - -	2
		714

Voted for death, without any delay or qualification,	- - - - -	361
„ with qualification,	- - - - -	67
For death,†	- - - - -	428

Voted for imprisonment, exile, or other punishment short of death,	- - - - -	286
		714

The three counsel of Louis were admitted ; they read an autograph letter from the king in these words :—“ I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to acquiesce in a conviction for an offence of which I am deeply conscious I am innocent ; in consequence, I interpose my appeal to the people against the judgment of its representatives.”

A fourth question, as to respite, was put to the vote, and negatived in a meeting of 690, by 380 against 310. This occurred at three o'clock in the morning, when Cambacérès rushed to the tribune, exclaiming, “ Citizens,—In pronouncing the death of the last king of the French, you have done a deed the memory of which will never pass away, and which will be graven by the pen of immortality among the *fasti* of the world. I move that

* The Duke of Orleans (Philip Egalité) thus expressed his vote for the death of his cousin and his king : “ Faithful to my duties, and convinced that all those who have claimed, or may hereafter claim, sovereignty over the people, deserve to die, I pronounce for the death of Louis.” At this announcement shrieks of horror issued from the tribunes and from many members of the assembly, shocked at the firmness of his tone and the imperturbability of his countenance.

† See Appendix for names of the Regicides.

this decree be transmitted to the executive council, to be carried into effect within four-and-twenty hours from this notification."

20th.—Garat, the minister of justice, and Chambon, the mayor, with two or three other wretches introduced by Santerre, the brewer, and commander of the national guard, entered the tower of the Temple; Garat, still covered, caused the decree to be read to the king, who heard it with his wonted resignation, only requesting a respite of three days, which was refused. He was, however, allowed to see his family without witnesses, and a priest of his own nomination to administer the last consolations. He wrote a letter to the convention, leaving his family to their care, and recommending to their liberality the servants immediately attached to him. On hearing this the convention at once passed to the order of the day, and on considering his request in favour of his family, the assembly declared, "That the people of France, always magnanimous, would take upon themselves the care of his family."*

21st.—Louis XVI., king of France and of Navarre, suffered death on a scaffold, in his city of Paris, at the hands of his rebellious subjects, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and nineteenth year of his reign.

From the preceding evening *sans culottes* and brigands were selected from the sections of Paris, and the Septemberisers of the departments were organised to occupy, with a number of cannon, with lights and matches, the Place de la Révolution, where the scaffold was to be erected. They were also stationed on the bridges and in the avenues; no other groups were permitted to assemble, and no spectators to be stationed at any windows. In the same evening, Legendre, the butcher, a member of the convention, moved that, after the execution, the body of Louis should be cut into 85 pieces, and one sent to each department.

The king lay down to peaceful slumber at two o'clock, and rose at six; it was still dark, but the drums were beating, and

* This magnanimous people fulfilled their engagement by causing the widow and sister of Louis to be guillotined, by murdering his infant son, and retaining his daughter in close confinement.

were the only sounds that invaded the silence and solitude of the streets. Dark clouds overshadowed the guilty city, ominous of the crimes in contemplation in it. At nine o'clock the king announced that he was ready by saying, "*Je suis prêt*," as he descended the staircase of the tower, and entered the carriage with his confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth, who sat by his side. The seats opposite were filled by two *gensd'armes*, watching with sinister vigilance every motion of the king.

During the drive Louis appeared dejected, but not overcome; at ten he arrived at the Place Louis XV., then called Place de la Révolution. At the foot of the scaffold he spoke a few words to the abbé, without hesitation mounted the steps, and, advancing quickly to the front of the scaffold, where the packed ruffians were assembled, said, in a loud tone, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I pardon my enemies, and desire that my death may"——. Santerre ordered the drums to beat, the victim submitted himself to the instrument of death, and the fatal blow was given at ten minutes after ten.

The city exhibited an extraordinary scene of solitude and gloom; all the shops were shut, and none but brigands could be seen in the streets.

The head and body were taken in a basket to the cemetery of la Madeleine, and deposited in a grave ten feet deep, filled and covered with quick-lime.

Twenty-two years afterwards, some slight fragments of the remains were found and deposited in the Chapelle Expiatoire, in the Rue d'Anjou in St. Honoré.

Thus perished a monarch, considered the honestest man in his kingdom; he evinced all the foibles of a good heart, and of a mind which his assailants were incapable of appreciating, and exhibited, in the depths of his misfortunes, a fortitude which astonished them. The king became great, by the force of his own character, from the day of his overthrow, when he had only to display the qualities of a victim. Thus the French, who had endured the cruelty of Louis XI., the perfidy of Charles IX., and the despotism of Louis XIV., condemned to death, for pretended crimes of barbarity, of perfidy, and of despotism, the

most humane, the most just, the most amiable, of sovereigns that had ever ruled in France, except his sainted ancestor, Louis IX.

Malesherbes said of Louis "that he was as pious as Louis IX., as humane as Henry IV.; his only fault consisting in conducting himself more as the father than as the sovereign of his people."

JANUARY 24th.—The news of this deplorable event was received in London within twenty-four hours of its occurrence, and spread universal consternation. The theatres* and all places of public amusement were closed, and all private entertainments were postponed; a general mourning ensued, and the humblest individuals contrived to obtain and exhibit a piece of black crape or ribbon to testify their concern. Fox, the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, and a favourer of the Revolution at its commencement, unequivocally expressed his horror at the proceeding, and, in an address to his constituents of Westminster, remarked, "That there was not a single European out of France who did not consider this lamentable event as one of the most revolting acts of cruelty and injustice ever perpetrated." In a debate in the House of Commons, on the intimations of a war with France, he observed, "That the best mode of punishing the French for this execrable murder, would be to abandon them to their own guidance, since a nation capable of committing or suffering so manifest an act of injustice and atrocity, could not fail, at an early date, to reap its bitter fruits."

25th.—Chauvelin, who, although Lord Grenville had refused to recognise him as minister from the Republic of France, had yet been permitted to reside in London, was ordered to leave the kingdom immediately.

30th.—Declaration of Monsieur from Ham, in Westphalia, assuming the title of Regent of France during the minority of

* We, in common with others of the public, happened to be in the passage to the pit of Covent Garden Theatre on 23d January, 1793, and on reaching the pay place were startled at seeing across it a large board, on which was inscribed, "Intelligence having been received of the murder of the king of France by his subjects, there will be no performance at this theatre this evening."

his nephew, Louis XVII., and nominating the Count d'Artois, his brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

FEBRUARY 1st.—Declaration of war by France against England and Holland.

Chambon, mayor of Paris, resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

2d.—Philip Egalité took the oath as high-admiral of France.

5th.—Declaration of war by England against France.

15th.—Conclusion of the discussion on a new code and constitution prepared by Condorcet, who presented it to the convention, reading a long speech on the rights of man, which lasted upwards of five hours, and was cheered by the Girondins, but coldly received by the Jacobins.

19th.—At Lyons a strong demonstration took place against the Jacobins, whose club was put to the rout, and the tree of liberty burnt.

21st.—The Jacobins in the convention denounced the committee on the constitution for having suggested two chambers.

23d-27th.—Commutations in Paris, excited by Marat, on the subject of the scarcity of bread, and on the issue of certificates of civism, followed by pillage of the bakers and other provision shops.

25th.—The convention decreed the right of the soldiers to elect their officers. Marat furiously supported this measure, and struck several of his opponents in the heat of the debate.

MARCH 1st.—Renewed decree for the perpetual exile of the emigrants, declaring them civilly dead, their property confiscated to the Republic, together with all successions accrued or accruing to them during the next fifty years.

4th.—The tradesmen of Paris, harassed by frequent attacks of the populace, raised a body of chasseurs and grenadiers, and demanded of the convention the dismissal of Santerre.

The benevolent Duke of Penthièvre died of grief for the murder of his beautiful daughter, the Princess de Lamballe. The Duchess of Orleans remained his sole heiress.

Tumults in the convention.

7th.—War declared against Spain.

9th.—The National Convention, urged by the tribunes, established a revolutionary tribunal. Detection and defeat of a conspiracy formed for the massacre of Roland, Brissot, and many of their party; the conspirators were sent for trial before the revolutionary tribunal.

Abolition of the law of arrest, and liberation of all prisoners for debt.

Civil war in La Vendée, and the Republican forces defeated in several engagements.

10th.—Establishment of an extraordinary criminal tribunal, with juries, the court to be assisted by a public accuser and his two deputies, under the control of six members of the convention, with power for them to revise, without appeal, the judgments pronounced and verdicts given, and the effects of all who should be convicted to be forfeited to the Republic.

A deputation of Poissardes attended at the bar of the convention, and demanded the heads of the three deputies, Gensonné, Vergniaud, and Guadet.

11th.—Dumourier sent back to Paris the first set of commissioners deputed by the convention to observe and control his movements.

12th.—Committees of public safety established in the several sections of Paris.

13th.—Insurrection regularly organised in La Vendée, and an important victory gained near Nantes over the Republicans.

15th.—Law against all persons attempting to protect or secrete the property of emigrants.

16th.—Law inflicting the punishment of death on any one who should propose an agrarian law.

18th.—Law directing execution, within twenty-four hours after conviction, of all returned emigrants or priests; and another, proposed by Cambacérès, for outlawing, and punishing with death when taken, all emigrants and *ci-devant* nobles, with their agents and domestics; also all priests and ex-civil functionaries.

25th.—Establishment of a general committee of public safety, consisting of forty-five members, the chief of whom were Robespierre, Danton, Pethion, Cambacérès, Barrère, Sieyes, Quinette,

Guyton-Morveaux, Condorcet, Garnier, Sillery-Genlis, Royer, Chambon, Carnot, Billaud-Varennés, etc.

27th.—Law for outlawing all aristocrats and counter-revolutionists, and subjecting them generally to the same penalties as priests and emigrants, and declaring that, as, from this day, the several criminal tribunals should be put into full activity, and requiring all true citizens to be armed with pikes.

Law that, in every town containing fewer than 3,000 inhabitants, there should be inscribed on the front of each house the name, age, and profession of each inmate.

Declaration by the Jacobin Club that all persons rich or in easy circumstances are necessarily aristocrats, and subject to all the penalties imposed by the revolutionary laws on that class; and Danton, in his place in the convention, proposed that all *bons citoyens* should be authorized to kill any counter-revolutionists.

The city of Orleans declared in a state of insurrection.

Massacres and insurrections in the Morbihan and various other parts of France.

29th.—Law imposing the penalty of death on all such as should provoke to royalism or to murder.

Dumourier announced to his army his intention to march to Paris to dissolve the convention, and restore constitutional royalty.

31st.—Dumourier entered into a secret agreement with the Austrian generals, and delivered up to them Breda and Gertruydenburg as a pledge of his intention to expel the National Convention, and restore royalty.

APRIL 1st.—The convention sent five of their members, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, Bancal, and Beurnonville, to arrest Dumourier, and who, in their turn, were arrested by him, and delivered up to the Austrian general, Clairfait. Dumourier then followed, with General Valence, and Louis Philip, duke of Chartres, and his sister, the son and daughter of the infamous Egalité.

Dumourier, it appears, had overrated his influence over his army, which otherwise he would have led to Paris, but, contemplating failure, had made his arrangements with the Austrian for the escape thus effected.

The convention offered a reward of 100,000 francs for his head, dead or alive ; declared its sittings permanent, and ordered the arrest of every person not wearing the national cockade.

7th.—Egalité was arrested, and sent to the Abbaye ; Madame d'Orleans, who was included in the order for arrest, was residing at Vernon, in an infirm state of health, where she had rendered herself so much beloved for her charities and amiable conduct, that the inhabitants would not part with her, and guaranteed to the convention her safe continuance under their care.

The convention placed in strict confinement several noble Austrian prisoners, as hostages for the safety of the five commissioners delivered up by Dumourier, and for the same purpose ordered the immediate arrest of all the Bourbons, and their removal for safe custody to Marseilles.

9th.—Decree that three members of the convention should be deputed to attend each of the armies of the Republic.

10th.—Tumult in the convention on occasion of a deputation from a Parisian section, the spokesman of which denounced several members.

Egalité, his sister and third son, with the Prince de Condé, were sent prisoners to Marseilles. Egalité, who, previous to the Revolution, enjoyed an annual revenue of upwards of ten millions of francs, had assigned all his property to his creditors, in consideration of their allowing him 200,000 francs per annum.

11th, 12th, and 13th.—Warm debates in the convention on Marat being denounced by the Girondins, and vindicated by the Jacobins ; the two parties attacked each other with swords and poniards ; Marat was sent to the prison of the Abbaye, and the convention determined to hold no more evening sittings, on the ground of members coming inflamed by wine.

14th.—Marat escaped from his confinement, and wrote an offensive letter to the convention ; a discussion on which took place, which lasted nineteen hours, and ended in a decree of accusation against him ; he remained in concealment, but continued the publication of his journal.

15th.—Thirty-two sections of Paris appeared by deputation at

the bar, presenting a petition, and demanding the expulsion of Brissot and thirty-one members.

20th.—Violent debates on the subject of such petition.

23d.—Marat surrendered himself to the prison of the Conciergerie.

24th.—The revolutionary tribunal acquitted Marat, who was carried in triumph to the National Convention.

The people had rushed into the hall and sat among the deputies, refusing to give up their seats when required.

27th.—Marseilles and Aix declared against Marat, and denounced his adherents as enemies to the Revolution. The commissioners from the convention were compelled to leave both places.

MAY 10th.—The convention removed its sittings from the *manège* to the hall of the Tuileries.

16th.—First meeting of the presidents of the sections in union with the members of the revolutionary tribunal.

Egalité interrogated at Marseilles.

17th.—Santerre sent to quell the insurrection in La Vendée.

18th.—Kellerman, who had been displaced by the commissioners of the convention, and had come to Paris to justify himself at the bar of the convention, was declared entitled to the confidence of the nation, and reinstated in his command.

Nomination carried by the Girondins of a commission of twelve to investigate all conspiracies against the Republic.

23d.—Execution of General Miazinski, who had obtained a respite of three days on his offer to make important disclosures, which consisted of arraigning the conduct of Lacroix, Pethion, and Gensonné, which were voted frivolous, and the general was left to his fate.

Troubles in Paris on occasion of the arrest of Hebert, editor of the *Père du Chêne*, a periodical journal which mainly contributed to the approaching revolutionary outbreak of the 31st.

Prohibition against any meetings of the sections of Paris sitting later than ten o'clock at night.

25th.—The convention, paralysed by the daring attacks of the Jacobin party from within, and its allies, the clubs and sections,

from without, underwent a series of insults from Marat. A resolution was carried in consequence, that any member who should call any of his colleagues ruffian, conspirator, or other opprobrious epithet, should be forthwith expelled. Marat immediately violated the rule, and a tumultuous uproar ensued.

The commission of twelve cause Hebert to be imprisoned.

The several printing presses of the journals in the interest of the Brissotins, and all such as did not inculcate pure Jacobinism, were destroyed by the populace.

27th.—The convention received a letter from the mayor of Paris, accompanied by a report of the disturbed condition of the city, indicating immediate revolt if not counteracted by the magistracy.

Tumult in the convention, occasioned by the conduct of Isnard, the president; motion carried for the suppression of the council of twelve, who were accused of arresting the champions of liberty.

A deputation from the sections of Paris attended at the bar and insisted on the transfer of the duties of the commission of twelve to the revolutionary tribunal.

28th.—The tumults on this and other questions in debate between the parties, rose to such a height as to terminate in blows, and the use of weapons during three hours.

29th.—The convention, adverting to the disorder of the previous day, expunged from the minutes all allusion to the personal conflicts of the members, and moderated the tenor of the record.

Triumph of the anti-Jacobins at Lyons; the municipality, composed of Jacobins, was forcibly dissolved, and upwards of 400 persons were killed in the fray.

30th.—Hebert released by vote of the convention.

31st.—As the tocsin resounded throughout Paris, the sections assembled, and appointed their delegates: these immediately dismissed from the council-general of the commune all the *modérés*, suggested the proscription of Lanjuinais and of La-Riviere, members of convention, the intrepid champions of order, as well as of many others of their colleagues, distinguished as Girondins, Brissotins, and Federalists. Armed brigands entered the assembly, filled the tribunes, obstructed the

passages, encamped for the night in the gardens of the Tuileries, and did not withdraw until the evening of 2d June, after obtaining the proscription of thirty-two members of convention, and of the ministers, Clavière and Lebrun, all charged with having conspired against freedom.

The proscribed party, with the advantage of eloquence over their adversaries, wanted resolution, and withdrew from the assembly at the decisive moment. The determined Lanjuinais, who, by the Jacobins, was considered a Girondin, resisted singly, and, defying his assailants, expressed the last accents of liberty heard in that assembly. Barrère, organ of the committee of public safety, who, in every crisis, was prepared with three different opinions, *for*, *against*, and *about* the subject, after propounding them all three, at an interval of two hours, uncertain of the event, proposed, not the accusation or arrest of the Girondins, but their voluntary secession. Lanjuinais dared to refuse at the dagger's point: "Expect not from me either secession or suspension. Remember that a victim should not be insulted even on the road to sacrifice. Such offerings should be free, and we are not so in this place. I protest that I cannot safely assert an opinion at this moment, and am therefore silent." Garat, who announced to Louis XVI. his condemnation, encouraged the brigands. The members of the commune played the principal part in these troubles, and recalled to recollection the faction of the Provost Marcel in 1358, and of the *sixteen* at the time of the Holy League, and committed acts of equal atrocity. How should it not be so? The leaders, taken from among the sections and revolutionary committees, passed through the Jacobins to the magistracy. The mayor, Pache, with Chaumette and Thuriot, ardently promoted the disorder.

Thus the faction of Brissot and of Vergniaud was overthrown by that of Danton and Robespierre. The Jacobins established their terrific rule, and from this day dated the Reign of Terror. "In a revolution," said Collot-d'Herbois, "whoever draws back is crushed." "Dare," exclaimed St. Just; "this word contains the whole policy of revolt." "In a revolution the authority belongs to the greatest ruffians," said Danton.

Three hundred persons, accused of conspiracy, were thrown at once into the prisons of Paris.

During these discussions, the armies of the Republic lost the advantages they had gained on the northern frontiers, on the banks of the Rhine, and towards the Pyrenees.

REIGN OF TERROR.

FROM 31ST OF MAY, 1793, TO 27TH OF JULY, 1794.

JUNE 2d.—The sections, or the municipality of Paris, who had taken the lead in the recent discomfiture of the Girondins, were determined to pursue the triumph they had achieved; they therefore kept up the excitement of the people, and stationed them in and round the hall of the convention, so as to obstruct all the approaches to it. The deputies who remained were chiefly of the Jacobin faction, when Danton, seizing the opportunity, moved that the people should be addressed in the adjoining court of the Carrousel, in order to learn their wishes and intentions: this was carried, and Herault de Sechelles was deputed to speak to the people accordingly. He was accompanied by the greater portion of the deputies, when, as soon as he began to state the nature of the accusation against the thirty-two deputies, and the decree for their being considered as in a position of arrest in their own houses, Henriot, an officer of the national guard, interrupted the orator by ordering the cannon to be instantly advanced towards the entrance of the hall, and put in condition for immediate action, which he threatened should be the case, unless the deputies instantly returned into the hall, resumed the proceedings, and decreed the immediate arrest and imprisonment of the denounced members. The deputies were twice repulsed in their attempt to enter, but Marat, loudly insisting on their obedience to the mandate of Henriot, and in the alternative calling on him to cause the matches to be applied to the cannon, the deputies forced their way in, carried a decree as required, and also that all other individuals who should have been reported as of suspicious principles, should be forthwith arrested.

3d.—The convention resumed its sitting amid continued tumult, when it was referred to the committee of public safety to report on the charges against the accused members; in the mean time, as many of them as had any means of escape, availed themselves of the delay, and nineteen members only of their party had the courage to attend in their places, and who protested against the validity of any decrees passed under circumstances of intimidation, operating on a large number of their colleagues.

4th.—A woman, 114 years of age, was introduced to the convention, and embraced by the president in token of the respect of Frenchmen for age.

7th.—The deputies Condorcet and Deverité were arrested; the former escaped, and, after wandering some days in the neighbourhood of Paris, was taken, and swallowed poison to escape the guillotine.

11th.—The Republic once more decreed to be one and indivisible.

17th.—Execution of twelve prisoners sent from St. Malo by the deputy Carpentier.

19th.—The convention completed the revision and reading of the constitution, designated as of the year three of the Republic; it was ordered to be printed and sent into the departments for the opinion of the primary assemblies.

It was never brought into actual practice, and only proposed by the leaders in the club and convention to secure their popularity and power.

Eighteen persons guillotined, on the report of the revolutionary tribunal, as accomplices of Lemonnier.

23d.—Pethion and Buzot effect their escape, and accusation against Brissot is decreed. The mutilated bodies of the two former were found in a forest of La Gironde, either torn to pieces by wild beasts, or starved to death.

24th.—Madame Roland released from the prison of the Abbaye, and removed to that of St. Pélagie, without any cause or charge alleged against her. She was afterwards guillotined.

JULY 2d.—Henriot appointed commander of the national guard.

3d.—Louis XVII., king of France and of Navarre, torn, at

the age of eight years, three months, and one week, from the arms of his widowed mother, by order of the convention, and consigned to the charge of a more implacable band of miscreants, the municipality of Paris, by whom he was placed for safe custody with one Antony Simon, a shoemaker, who had been the gaoler of Louis XVI. and his family in the Temple, and was distinguished by his brutality towards his royal victims; he was a devoted adherent to Robespierre, and shared his fate, being outlawed on one day, and guillotined the next, at the age of fifty.

4th.—Barbaroux and Lanjuinais declared traitors to the nation, and similar accusations decreed against several other members; the latter escaped, with Boissy-d'Anglas; they returned in 1795, and were created peers at the Restoration.

11th.—General insurrection of the city of Lyons.

13th.—The execrable monster, Marat, was poniarded, while in the bath, by Charlotte Corday, being the third, with Joan of Arc and Jeanne Hachette, of the great plebeian heroines of France. Neither her deed nor her death could rouse the Parisians from their apathy, and had there been but twenty young men imbued with corresponding patriotism, their immolation of twenty victims might have restored liberty and security to millions of their countrymen. She expressed this sentiment in a letter to her father: "The men of Paris," she wrote, "cannot conceive how a woman, who may otherwise be useless throughout a long life, may signalise a short one by the noble act of saving her country."

20th.—Charlotte Corday was executed, and met her fate with the utmost composure. On her way to the scaffold, she wore a red cloak, being the costume decreed for assassins by the convention.

23d.—Arnaud Bauclard, an author of some merit and celebrity, guillotined for having harboured a returned emigrant.

27th.—Law enacting severe penalties against all hoarders of provisions.

28th.—Valenciennes surrendered to the Duke of York.

30th.—The ordinary tribunals not being adequate to the *conviction* of the number of persons accused (trial being out of the question), more agents were required for carrying out this labour

of blood ; the convention, therefore, at once doubled the number of the revolutionary tribunals, and of their subordinate officials.

31st.—Decree for repudiating all such assignats as bore the portraiture or effigies of the king or of royalty.

A singular law was also passed for giving the preference in succession to illegitimate children over all legitimate collateral relations.

AUGUST 3d.—The queen was referred for trial to the revolutionary tribunal, and removed from the tower of the Temple to a dungeon in the Conciergerie, invariably considered the first step to the scaffold. “All the family of Capet to be banished, except his two children, and such as are under the visitation of the law. The trial of Elizabeth, the sister of Capet, to be postponed until after the trial of his widow. The expense of the two children of Louis Capet to be reduced to the lowest amount for which two individuals can be maintained ; and the tombs in St. Denis, or other churches of the kings of France, to be utterly demolished previous to the 10th of August.” Such were the terms of the order issued by those worse than Vandals.

SEPTEMBER 3d.—Order made that all the agents in the employ of the Republic should render an account of whatever property they possessed previous to the year 1791.

Brissot, Le Brun, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Baudry, and Clavière delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal for instant trial.

The convention established an ambulatory revolutionary armed force, accompanied by artillery and a guillotine, to visit each department, and to execute summary justice on all individuals who should be denounced to them as suspected. An army of 6,000 men appropriated to this duty.

6th.—Decree for the arrest of all foreigners born in countries at war with the Republic, and for the sequestration of their property, particularly of the English.

Ordered that the galley slaves shall not be permitted to wear red night-caps, being calculated to degrade that symbol of liberty.

15th.—Suppression of all schools for instruction in civil law and medicine.

18th.—Gorsos guillotined.

Decree for the punishment of the disseminators of false news, or idle rumours, as conspirators.

A commission established to investigate the fortunes of persons recently become rich (*nouveaux riches*).

Every woman, of whatever station, to wear a tricolor badge.

Perrin, a deputy, summarily delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal.

Report of the number of political prisoners in Paris, as amounting to 2,560 individuals.

Maximum established in respect of all articles of necessity, including every description of food, the raw materials for all manufactures, the useful metals, stuffs, woollens, tobacco, shoes, and sabots.

OCTOBER 3d.—The convention include the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans in the list of persons transferred to the revolutionary tribunal, which is required, within a week, to report on the death of the widow of Louis Capet, who is treated by the gaolers of the Conciergerie as the most abject of convicted criminals.

5th and 24th.—Decrees that the new era of France should be computed from 22d Sept. 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the Republic; thus abolishing the Christian era, and substituting a new or Republican Calendar,* which was issued by authority, dividing the year into twelve months of thirty days each, the months bearing names analogous to the seasons, and to which twelve months were added from five to six days, called supplementary or *sansculottides*. Each of the 360 days was also distinguished by the name of some herb, mineral, or animal, and every tenth day, or *decadi*, as it was called, was the only permitted day of rest. This godless scheme, and equally senseless jargon in which it was promulgated, were discontinued on 9th September, 1805, and the Gregorian Calendar restored by authority on 1st January, 1806.

8th.—Suppression of the East India Company.

On the report of the assassination of Beauvais, a deputy, by the English at Toulon, order made for the arrest of all the

* For this new Calendar, see Appendix, No. iv.

English, an immediate sequestration of their effects, and prohibiting the importation of all English goods.

Lyons, the siege of which had commenced on 19th September, surrendered this day to General Kellerman; it had suffered much from bombardment, and more from famine, but neither scourge was equal to the punishment inflicted by their republican countrymen and conquerors. The guillotine, although in constant action, was too slow to sate their thirst for blood; wholesale executions took place under the derisive names of *noyades*, *fusillades*, and republican marriages; the latter constituted the peculiar amusement of the citizen victors; they bound their victims naked in couples, a man and a woman, and shot or drowned them as best suited their caprice; the *noyades* were chiefly appropriated to the priests, who were sent out in barges, in which they were left by their conductors, after drawing out the plugs, upon which the boat sank with its cargo; the *fusillades* were exercises of skill in shooting men, women, and children, of all ages and sizes, placed in proper masses to ensure certain execution. According to the report of Camille-Jordan on 5th July, 1797, it was stated to the council of 500 that upwards of 3,000 persons thus perished in cold blood.

Decree denouncing the British government to all Europe, and to the English nation in particular.

By a subsequent decree, William Pitt, on the motion of Barrère, was declared and denounced as an enemy to the human race. In the debate Garnier alleged that the whole world was interested in promoting the assassination of Pitt.

Chambon, mayor of Paris, moved that all chateaus and mansions, appropriated to the use or residence of individuals, should be demolished and erased from the territory of the Republic, to which was added that all parks, gardens, houses, and buildings, distinguished by armorial bearings, should be confiscated to the state.

Decree for the suppression of all academies and literary and scientific societies or institutions established by letters patent.

Statue of liberty erected on the base of the statue of Louis XV.

Famine now prevailed in Paris, and caused the customary seditions and pillage of the bakers' and other provision shops, and murder of the proprietors.

Decree of the convention ordering all Frenchmen between fifteen and sixty years of age to rise *en masse*.

Pondicherry, and all other the possessions of the French in Bengal, taken by the English.

General Custine, one of the ablest of the Republican officers, guillotined by order of a revolutionary tribunal for not having saved Mentz.

Toulon delivered up by the inhabitants to Lord Hood, with eleven ships of the line, and Louis XVII. proclaimed king.

Decreed that the nation will not pay or acknowledge any debt due from Louis XVI.

The convention declared that France should be considered in a revolutionary state until its independence should be acknowledged by the powers of Europe; thus placing in abeyance, if not abrogating, the constitution of the year three.

Motion, by Danton, that the whole expenses of the war should be defrayed by the merchants, under the direction of the committee of public safety, and all defaulters to be visited with death.

Marseilles and Bordeaux, which, with Lyons, had attached themselves to the Federal or Girondin party, suffered in equal measure, but Lyons, as the second city of the empire, incurred the heavier vengeance; and Barrère moved in the convention that all vestiges of that great city should be removed from off the soil, and that, in its stead, a lofty pyramid should be erected, bearing this inscription:—

“Lyons was;
Lyons warred against liberty;
Lyons is no more!”

10th.—On the report of Barrère, it was determined that all the constituted authorities, even the executive council, the generals, and the ministers, should be placed under the supervision and control of the committee of public safety, to whom all the

powers of the state were delegated, and of which Robespierre was chairman. This decree confirmed the dominion of terror and of the scaffold. Under this influence, the next act of the convention was to order the demolition of Lyons, the forfeiture of its name, and the substitution for it of that of "La Ville Affranchie." Collot-d'Herbois and Fouche were the worthy agents selected for this work of murder, plunder, and devastation. The butchers sent on the same errand to Marseilles and Bordeaux were Couthon, Lebon, and St. Just.

16th.—Marie Antoinette, queen of France and of Navarre, was, at the instance of the committee of public safety, brought before the revolutionary tribunal for trial and condemnation by Fouquier de Tinville, the public accuser, Robespierre, Barrère, and Carnot, etc., sitting in judgment. The charges were entire fabrications of the most revolting character. She was allowed counsel, who were not permitted to impugn the judgment, but only to implore mercy; they exercised their functions with some degree of zeal and ability, and were in consequence arrested by an order signed by Cambacérès.

The sentence of death was pronounced in mingled tones of outrage, cruelty, and derision, by the presiding miscreant. No sign of human infirmity was discernible on the countenance of the imperial and royal victim; no ebullition of passion or of grief disturbed the dignified serenity and resignation of the queen, which she retained to the last moment on the scaffold. She was conducted to it in the common open conveyance, her hands bound; and her persecutors had so exhausted every means of degradation, that she had been obliged to borrow from the gaoler's wife a cap and some other portions of her external clothing. She had, four days previously, submitted to interrogatories, which she answered or denied with the calmness of conscious truth; her infant children also had been tampered with, and the public accuser had the effrontery to produce in evidence what he called, and most probably had himself fabricated, the depositions of her son, a child little more than eight years of age. Posterity has done justice to the character and virtues of the daughter of Maria Theresa, and rescued her fair fame from the

fangs of the wretches who pursued her and her husband, to the destruction of all within their capacity for evil to effect.*

30th.—Decree of the convention that illegitimate children should share equally with their legitimate brothers and sisters in the succession to father or mother.

31st.—Execution of the twenty-one Girondins arrested on the 2d of June: the most eminent of these audacious demagogues, sacrificed by their still fiercer brethren raised from the same hot-bed of infidelity, were Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Guadet, Fauchet (constitutional bishop), Boyer-Fonfrade, Sillery-Genlis, the husband of the author of some romances, and of memoirs no better or truer than romances: she and her husband were the confidential friends of the Duke of Orleans, and his accomplices in most of his profligate and criminal proceedings.

* We make no apology for quoting the following splendid passage from Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*:—

“It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles, and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh! what a revolution; and what a heart must I have to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream, when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men—in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never, never more, shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage, while it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.”

For the wills of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, see Appendix, Nos. i and ii.

The party met at supper, in their prison, the night before their execution, of which Nodier, in his memoirs, has given a very interesting account, also of the abundance of the wine and viands set before them, and of the reckless indifference of the victims to their coming fate, two of whom being prevented from coming to blows on a difference of opinion arising between them on some mere political question.

NOVEMBER 6th.—Execution of the Duke of Orleans, who, in addition to every other degradation which vice, malignity, and profligacy could inspire, had claimed and obtained the designation of *Egalité*. These concessions to his republican allies could not save him from the just retribution for his manifold crimes, on the same scaffold to which he had contributed to bring the head of his house, the virtuous Louis XVI., and his magnanimous consort. He was conducted in the ordinary tumbrel for conveying the victims, and the only distinction accorded to him was a pause of half an hour opposite to his palace of the Palais Royal, that he might contemplate the scene of his first debaucheries, the resort of his political accomplices, and the theatre of his revolutionary crimes.

7th.—In the body of the convention, and in the presence of the constitutional bishop of Paris, and of his grand-vicars, several other bishops, and of Julien of Toulouse, a Protestant minister, a decree was made, referring it to the committee of public instruction, to consider of a plan for substituting a reasonable form of worship for that of Christianity.

10th.—The religious delirium reached its height; the convention decreed that the Catholic worship should be superseded by that of reason, to which object the church of Notre Dame was appropriated by the name of the Temple of Reason, and a common strumpet was hired to preside as its goddess at the approaching festival. The other churches of Paris to be at the same time consecrated to the metaphysical deities of liberty, conjugal fidelity, etc.

11th.—Madame Roland guillotined, also Bailli, ex-mayor of Paris. He unworthily pandered to a brutal populace for support; they gave it as long as it suited their purpose, and then bestowed

it on more unscrupulous candidates for their favour, and rewarded him by the scaffold.

The honours of the Pantheon decreed to Marat, and the expenses of his funeral defrayed by the state, and the body of Mirabeau ejected to make room for Marat.

Decree that there should be but one quality of bread for food throughout the Republic.

16th.—Execution of General Houchard, and of Manuel, the ex-procureur-general of the communes of Paris.

Decreed that, when any member of the convention should be denounced, he should have the privilege of being heard; and that all the members should be excepted from liability to have the amount of their fortunes inquired into.

19th.—Official letter sent to Lebon, signed by Barrère, Carnot, and Billaud-Varennes :—

“The amnesty accorded by the constitution does not apply to crimes committed against the Republic, which cannot be commuted or redeemed; they must be executed by the sword. The tyrant invoked that amnesty—the tyrant was struck down.”

DECEMBER 1st.—Report of the number of political prisoners in Paris this day—4,130.

2d.—The constitution decreed to be in abeyance until a general peace, and in the mean time a provisional government established, retaining the formal rights of the convention, but delegating all executive and administrative powers to the committees of public safety and of general security, with whom should rest all military and civil appointments, and arbitrary powers of dismissal, without appeal.

19th.—Recapture of Toulon. The English first burn the arsenal and twenty ships of war, built and building, and carry off sixteen sail of the line.

The commissioners sent by the convention to take possession were Barras, Ricard, and Robespierre the younger, who re-enacted at Toulon all the atrocities perpetrated at Lyons by Fouche.

31st.—General Biron guillotined.

1794.

JANUARY 1st.—Decreed that every general condemned by the revolutionary tribunal should be executed at the head of his army.

3d.—Execution of General Luckner, and of Custine, the son of the late general.

16th.—By a decree of the convention, Marseilles declared to be in a state of rebellion, and to have forfeited its name. Barras and Lebon are sent to inflict signal vengeance upon it; their first act was to raze all the buildings in which the meetings of the Federalists had been held. Thus the beautiful portico of St. Ferrud was demolished, with some of the finest edifices in the city; and the heads of the wealthiest merchants fell from the scaffold, while the two infamous pro-consuls held their unhallowed orgies in a suburban mansion.

21st.—The convention, in a body, with the members of the communes of Paris and of the popular societies, and the *sans culottes en masse*, held a festival in the Place de la Revolution to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. By way of accompaniment to the music, the executioner contributed the fall of four heads from the guillotine.

22d.—In commemoration of this festival, the convention ordered a tree of liberty to be planted in every commune.

FEBRUARY 5th.—Decree for abolishing slavery in the French colonies, and admitting all the inhabitants, of every description, including negroes, to the rights of citizenship.

12th.—The convention restored to Marseilles its name.

15th.—Ordered that the French national flag should be composed of three colours, red, white, and blue, vertically disposed.

22d.—Repetition of the law of the maximum of prices for provisions and articles of the first necessity, with an elaborate graduated scale of the particulars applicable to each item.

25th.—Execution of several of the Federalists and Cordeliers; among the principal were Anacharsis Cloots, Hebert, Vincent, and Ronsin.

MARCH 1st.—Report of the number of persons confined in the prisons of Paris for political offences—6,000.

4th.—Decree that each shoemaker shall supply to the army two pairs of shoes every *decadi*.

13th.—On the report of St. Just of a conspiracy against the Republic discovered by him, it was ordered that the names of all the individuals implicated in it should be transmitted to the revolutionary tribunal for arrest and speedy judgment.

15th.—Decree of accusation against Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, Julien de Toulouse, Herault de Sechelles, and Simon de Mont Blanc.

18th.—The convention charge the two grand committees of public safety and of general security to reform the authorities in the Parisian sections.

20th.—The convention, by a long parading address, make known to the nation that virtue and probity are now the order of the day throughout the Republic.

21st.—On the report of St. Just of a fresh conspiracy, accusation is decreed against Camille-Desmoulins, Danton, Philippeaux, and Lacroix, charged with conspiring against the Republic with Dumourier, and also against Fabre d'Eglantine, as attached to the party commonly called the Cordeliers. Robespierre, dreading the popular eloquence of Danton, caused him and Chabot, the brothers Frey, and others, to be immediately guillotined.

24th.—Hebert, Momoro, Ronsin, Vincent, Manuel, and fourteen others, convicted by the revolutionary tribunal of conspiring against the Republic, executed.

APRIL 1st.—Decree superseding the executive council, and substituting twelve commissioners selected from the convention.

4th.—The convention approved of a petition from the popular society of Cette, praying that death should be included in the order of the day.

5th.—Order that every member of the convention should render an account of his conduct, public and private, and also the particulars and amount of his property.

From the period of the death of Danton, Robespierre remained without a rival, and exercised all the power of a dictator, sup-

ported by Barrère, Merlin of Douai, St. Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, Fouché, Vadier, and Carnot.

22d.—Execution of the excellent and venerable Malesherbes, and of all his family, noticed in a former page.

Decree that all individuals throughout France suspected of anti-revolutionary practices, should be arrested and sent to the revolutionary tribunal at Paris for judgment and execution, and that all ex-nobles and foreigners should leave Paris and the frontier and maritime towns within ten days, on pain of death.

MAY 1st.—Number of prisoners, 8,000.

The revolutionary tribunal daily sent several *fournées* to the guillotine, one of which included Laborde, the court banker.

5th.—Decree for sending to the revolutionary tribunal all the ex-farmers general, the whole of whose property had been previously confiscated.

7th.—Robespierre, after a long oration, greatly magnifying himself, carried a resolution in the convention recognising a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and, in the place of Christianity, substituting a system of Theophilanthropy, with a formulary for its worship of the cardinal virtues.

8th.—Lavoisier, the celebrated chemist, with twenty-seven others, chiefly *ci-devant* farmers-general, guillotined.

11th.—Elizabeth of France, born 3d May, 1764, sister of Louis XVI., executed. She appeared before the tribunal with an air of mild dignity, undisturbed by the gross and revolting character of the questions addressed to her. In answer to one of which adverting to the king as a tyrant, she only observed, "If my brother had been a tyrant, neither you nor I would be in the positions we now occupy."

No distinction was made in her favour, and she was placed in the tumbrel with twenty-four other victims, several of whom had been of the old court. One of the ladies, although pregnant, would not claim exemption, but the princess stated the circumstance to an officer, and she was withdrawn. Madame was the last executed, and bore, in her aspect on the scaffold, the same angelic serenity which never deserted her for a single moment during her captivity.

16th.—Maignet, the commissioner sent by the convention to punish the insurgents and Federalists in the department of Vaucluse, exceeded in cruelty all that had been inflicted on Lyons by Fouché, on Nantes by Barras, or at Avignon by Jourdan Coupe-tête.

The tree of liberty in Bedouin, a town of about five hundred houses, in the Vaucluse, being destroyed during the night, with a strong suspicion that Maignet himself had caused it to be done, he immediately directed all the municipal officers, the ex-nobles, relations of emigrants, priests, and persons suspected, to be locked up in their houses, which were instantly set on fire, and the whole place reduced to ashes, in order, as Maignet wrote to the convention, that the name of that infamous place should be obliterated from memory. It was estimated that fifteen thousand persons perished during two months in the department of the Vaucluse, and, on a representation to the convention of the fact, a resolution was passed that Maignet had done no more than his duty, and had deserved well of his country.

26th.—On the representation of Barrère that the English had been guilty of many acts of perfidy and cruelty towards the Republicans, the convention decreed that no quarter should be given to English or Hanoverian soldiers. It is due to the French armies to add that they refused compliance with this order.

JUNE 1st.—Naval victory of the English in the Channel; six sail of the line taken, and five sunk,—the French having twenty-six ships, commanded by Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, and the English twenty-five ships, under Admiral Lord Howe. The action commenced at six A.M., and lasted seven hours. Jean Bon St. André, the commissary of the convention, precipitately ordered a retreat, to which the French attributed their defeat. The Vengeur, a French three-decker, went down, as was said, in consequence of the resolution of the crew not to yield, having nailed their colours to the mast, and sunk amid loud cheers of "*La Liberté*," "*Vive la République*;" but this has been much doubted.

Barrère announced this battle to the convention as a victory,

and had the impudence to allege that the six captured vessels had gone in chase of the English.

14th.—Henri Lamiral denounced Collot-d'Herbois, on which a decree of accusation was passed against him; also judgment pronounced on the girl Renaud, and execution ordered of her and her accomplices, for a conspiracy against Robespierre.

19th.—Corsica, on the invitation of Pascal Paoli, taken possession of by England, and its crown accepted by George III., who appointed Sir Gilbert Elliot his commissioner, and a representative constitution was conferred on the inhabitants.

27th.—Execution, at the age of seventy-nine, of Philip, *maréchal* duke of Noailles-Mouchy, and of Broglie, *maréchal-de-camp*, son of the *Maréchal* Broglie who had arranged the journey to Varennes; also of Linguet, an eminent lawyer.

It was chiefly during this and the preceding month that the daily massacres, ordered by the revolutionary tribunal under the direction of the committee of public safety, took place at Paris, and were called *les Charretées*. The same horrors were perpetrated in most of the departments, and particularly at Arras, by order of Joseph Lebon, and at Orange by Maignet.

THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE, AND THE TERMINATION OF THE REIGN OF TERROR.

JULY 15-28.

Robespierre had attained the pinnacle of his power, when, on the 8th of May, 1794, he proposed that a festival should be held on occasion of the French people condescending to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, at which he meditated officiating as high-priest or pontiff, and receiving the incense of the assembled multitude.* Infatuated by the homage he then received, which he considered due to him as the

* In which dignities he was succeeded by La Reveillere-Lepeaux, afterwards one of the Executive Directory. For an amusing exposition of his code of new morality, see "Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin," 4th edition, p. 249.

ruler of the Republic, he was disconcerted at experiencing in the committee of public safety some slight expressions of demur, if not resistance, to his mandates, upon which he considered himself powerful enough to discontinue that profound dissimulation by which he had hitherto been enabled to defeat his rivals, and at once to intimate his intention to cast off such of his colleagues as would not submit implicitly to his dictates.

By the aid of his devoted agents, Couthon and St. Just, constituting, with himself, the triumvirate of power, he transferred from the committee to the hall of the Jacobins the seat of his dominion. He now relaxed in his attendance at the committee of public safety, and many days elapsed without his appearing among them; while Barrère, the most impudent, and, at the same time, the most astute, of his interpreters, made, on the 25th, a long report to the convention of the internal dangers of the country, talked vaguely of conspiracies, of timidity in the councils of the Republic, of the activity of their enemies still at large, adverting even to the retainers of the theatres, who were especially engaged, he said, in perverting the public mind, and concluded with a pompous eulogy on the virtuous Robespierre.

26th.—Robespierre pronounced an elaborate discourse in the convention, in which, after expatiating on his own merits, of patriotism and disinterestedness, he launched out against such of his colleagues as did not go all lengths in his support, in such a style as to convince them that, if they did not adopt immediate measures for their own safety, their doom was inevitable.

27th.—The following day, in the convention, Couthon spoke to the same effect, and alleged that, to save the body politic, it might be necessary that its gangrened members should be excised. This confirmed the apprehensions of the individuals aimed at. Tallien, Vadier, Billaud, and Freron instantly denounced Robespierre as seeking to usurp the dictatorship. On this the hall resounded with cries of "*à bas le tyran*," and decrees of accusation were passed against the two Robespierres, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, Henriot, Dumas, and some others, with orders for their arrest. Robespierre then came into the convention foaming at the mouth with rage, so as not to be able to speak when one of his oppo-

nents said to him, "Malheureux, le sang de Danton t'étouffe."* On their arrest the tocsin sounded, and they were rescued by the people and taken to their head-quarters, the Hotel de Ville, when Barras followed with a body of the national guard, by order of the convention, dispersed the populace, and recovered the culprits. The Jacobins were driven from their hall, and routed in all quarters. Lebas shot himself; Robespierre attempted to do so, but only fractured his jaw, which was bandaged up, to fit him for the guillotine next day; his brother threw himself out of a window, but survived only to be guillotined; Coffinhal for a time escaped, after reproaching Henriot for his cowardice, seizing him by the middle, and throwing him out of a window, from whence, falling on a heap of *ordure*, he was taken to be guillotined on the morrow; Coffinhal himself was shortly afterwards recaptured and guillotined.

28th.—Twenty-two of these monsters, including St. Just and Couthon, with their chief, were executed on the Place de la Révolution amid universal acclamations, and on the following day thirty-two more shared the same fate. The guillotine thus devoured, Saturn-like, its own offspring and purveyors.

Thus the tyrant Robespierre was overthrown, with many of his associates, as deep in blood and crime as their leader. Still his opponents on the present occasion were equally steeped in revolutionary guilt, there having been no atrocity perpetrated in which Tallien, Carnot, Merlin, Vadier, and Billaud had not participated, and therefore, retaining the same principles, and conscious of the same crimes, they gradually managed to restore Fouché and other equally notorious offenders to favour and to office. Tallien himself, who had, in his official duties in the departments, effected a daily massacre of sixty individuals, designated his proceeding only as a visitation of *form*, and, speaking in the convention of his recent triumph over the Jacobins, said, "Be assured we do not profess to be *modérés*; all we desire is, that the accused should be treated with decency."

* Danton had some presentiment of this result, as, on his way to the scaffold, he said repeatedly to the people and to his companion, "J'entraîne Robespierre; Robespierre me suit."

Volumes have been written for the purpose of attributing the conduct of Robespierre to some philosophical or other recondite, if not virtuous, principle of action,—the simple fact being, that, having a very narrow mind, but a very determined will, incapable of attaining the eminence of a Mirabeau or a Vergniaud, he sought to reduce every one to or below his own low standard, to effect which his primary object was to exterminate, by death, the triple aristocracy of birth, of talent, and of wealth.

AUGUST 1st.—Arrest, and transfer to the revolutionary tribunal, of Fouquier-Thinville, the late public accuser.

9th.—Some mitigating modifications of the powers of the committee of public safety were decreed by the convention; among others, allowing counsel to the accused.

The *daily* executions now ceased, and the number of individuals reduced who had hitherto been tried and condemned in groups.

11th.—Explosion of the powder-mills at Grenelle, near Paris, by which above 1,000 persons were killed.

15th.—The ambassador of the United States of America requested an audience to deliver his credentials. The convention ordered that he should be received within it, and that the president should give him the fraternal *accolade* in token of the friendship between the two nations.

18th.—Release from confinement of the two brothers of the girl Renaud, who had been guillotined by order of Robespierre.

Prohibition against any person bearing any other name than that of his father.

30th.—The convention pronounced to be calumnious the denunciations made by Lecointre against Barrère, Billaud-Varennès, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, Voulland, and David.

SEPTEMBER 5th.—Order that the last day of the *sansculottides* should be celebrated as a national festival.

22d.—The ashes of Marat removed out of the Pantheon.

28th.—Decree that the Republic should not be at the charge of maintaining any denomination of public worship.

29th.—The convention, being convinced, on better evidence than the impudent invectives of Barrère, that a principal cause

of the desperate resistance of the Vendéans was the barbarous conduct of the agents of the committee of public safety, ordered the arrest of General Turreau-Linieres, and of some of his subordinates, who vindicated themselves by producing their instructions under the hands of Carnot, Barrère, and Merlin of Douai.

OCTOBER 7th.—The convention declared Lyons to be no longer in a state of rebellion or of siege.

NOVEMBER 12th.—On the report of a committee, to whom the conduct of the Jacobin Club, and the expediency of its continuance, had been referred, it was abolished, and the doors of its hall closed; thus materially abridging the influence of the communes of Paris.

DECEMBER 1st.—Decree for the repeal of the law of the maximum of prices for provisions and other articles.

The convention granted a full amnesty to all the insurgents called Vendéans, Chouans, etc., on their laying down their arms within the space of one month.

8th.—Seventy-three members, who had withdrawn from the convention in consequence of the forcible proceedings of 31st May, 1793, permitted to resume their seats; among whom were Boissy-d'Anglas and Lanjuinais.

10th.—Carrier condemned to death by the new extraordinary criminal tribunal.

The cruelties practised by him on the insurgents on the banks of the Loire, and the other scenes of his labours, are scarcely credible, although corroborated by the 80,000 inhabitants of Nantes, and that he gloried in these deeds appeared by the speech delivered by him in the convention to an applauding audience, when he assured them that the women of La Vendée were all monsters,—that their children had served against the Republic, those of thirteen to fourteen carrying arms, and those under that age acting as spies. Several of those little *scélérats*, he added, had been tried, condemned, and executed by the military commission. He caused a whole squadron of Vendéans to be shot after they had surrendered on the faith of an armistice solemnly proclaimed; he also condemned to death, in the short space of twenty days, upwards of 4,000 persons, in the wholesale method

before described, of Republican marriages, *noyades*, and *fusillades*.

In short, and it may comprise all in one sentence, the cruelties perpetrated by Carrier at Nantes exceeded those of the ferocious Lebon, who extirpated every living being in three streets of Arras; those of Maignet-Brutus, the incendiary of Bedouin; those of Barras at Toulon, and even those of *le tigre*, Collot, and his colleague, Fouché, amid the smoking ruins of Lyons. Still, with all the horrors of these acts in our contemplation, two matters are almost equally incredible, how they could find human beings to carry these deeds into execution, and how a numerous population could witness and submit to them.

Every effort was made by Carnot, and others of his accomplices in the convention, to protect Carrier from punishment. Six months elapsed before his trial could take place, and then a month's time was given him to prepare his defence. These favours may be contrasted with the refusal of a three days' respite to Louis XVI.; the prohibition to the queen's counsel to plead for aught but mercy; and the summary execution of the aged and virtuous Malesherbes and his family.

23d.—Cambacérès, Merlin, and other members of the committee of public safety, addressed the following instruction to Francis Barthelemy, the minister of the republic in Switzerland, and nephew of the author of *Anacharsis*: “We charge you, citizen, to declare to all the cantons that the emigrants cannot lose their character of traitors, and that our just vengeance will pursue them wherever we can reach them.”

1795.

JANUARY 18th.—Suspension of all the penal decrees affecting Lyons.

20th.—Decree that the honours of the Pantheon should not be conferred until ten years after the decease of the party.

FEBRUARY 7th-15th.—First pacification of Vendée, with Charette, according to which the Republic granted two millions of francs by way of indemnity for losses sustained, and the free exercise of religious worship.

21st.—Decree for dividing Paris into twelve arrondissements, by which arrangement the mischievous influence of the sections was altogether annihilated.

26th.—Charette entered Nantes with his royalist staff, and fraternized with the Republican forces.

MARCH 15th.—Scarcity, or rather famine, prevailed to such an extent, that the convention made an order that each individual, of any age or sex, should receive a pound of bread each day.

18th.—Decreed that all the citizens of Paris, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, except public functionaries, should be under an obligation to mount guard daily.

21st.—Establishment, by a decree of the convention, of the Polytechnic School, or Central Seminary for Public Works. The programme of instruction was very carefully devised, and carried out by men of the greatest scientific eminence, and who have acquired a European celebrity: La Grange, Prony, Monge, Hassenfratz, Fourcroy, Guyton-Morveau, Berthollet, Vauquelin, and Chaptal.

APRIL 1st.—Boissy-d'Anglas read a long report on the supply of provisions, when he was interrupted by an announcement that a great movement was about to take place in Paris. The convention declared its sitting permanent, and recommended the citizens of Paris to take their proper posts. The convention then declared accusations against Cambon, Thuriot, Maignet, Maribon Montant, Moyse Bayle, and Levasseur de la Sarthe. The revolutionary tribunal was directed to proceed from day to day on these trials, and also to come to a definite judgment on Fouquier de Thinvillle.

Paris declared in a state of siege, and Pichegru appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, being his first appearance as a political character.

Carnot, Barrère, and others, who shared the crimes, and should have shared the fate, of their leader, now endeavoured to screen themselves and their late colleagues by laying the whole blame on Robespierre.

7th.—Decrees for establishing the system of decimal computation as applicable to weights, measures, and the currency.

10th.—Order for disarming all individuals known by the name of terrorists.

30th.—Death of the Abbé Barthelemy, at the age of seventy-nine, author of the Travels of Anacharsis, a work which, by an oversight in a former part of this volume, was attributed to Bailly.

MAY 3d.—Decree for restoring to the families of all condemned criminals the property and effects confiscated by them, but confirming sales of such property or effects, paying over the purchase money to the family, carried by Lanjuinais and Boissy-d'Anglas.

7th.—Fouquier de Thinvillle, the public accuser, and fifteen of the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, were executed. Their practice had been to condemn wholesale, by groups, which went by the name of *fournées*. Even Collot-d'Herbois remonstrated against a list of 155 individuals convicted of being suspected, and who filled three *fournées* for immediate execution. Collot was sentenced to be deported, although no effort was spared by Tallien to save him, and every subterfuge of law was resorted to. Ample time was given for his defence, and he produced 200 witnesses in his favour, against as many examined against him.

20th.—Thibaudeau, called *barre de fer*, from the impassibility of his character, read in the convention a placard, entitled "Insurrection of the people for bread, and the constitution of 1793." A discussion arose as to the best mode of quieting the people, and counteracting the efforts of the malcontents, when a crowd burst into the hall, crying "Bread, and the constitution of '93." Some of the armed citizens came to the rescue, but were overpowered by numbers. Ferraud, a deputy, was murdered as he was mounting the tribune, being taken for Freron. The assassins dragged the body into the Carrousel, cut off the head, and re-entered with it on a pike, which they presented to Boissy-d'Anglas, the president, who bowed to it respectfully. Eight hours were passed in this fearful state, the Jacobins in actual possession of the hall, making speeches and passing resolutions, when Lagendre and Raffel, at the head of some battalions of the section of La Butte des Moulins, with Lepelletier and two other deputies, entered sabre in hand, and, after some

resistance, cleared the hall of the intruders. The convention resumed its duties, annulled all the decrees made in the tumultuous assembly, and decreed the arrest of those members who had assisted on the occasion, and declared out of the law all parties to this outrage.

22d.—Decree imposing the penalty of death on any person beating “*La générale*” without an order from a staff-officer of the national guard.

Ordered that the inhabitants of the faubourg of St. Antoine should deliver up the assassins of Ferraud, and all their weapons.

A military commission was then established, with powers of summary execution on the leaders of the sedition, twenty in number, and all their adherents, together with such of the deputies implicated as should be discovered.

Transfer to the same commission of Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, Vadier, and Billaud, if not already deported, and also of Pache, Bouchotte, Marchand, Audouin, and d'Aubigny.

27th.—Fevy and Ferau, the chiefs of a band of 200 Marseillois brigands brought to Paris by the Jacobins, were outlawed.

30th.—On the report of Lanjuinais, the convention authorised the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church.

31st.—On the report of a committee, the extraordinary criminal court, called the Revolutionary Tribunal, was abolished.

In consequence of the preceding decrees, a vast number of arrests took place of individuals of the Jacobin party, many of whom were delivered over to the military commission for immediate execution, and others were deported to Cayenne for life.

June 8th.—Louis XVII., king of France and of Navarre, only surviving son of Louis XVI., and the last descendant in the direct male line from Henry IV., died, as thus announced to the National Convention by Sevestre, in the name of the committee of public safety :—

“For some time the son of Capet had been troubled by a swelling of the right knee, and another of the left wrist ; his

appetite failed, and he was at length attacked by a fever. The celebrated Desault was appointed to visit and attend him; his talents and his probity convinced us that none of the attentions due to humanity would be spared. Desault died on the 4th of this month, and your committee appointed as his successor Citizen Pelletan, a distinguished officer of health. Citizen Dumousin, first physician of the Hospital of Health, was added to the former. Faithful to the principles of humanity, your committee neglected nothing to re-establish the health of the sick youth. The disease, however, manifested alarming symptoms. At eleven yesterday morning the bulletin delivered to us announced great and immediate danger; and this morning, at a quarter after two, we were apprised of young Capet's death. I propose that the minute in which it is entered may be deposited in the national archives."

Decreed the above report to be inserted in the bulletin. Louis XVII. was born on 27th March, 1785.

This report of the murderers of the infant king by their agents to their employers, imposed on no one, whether friend or foe; all Paris was satisfied that Louis Charles died of filth, starvation, and blows, if not of poison, administered by the execrable Simon by the order, and with the direct approval, of the municipality of Paris. For the melancholy and authentic particulars of this horrible and heart-rending treatment of the child, we would again refer to the work of M. Beauchesne.

25th.—Charette renewed hostilities, and appeared in La Vendée at the head of 12,000 men, encouraged to do so by Monsieur the count d'Artois, brother to the king, and with a view to the assistance he might derive from a large force of emigrants expected to be embarked from England, and landed in Quiberon Bay.

30th.—Decreed that the daughter of Louis XVI. should be exchanged for the commissioners of the Republic delivered up to the Austrians by Dumourier, and since then retained in close custody.

JULY 21st.—Catastrophe of Quiberon.

This ill-fated expedition, consisting of a large body of emigrants,

and of several French prisoners professing attachment to the royal cause, all under the command of the Count d'Herville, and of a very suspicious adventurer, named de Puisaye, with a gallant young French nobleman, the Count de Sombreuil, landed, under the escort of an English fleet, at the little village of Quiberon, and took possession of a small fort, called Pen-thievre, when, alarmed at the appearance of a Republican force, under General Hoche, they, instead of an advance, kept close within the protection of the British fleet; they, however, attempted a *sortie*, which was repulsed, and d'Herville mortally wounded. A schism then took place among the remaining officers, and at the same time a considerable number of the prisoners who had joined the emigrant troop, took the opportunity for deserting to their Republican brethren: this completed the disorder. After some skirmishing to no effect, Puisaye contrived to make his escape, and left Sombreuil to his fate, who might also have obtained safety in the fleet, but he would not abandon his men, and, hopeless of success, with them laid down his arms, on the faith, as he alleged, of a capitulation; this, however, was denied, and, we believe, honestly so, by Hoche, who, it was thought, would have saved them if he could have done so; but he was closely watched by Tallien and other commissioners from the convention. Sombreuil and the officers were shot singly, and the soldiers massacred *en masse*.

20th.—Decree that all persons engaged in commerce should be registered, and take out an annual licence.

AUGUST 22d.—Decree for dissolving all popular societies.

30th.—After long discussions on the new constitution to be submitted to the people, an explanatory address on the subject was this day approved. The government to be composed of an executive directory of five persons; a senate of elders, each above forty years of age; and a council of 500, eligible at thirty years of age: the elders to be married men or widowers, and to hold their sittings in the Tuileries, the 500 in the Palais Bourbon, and the directory at the Luxembourg.

SEPTEMBER 1st.—On the Paris Bourse 1,200 francs, in assignats, were given for one louis d'or.

4th.—Decree whereby, after recognising that Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, ex-bishop of Autun, had powerfully promoted the Revolution by his noble conduct as citizen and as ecclesiastic, approving also the motives which had induced him to withdraw from France, the convention now authorised his return to it.

6th.—Decree pronouncing perpetual banishment of all deported priests, and of all priests who might have returned to France.

11th.—The convention named a commission of five members to prepare and present an immediate report on the measures requisite to obviate the dangers which yet threatened the Republic; the five named were Guyton-Morveau, Tallien, Ballay of Verdun, Dubois-Crance, and Barras, the commander of the constitutional forces, and now considered the principal supporter of the anti-popular party.

22d.—Proclamation of the constitution of the year three of the Republic, as approved by the commission of five, whereupon the convention declared, in the name of the French people, their acceptance of it.

25th.—On some tumult on the subject of the law of 30th August, arising in the Palais Egalité (Royale), the convention invited all good citizens to rally round them, otherwise they intimated that they were prepared to remove the seat of government to Chalons-sur-Marne.

29th.—Decreed that the entire armed force of Paris should obey no other orders than those issued by the commission of representatives, to whom the duty of protecting the peace of the metropolis was assigned; and that all presidents and secretaries of sections, who should presume to transgress beyond the function prescribed to them, namely, the choice of electors, should be deemed guilty of treason against the state, and dealt with accordingly.

OCTOBER 25th.—Formation of the Institute of Sciences and the Arts.

26th.—The National Convention terminated its session by passing a general amnesty for all revolutionary crimes which had not been accompanied by robbery or assassination, but not

applicable to persons deported or under any sentence, nor to emigrants returned or not returned.

The convention passed upwards of 11,000 laws, of which three-fourths were enacted under temporary and exceptional circumstances, and the remainder were of a penal and revolutionary character, and stained with blood.

On a renewed review of the states-general, and its successive changes, from its first meeting on 5th May, 1789, until its termination on 26th October, 1795, we may pronounce of its character, as a Constituent Assembly, that it prepared, in 1793, a constitution which was never brought into practical operation ; in its next function, as a Legislative Assembly, it abolished the monarchy, and delivered over the nation and the king to their judicial executioners, the National Convention ; that body professed a theoretical democracy, but carefully abstained from damaging its own authority by carrying such theory into practice, and contrived to introduce a new apple of discord into France, by presenting to it a third constitution, and then withdrew amid the execrations of the people, who preferred any form of government, however vague and imperfect, to the cruel and arbitrary *régime* of which they had been, during six years, the victims. The latter portion of its existence was passed in a condition of servile obedience to the tyrant Robespierre, after which it submitted to the equally pernicious influence of Tallien,* Barras, Cambacérès, Merlin of Douai, and Sieyes. Terror was still the order of the day, not indeed so flagrant and apparent, but as dangerous, and more insidious.

* Tallien was son to the porter of a nobleman, and educated at the expense of his patron. He became a furious Jacobin, and acquired a certain amount of reputation by denouncing Robespierre, and depriving him of life as the only means of saving his own. Hoche would have spared most of the French prisoners at Quiberon, had not Tallien been there to control him, having sought that mission for no other purpose than to recover the favour of the fanatical revolutionists, whom he had offended by his attack on Robespierre. Early in life Tallien became sub-editor of the "Journal des Sansculottes," and was afterwards engaged on the "Moniteur." The insurrections of 10th August and 2d September, 1792, were promoted by him, and his signature is attached to several of the sanguinary orders

The constitution of the year three (1795), as recognising the principle of an independent executive authority, of two chambers, and of a form, however imperfect, of national representation, gave such indications of a tendency to return to a settled state of government, whether by a monarchy or otherwise, as to afford relief to minds harassed and disgusted by the anarchy which had hitherto prevailed.

M. Mignet, in his able work on the French Revolution, gives a more indulgent view of the convention than we have been disposed to take :—

“ The convention (he says) existed upwards of three years, from 21st September, 1792, to 26th October, 1795. It pursued several courses ; during the first six months of its existence it was led into the struggle which arose between the legal party of the Gironde and the revolutionary party of the Mountain. The latter obtained the ascendancy after 31st May, 1793, and retained it until 27th July, 1794 ; the convention during that period acted under the influence of the committee of public safety, which first destroyed its ancient allies, the Mountain and the Communes, and then perished by its own intestine divisions. From 27th July, 1794, to 26th October, 1795, the convention defeated the revolutionary as well as the royalist parties, and established a moderate Republic in spite of the one as well as of the other.

“ During this long and fearful epoch, the violence of its antagonisms changed the revolution into a war, and the convention into a field of battle. Each party sought to acquire dominion by conquest, and to secure it by the establishment of its own system. The Girondins tried to effect this, and perished ; the

issued to the departments ; while he rivalled Maignet, St. Just, Carrier, and others of the Jacobin inquisitors, by his proscriptions at Bordeaux and Toulon. Madame Fontenai, the divorced wife of M. Fontenai, a president of the parliament of Bordeaux, married Tallien to save her own life, threatened by Robespierre, by whom and whose adherents she was hated ; and she and her father, M. Cabarrus, a rich Spanish banker, and a diplomatic agent from the court of Madrid, treated him with undisguised contempt, and considered him no otherwise than as their valet. Tallien led a miserable life with them, and in 1804 obtained from Bonaparte the humble post of commercial commissary at Alicant, in Spain, from whence he went to Egypt as a *scavant*, and nothing is known of what afterwards became of him.

Mountain tried it, and perished; the Communes tried it, and perished; Robespierre tried it, and perished: they could only conquer, they could not establish. The essence of such a tempest was overthrow, let who would be quiet. All was provisional, the dominion, the men, the parties, and the systems, because there was but one possible and substantial ingredient, and that was war. There wanted but one year for the conventional party, after they possessed the power to restore the revolution to its legal position, and this was not achieved until after the two victories of May and of October. Then the convention, having returned to the point from whence it had departed, fulfilled its true mission, which was to institute the Republic after having fostered it. It then vanished from the theatre of the world which it had astounded. A revolutionary power, it finished its career so soon as the law resumed its sway. Three years of dictatorship were so much loss to liberty, but not to the Revolution."

With no care for, or reference to, any abstract speculations on liberty or revolution, the young Parisians, of both sexes, rejoiced in the overthrow of Robespierre as the means of restoring to them the theatres, the festivities, and the gaieties of the metropolis. These, although never wholly discontinued, had greatly declined under the baneful influence of the Revolution; they now revived with added brilliancy and splendour, while the *nouveaux riches* and other *parvenus* vied with the old court in the costliness of their entertainments, and the magnificence of their costumes. The two *salons* which led the fashion were those of the beautiful Madame Tallien, and the graceful and attractive Creole, Josephine, the widow of the unfortunate Viscount Beauharnois, living with, and under the protection of, Barras.

To these *réunions* the *élite* of the young men of Paris flocked in swarms; they were called *la jeunesse dorée*, and distinguished themselves by a slip of crape to signify, not only their having lost some near relation under the guillotine, but their abhorrence of the *canaille révolutionnaire*; their dress was eminently rich and ornamental, in high contrast to the filthy and squalid attire they had been constrained to wear to find favour with their Jacobin rulers.

CHAPTER IV.

Style and duration of the several Governments, Directorial, Consular, Imperial, and then again Royal, Provisional, Republican, and Imperial, which have prevailed in France since the dissolution of the National Convention.

1795-1855—SIXTY YEARS.

DIRECTORY OF FIVE, WITH A SENATE OF 250 ELDERS,
AND A COUNCIL OF 500.

FIRST DIRECTORY—NOMINATED 1ST NOVEMBER, 1795, TO GO OUT
20TH MAY, 1797.

Lareveillere-Lepeaux.	Letourneur de la Manche.
Rewbel.	Barras.
	Carnot.*

SECOND DIRECTORY—FROM 20TH MAY TO 5TH SEPT. 1797.

Lareveillere-Lepeaux.	Rewbel.
Barras.	Carnot.
	Barthelemy.

Barthelemy was elected in the place of Letourneur, who went out by lot.

THIRD DIRECTORY—FROM 8TH SEPT. 1797, TO 5TH MAY, 1798.

Lareveillere-Lepeaux.	Rewbel.
Barras.	Merlin of Douai.
	Francois de Neufchateau.

The latter two in the stead of Barthelemy, arrested, and Carnot, withdrawn.

* Sieyes had been first nominated, but, declining to act, Carnot was substituted.

FOURTH DIRECTORY—FROM MAY, 1798, TO MAY, 1799.

Lareveillere-Lepeaux.	Rewbel.
Barras.*	Merlin of Douai.
Treilhard.	

Treilhard superseded F. de Neufchateau by rotation.

FIFTH DIRECTORY—FROM MAY, 1799, TO 18TH JUNE, 1799.

Lareveillere-Lepeaux.	Barras.
Merlin of Douai.	Treilhard.
Sieyes.	

Sieyes superseded Rewbel by rotation.

SIXTH DIRECTORY—FROM 19TH JUNE TO 9TH NOV. 1799.

Barras.	Gohier.
Sieyes.	Roger-Ducos.
Moulins.	

Lareveillere, Merlin, and Treilhard having resigned.

This government abolished by a *coup d'état*, contrived in favour of Napoleon Bonaparte by the joint management of his brother Lucien and Barras.

CONSULATE.

PROVISIONAL CONSULS ELECTED 10TH NOV. 1799 :—

Bonaparte.	Roger-Ducos.	Sieyes.
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DEFINITIVE CONSULS, 22D NOVEMBER, 1799 :—

Bonaparte.	Cambacérés.	Lebrun.
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* Barras induced Lareveillere and Rewbel to assist him in paving the way for Bonaparte's march to power, by the pretended discovery of a royalist conspiracy, then filling Paris with troops, and arresting two of their colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemy ; dissolving the chambers by an armed force, and causing eleven members of the council of elders, and forty-two of the 500, on a summary inquiry, to be sentenced to deportation to Cayenne. Barthelemy and others were sent thither accordingly, but Carnot and the greater part withdrew, and, eluding inquiry, were not earnestly sought for. Other individuals were visited in like manner ; fifty newspapers were suppressed, their editors imprisoned, and the election of all adverse members annulled.

EMPIRE.

Napoleon Bonaparte, born 15th Aug. 1769—died 5th May, 1821.

4th May, 1804—10th April, 1814.

Resumed power for 100 days, from 10th March to 18th June, 1815.

MONARCHY.

KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF NAVARRE.

Louis XVIII., grandson of Louis XV., and brother of Louis XVI.,
born 17th November, 1755.

3d May, 1814—16th September, 1824.

Interval of 100 days as above.

Charles X., grandson of Louis XV., and brother of Louis XVIII.,
born 9th October, 1757—died 6th November, 1836.

16th September, 1824—2d August, 1830.

Louis Anthony (dauphin, duke of Angoulême), married his cousin, the daughter of Louis XVI., at Mitau in Courland, in June, 1798—she died at Frohsdorf Castle, in Austria, on 19th October, 1851—there was no issue.	Charles Ferdinand (duke of Berri), born 24th January, 1778—married Caroline, the daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies, and was assassinated on 14th February, 1820.
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Henry Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieu-donné of Artois (duke of Bordeaux, Henry V.), grandson of Charles X., born 20th September, 1820—married Maria Theresa Beatrice Gaetano, born 14th July, 1817, archduchess of Austria, and daughter of Francis IV., duke of Modena.

KING OF THE FRENCH.

Louis Philippe (duke of Orleans), great-great-grandson of Louis XIII., born 6th October, 1773—died 26th August, 1850.

3d August, 1830—24th February, 1848.

REVOLUTION, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1848.

REPUBLIC.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT:—

Dupont de l'Eure.

Lamartine.

Cremieux.

Arago.

Ledru Rollin.

Garnier Pagès.

Marie.

Albert (*ouvrier*).

Armand Marrast.

Louis-Blanc.

Ferdinand Flocon.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

Consisting of 900 Members, elected by universal suffrage—Convoked 4th May, 1848, and who proclaimed a Fifth Constitution, the Fourth being the Consular one of the year eight.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Paris on 20th April, 1808, son of Louis Napoleon (king of Holland), and of Hortense Eugénie—Elected 29th December, 1848, until the 2d Sunday in May, 1852.

The Assembly forcibly dissolved, and its constitution abrogated, by another *coup d'état*, 2d December, 1851.

EMPIRE.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected Emperor 22d December, 1852—married 29th January, 1853, to Eugénie Marie de Guzman (countess of Teba), born 3d May, 1827.

APPENDIX.

I.—WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, this 21st day of December, 1792,—

I LOUIS XVI. of that name, king of France, being for more than four months shut up in the tower of the Temple of Paris, by those who were formerly my subjects, and being even deprived of all communications with my family from the first instant, moreover implicated in a trial, the issue of which, from the nature of human passions, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is no pretence nor justification, in any existing law; having only God to be witness to my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself:

I hereby declare, in His presence, my last wishes and sentiments:

I leave my soul to God, my Creator. I entreat him in mercy to receive it, and not to judge it according to its deserts, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself up a sacrifice to God, his father, for us men, however unworthy we might be, and acknowledge myself to be among the most so.

I die in union with our holy mother, the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers in uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted them; and I believe everything contained in the symbol and commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and mysteries, as now and ever taught by the Catholic Church. I never pretended

to set myself up as a judge of the different modes of interpreting the dogmas which agitate the church of Jesus Christ; but I have always submitted, and shall always submit, should God grant me life, to the decisions which the ecclesiastical superiors, united with the holy Catholic Church, have given, or may give, conformably to the discipline of the church, as followed since Jesus Christ. I pity with all my heart, our brethren who may be in error; but I presume not to judge them, nor do I love them less in Jesus Christ, agreeably to the instructions of Christian charity. I pray God to pardon all my sins, which I have endeavoured scrupulously to recollect, to express my detestation of them, and humiliate myself in his presence. Deprived of the assistance of a Catholic priest, I entreat of God to receive the confession which I have made to him, and particularly my profound repentance of having signed my name, although strongly against my will, to instruments which may be contrary to the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church, to which I have in my heart continued sincerely attached. I pray God to receive my firm resolution, should he grant me life, to avail myself, as soon as I can, of the ministry of a Catholic priest, to confess all my sins, and receive the sacrament of repentance.

I entreat all those whom I have inadvertently offended (for I know not of one wilful offence which I have committed against any one), or to those to whom I may have set a bad and improper example, to pardon the evil which they conceive I may have done them.

I entreat all those who have charity, to unite their prayers with mine, to obtain a pardon of God for my sins.

I forgive, from my heart, all those who became my enemies without cause, and I entreat God to pardon them, as well as those who, from false or misguided zeal, have done me much injury.

I recommend to God my wife and my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are connected with me by the ties of blood, or otherwise. I moreover particularly implore God to cast an eye of mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have so long suffered with me, to support them with

his grace, should I be destroyed, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

I recommend my children to my wife. Her maternal tenderness in their behalf I never doubted; but I particularly desire her to make them good and honest Christians; not to suffer them to regard the grandeurs of this world, should they be condemned to experience them, otherwise than as dangerous and perishable possessions, and to turn their views towards the only solid glory, and of eternal duration. I entreat my sister to have the goodness to continue her kindness to my children, and to fulfil the duties of their mother should she be taken from them.

I entreat my wife to forgive me all the misfortunes she may suffer on my account, and the reasons of dissatisfaction I may have occasioned her during the course of our union, as she may be sure that I retain no reproachful sentiments against her.

I recommend strongly to my children, after what they owe to God, who ought in all things to preside, to remain always united amongst each other; to be submissive and obedient to their mother, and gratefully sensible of all the care and trouble she has had on their account, and that they will do so in remembrance of me.

I recommend to my son, should he ever have the misfortune to be king, to consider that he ought to sacrifice everything to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all animosities and resentments, and particularly those which relate to the misfortunes and disappointments which I experience; that he cannot procure the happiness of his people but by reigning according to the laws; yet, at the same time, that a king cannot make himself respected, nor effect the good purposes of his heart, but in proportion as he possesses the necessary authority; he is otherwise confined in his operations, and, being no longer respected, he is more detrimental than useful.

I recommend to the care of my son, all those persons who were attached to me, as far as his circumstances permit; and to consider this as a sacred debt contracted by me towards the children or relations of those who have perished in my behalf, and those also who are rendered miserable on my account. I

know that there are several persons who were attached to me, that have not conducted themselves as they ought, and who have even been ungrateful, but I pardon them (in moments of disorder the imagination is heated, and we are sometimes not masters of ourselves). I request my son would only consider their distress.

I wish it were in my power to prove here my grateful acknowledgments to those who have testified towards me a sincere and disinterested attachment. If, on one hand, I have been deeply afflicted at the ingratitude and disloyalty of those whom I have constantly distinguished by favours, I have, on the other hand, had the consolation to experience the attachment and voluntary interest of many in my favour. I entreat these to accept my warmest acknowledgments.

In the present state of affairs, I should be fearful of involving my friends in embarrassments, were I to speak more explicitly; but I most earnestly enjoin my son to embrace every opportunity of finding them out.

I should think I did violence to the sentiments of the nation, if I did not openly recommend to my son Messrs. de Chamilly and Hue, whose sincere attachment to me induced them to shut themselves up with me in this abode of sadness, and who expected to fall miserable victims to their attachment. I also recommend Clery for those attentions, which I have had every reason to applaud, since he has been with me. As he has continued with me to the last, I entreat the gentlemen of the commune to give him my clothes, books, watch, my purse, and other little articles, which were deposited with the council of the commune.

I pardon also most heartily those who guarded me, the ill-usage and restraint which they thought it their duty to adopt towards me. I have found some tender and compassionate friends: may they enjoy in their hearts that tranquillity which their mode of thinking always bestows.

I request Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive my utmost acknowledgments and expressions of gratitude for the care and anxieties they have sustained on my account.

I conclude, by declaring before God, and at the eve of appearing before his tribunal, that I am innocent of the charges alleged, nor have I to reproach myself with any one of the crimes of which I have been accused.

Given in duplicate at the tower of the Temple, the 25th of December, 1792.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

A true copy.

Witness,

BAUDRAIS.

Municipal Officer.

II.—WILL OF MARIE ANTOINETTE,

QUEEN OF FRANCE, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA, AND WIDOW OF
LOUIS XVI.

Dated, at the prison of the Conciergerie, September 5, 1793, whereby that princess designates as special executor of her intentions the Abbé Edgeworth de Frimont.

AFTER some prudent advice to the king, Louis Charles, her son, whom she recommends to the generous cares of Madame Elizabeth, she adds,—“Though I would have wished the Princess Marie Theresa, my daughter, to marry an archduke of Austria, her cousin by the maternal side, yet, as it was the wish of the late king, my husband, that she should be united to the Duke of Angoulême, son of the Count d’Artois, her uncle, I request my son, King Louis Charles, to fulfil this wish as soon as my daughter shall be in a state to accomplish it on her part.”

The queen afterwards expresses her thanks to Madame Elizabeth for the boundless friendship she had shown her, and for the generous care she had bestowed on the children of Louis XVI. “If my son,” she adds, “be destined to live on the throne, I request my sister to direct him at least in the first measures of

his administration. If he be condemned to pass in chains the mournful days of his childhood, and the still more bitter days of his youth, I claim from the goodness of my sister the assuaging of his sufferings."

She then proceeds to bequeath the only property at her disposal to her family, namely, a lock of her hair, and of her royal consort's; to the Duke of Penthièvre the portrait of his daughter, the Princess of Lamballe; and to her brother, the Emperor of Germany, the portrait of the Duchess of Mecklenburg. She, in conclusion, prays her sister, Madame Elizabeth, to accept, as a pledge of remembrance, a copy of the travels of the young Anacharsis, which she had received from M. de Frimont. To that worthy minister, she left only the trouble of executing as well as possible her last will, adding, "Hearts formed like his need no other recompence."

The queen closes by thanking Madame Richard, wife of the keeper of the prison, for her good conduct to her; and Madame Haret, who had both served her with zeal. To the one she gave a portfolio and two crayon drawings; to the other, a purse, with six louis. After other dispositions, showing her greatness of soul, she asks pardon of those around her for the trouble she had given them, and pardons her persecutors. Her last thought is for the happiness of France.

LETTER FROM THE QUEEN TO MADAME ELIZABETH.

On 22d February, 1816, the ministers of the king (Louis XVIII.) communicated to each chamber the following letter, written by the Queen of France to Madame Elizabeth half-an-hour after her return from the revolutionary tribunal, and five hours before her death. Information had been received of some documents in the possession of Courtois, one of the regicides; the prefect was ordered to make a search, and this letter, with other documents, was the result. Both chambers replied to the communication by addresses and deputations numerous attended:—

“ October 16, 4½ o’Clock.

“ I write to you, dear sister, for the last time ; I have just been condemned, not to a shameful death—it is only so to the guilty—but to go to rejoin your brother, innocent as he was. I hope to show the same fortitude as he did in these last moments. I am calm as one is whose conscience does not reproach him. I feel deep sorrow at abandoning my poor children. Good and tender sister, you know I lived but for them and you ; by your affection you have sacrificed everything to be with us. In what a position do I leave you ! I learned, by the pleadings in my case, that my daughter was separated from you. Alas ! poor child, I dare not write to her ; she would not receive my letter. I know not whether this will reach you. Receive for them both my blessing. I hope one day, when they are older, they will rejoin you, and enjoy your tender care. Let them reflect upon what I have not ceased to instil into them, that the principles and exact execution of their duties are the first basis of life ; and that affection and mutual confidence will constitute its happiness. Let my daughter feel that, at the age she is, she ought to assist her brother with the counsels which the greater experience she will have and her affection may suggest ; let my son, in his turn, pay to his sister the solicitude and services which affection can inspire ; finally, let them feel that, in whatever position they may be, they cannot be truly happy but by their union. Let them take example from us. How often, in our miseries, has our affection afforded us consolation ! In happiness we have double enjoyment when we can share it with a friend. And where can any be found more dear and more tender than in our own family ? Let my son never forget the last words of his father, which I repeat expressly : ‘ Let him never seek to revenge our death ! ’ I have to speak to you of something very painful to my heart. I know how much pain this child has given you ; forgive him, my dear sister : think of his age—how easy it is to make a child say what one pleases, and even what he does not understand. A day will come, I hope, when he will only feel more deeply the value of your goodness and tenderness for both. It remains for me to confide to you my last thoughts. I would have written them

at the commencement of the process, but, besides that they would not suffer me to write, the march of events has been so rapid that I have not in reality had time. I die in the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion ; in that of my father, in which I was brought up, and have always preferred ; having no spiritual consolation to expect—not knowing if there exist still priests of our religion : and even the place where I am, would expose them too much if once they entered it. I sincerely ask pardon of God for all the faults I may have committed since I was born. I hope that, in his goodness, he will receive my last wishes, as well as those I have long put up—that he will receive my soul to his mercy and goodness. I ask pardon of all I know, and of you, sister, in particular, for all the pain I may, without meaning it, have caused you. I forgive my enemies the ill they have done me. I bid adieu to my aunts, and all my brothers and sisters. I had friends, the idea of being separated from them for ever, and their troubles, is one of my greatest griefs in dying. Let them know at least, that, to my last moment, I thought of them. Good and tender sister, farewell ! May this letter reach you ! Always think of me ! I embrace you with all my heart, as well as my poor dear children. Oh, my God ! what agony it is to quit them for ever ! Adieu ! adieu ! Now I resign myself wholly to my spiritual duties. As I am not free in my actions, they will bring me perhaps a priest ; but I protest here that I will not say a word to him, and will treat him as a perfect stranger.”

Conformable to the original writings, entirely in the hand-writing of the Queen Marie Antoinette.

The Minister of Police,

COMTE DE CAZES.

FUNERAL CEREMONY TO THE MEMORY OF THE QUEEN.

Louis XVIII. ordered a solemn funeral ceremony to be celebrated to the memory of Marie Antoinette on 16th October, 1816, the twenty-third anniversary of her death. He desired that no funeral oration should be delivered on the occasion, but only that the letter addressed by her to Madame Elizabeth should be

read from the pulpit. The chapel of the Conciergerie, the prison in which the queen was confined, was restored, and a communication made between it and the chamber in which she spent the last days of her life. A simple monument, with an inscription, of which a translation is subjoined, has been erected in the chapel :—

D. O. M.

MARIA ANTONIA JOSEPHA JOANNA OF AUSTRIA,

Widow of Louis XVI.,

who, when her husband had been
murdered,

and she had been bereft of her children,
was thrown into prison,

where she remained, for the space of seventy-six days,
in misery and wretchedness,

but,

supported by conscious virtue,
proved herself alike superior to fortune, in chains,
as upon the throne :

being

at length condemned to die,
by the most profligate of mankind,
in the hour of death

she left here a monument of piety, of fortitude, and of every
virtue.

October 16, MDCCXCIII.

The monarchy being at length restored,
her prison was converted into a sanctuary,
in the year of our Lord MDCCCXVI.,

and the twenty-second of the reign of Louis XVIII.,
under the

inspection of the Prefect and Municipal authorities, the Count
of Cazes being minister of police.

Whoever thou art,
stranger,

that treadest this sacred ground,

ADMIRE ! SUPPLICATE ! AND ADORE !

III.—NAMES OF DEPUTIES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION,

WHO VOTED FOR THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. WITHOUT
RESERVE OR QUALIFICATION :—

Haute-Garonne .	Delmas, Projean, Julien, Calès.
Gers	Laplaigne, Maribon-Montaut, Descamps, Barbeau-Dubarran, Laguire, Ichon, Bousquet.
Gironde . . .	Gensonné, Jay, Ducos, Garreau, Boyer-Fonfrède, Deleyre.
Hérault . . .	Cambon, Bonnier, Rouyer, Fabre.
Ile-et-Vilaine .	Duval, Sévestre, Chaumont, Beaugeard.
Indre	Thibault, Lejeune.
Indre-et Loire .	Nioche, Dupont, Pottier, Ysabeau.
Isère	Baudran, Gènevois, Amar, Génissieu.
Jura	Grenot, Prost, Amyon, Ferroux.
Landes	Dartigoyte, Dizès, Ducos l'aîné (consul provisoire en 1799).
Loire-et Cher .	Brisson, Chabot (ex-capucin), Foussedoire, Fressine, Venaille.
Haute-Loire . .	Raynault, Delcher, Flageas, Faure, Bouet, Barthélemy.
Loire-Inférieure .	Méaulle, Villers, Fouché, dit de Nantes (duc d'Otrante, ministre en 1815).
Loiret	Lombard-Lachaux, Delagueulle, Léonard-Bourdon, Clédel, Jean-Bon-Saint-André.
Lot	Monmayan, Cavaignan, Delbret.
Lot et-Garonne .	Videlot, Boussion, Fournel.
Lozère	Châteauneuf-Randon, Servièr.
Maine-et-Loire .	Choudieu, Delaunay l'aîné, Réveillère-Lepeaux (directeur en 1795, 96, 97), Leclerc, Pérard.
Manche	Lemoine, Letourneur (directeur en 1795, 96), Lecarpentier (de Valogne), Havin, Hubert.

- Marne Prieur, Thuriot, Charles Charlier, Delacroix-Deconstant, Devillers, Drouet, Armonville, Vatelier.
- Haute-Marne . . Guillardin, Monnet, Roux, Valdruche, Chaudron-Rousseau, Laloi (ci-devant Leroi).
- Mayenne Joachim Esne, Durocher.
- Meurthe Mallarmé, Levasseur, Bonneval.
- Meuse Pons, dit de Verdun.
- Morbihan Lequinio.
- Moselle Antoine, Hentz, Bar, Thirion.
- Nièvre Sautereault, Damerode, Lefiot, Guillerault, Legendre, Goyre-Laplanche.
- Nord Merlin, dit de Douai (directeur en 1797, 98), Duhem, Cochet, Lesage-Senault, Carpentier, Prièse, Sallengros, Poultier, Aoust.
- Oise Coupé, Calon, Massieu, Anacharsis Cloots (Prussien), Bezare, Isoré, Bourdon.
- Orne Bertrand Lahordinière, Deshrouas, Julien Dubois, Colombel.
- Paris Robespierre (Maximilien), Danton, Collot-d'Herbois (comédien), Billaud dit de Varrennes, Camille Desmoulins, Marat (suisse), Lavicomterie, Legendre, Raffron, Panis, Sergent, Robert, Fréron (fils du Zoïle de Voltaire), Beauvais, Fabre-d'Eglantine (auteur comique), Osselin, Robespierre le jeune, David (peintre), Boucher, Laignelot, Philippe Egalité (duc d'Orleans).
- Pas-de-Calais . . Carnot (directeur en 1795, 96), Dusquesnoy, Lebas, Guffroy, Bollet.
- Puy-de-Dôme . . Couthon, Gibergues, Maignet dit Brutus, Rome, Soubrany, Rudel, Blanval, Laloue, Dulaure.
- Hautes-Pyrénées . Barrère dit Vieuzac, Férand, Lacrampe.
- Pyrénées orientales . Montégut, Cazanies.
- Haut-Rhin Ritter, Laporte, Pflieger.
- Bas-Rhin Laurent, Bentabole, Louis.

Rhône-et-Loire . . .	Dupuis fils, Dubouchet, Pressavin, Noël Pointe, Cusset, Javoque.
Haute Saône . . .	Gourdan, Bolot, Dormier.
Saône-et-Loire . . .	Gelin, Carra, Guillermin, Reverchon, Guille- mardet, Bodot, Mailly, Moreau.
Sarthe	Richard, François-Primaudière, Phelippeaux, Boutrone, Levasseur, Froger, Sièyes (abbé, constituant, directeur, et consul provisoire en 1799), Letourneur.
Seine-et-Oise . . .	Lecointre, Bassal, Audouin, Tallien.
Seine-Inférieure . .	Joseph-Marie Chénier (poète), Albitte, Po- cholles, Mauduyt.
Seine-et-Marne . . .	Tellier.
Deux-Sèvres . . .	Cordier, Lecointe-Puyraveau, Dubreuil, Co- chon.
Somme	Saladin, Dumont, Scellier.
Tarn	Lasource, Lacombe-Saint-Michel, Campmas, Meyer.
Var	Escudier, Charbonier, Ricard, Isnard, Des- pinassy, Roubaud, Barras (directeur en 1795, 96, 97, 98, 99)
Vendée	F. Goupilleau, Aimé Goupilleau, Maignen, Fayo, Musset, Garos.
Vienne	Piorry, Ingrand, Martineau, Thibaudeau.
Haute-Vienne . . .	Gay-Vernon.
Vosges	Perrin.
Yonne	Maure, Lepelletier-Saint-Fargeau, Jacques Boilleau, Turreau, Bourbotte, Hérard.
Ain	Finot, Deydier, Gauthier, Merlin, Quinette.
Aisne	Jean de Bry, Beffroy, Saint-Just, Petit, Fiquet.
Allier	Videlin, Martel.
Basses-Alpes . . .	Maïsse, Derbés-Latour.
Ardèche	Gleizal.
Ardennes	Ferry, Dubois, Robert.

Ariège	Vadier, Clauzel, Campmartin, Espert, Lakanal, Gaston.
Aube	Courtois, Robin, Garnier.
Aude	Azéma, Bonnet, Kamel, Marragon.
Aveyron	Bô, Camboulas, Joseph Lacombe, Seconds, Louchet.
Bouches-du-Rhône .	Duprat, Rebecquy, Barbaroux, Granet, Gasparin, Bayle, Baille, Rovère, Pélissier, Laurent.
Cantal	Milhaud, J. B. Lacoste, Tarrié.
Charente	Bellegarde, Guinbertau, Chazaud, Ribereau, Brun, Crevelier.
Charente-Inférieure.	Bernard, Bréard, Essachériaux, Niou, Ruamps, Vinet, Closeau, Garnier dit de Saintes.
Cher	Foucher, Labrunerie, Pelletier.
Corrèze	Brival, Borie, Chambon, Lannot, Penières.
Corse	Salicetti.
Côte-d'Or	Bazire, Guyton-Morveau, (chimiste), Prieur, Oudot, Guiot, Treilhard, Berlier.
Côtes-du-Nord . . .	Loncle.
Creuse	Guyès.
Dordogne	Lamarque, Pinet, Lacoste, Roux-Fasillac, Taillefer, Peussard, Lambert, Allafort, Bouquier aîné.
Doubs	Michaud, Monnot, Vernetey, Besson.
Drôme	Jullien, Sauteyra, Boisset, Jacomin.
Eure	Duroy, Lindet, Bouillerot, Vallée, Robert Lindet.
Eure-et-Loire . . .	Lacroix, Péthion, Loyseau, Châles, Fremenger.
Finistère	Boham, Blad, Guezno, Guermeur.
Gard	Leyris, Tavernel, Voulland.

Total 361.

NAMES OF DEPUTIES WHO VOTED FOR THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.,
BUT INTERPOSED SUGGESTIONS OF RESPITE AND DELAY ACCORDING
TO THE EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REPUBLIC :—

Haute-Garonne . . .	Mailhe, Desacy.
Gironde	Vergniaux, Guadet, Duplantier.
Indre-et-Loire . . .	Ruelle, Charrel.
Loiret	Laboissière, J. B. Louvet.
Lot-et-Garonne . . .	Paganel (évêque constitutionnel).
Morbihan	Audrein.
Oise	Portiez.
Haut-Rhin	Johannot.
Haute-Saône	Siblot.
Seine-et-Oise	Treilhard, Alquier, Royt.
Aisne	Boucheron, Belin.
Allier	Beauchamp.
Basses-Alpes	Savornin, Peyre.
Calvados	Bonnet, Jouenne, Dubois-Dubais, Taveau.
Charente	Chedanau.
Corrèze	Lidon.
Creuse	Huguet.
Eure-et-Loire	Lesage, Brissot.
Gard	Jac, Chazal fils, Aubry, Rabaut-Pomier.
Hérault	Cambacérès.
Manche	Laurence-Villedieu, Ribet, Bonnesœur.
Mayenne	Bissy le jeune, Enjubault, Serveau.
Orne	Duboë, Thomas, Plat-Beaupray.
Rhône-et-Loire . . .	Lanthenas, Dufriche-Valazé, Moulin.
Saône-et-Loire . . .	Montgilbert.
Somme	Delecloy.
Lozère	Monestier.
Puy-de-Dôme	Girol-Pouzol.
Hautes-Pyrénées . .	Dupont, Piqué.
Pyrénées orientales .	Birteau.
Seine-et-Marne . . .	Bernard.
Tarn	Gouzé.
Yonne	Precy.
Ardeche	Gamon, Soubeyran-St. Prix.

Ardennes Menesson, Blondel, Vermond.

Eure Buzot.

Haute-Vienne . . . Lesterpt-Beauvais.

Vosges Poulain-Grandpré.

Drome Golaud de la Salsette.

Voted for death with delay, 67

„ immediate execution, . . . 361—428.

While, in many instances, the retributory visitations of Divine providence are inscrutable to mortal ken, yet occasionally they are, for wise and gracious purposes of warning and instruction, made manifest to mankind. Of this description may be considered the speedy and appropriate punishment which overtook the revolutionary regicides of France. Brought up in the godless and heartless school of the *Encyclopédistes*,* they perpetrated to the letter their triple mission of impiety, murder, and rebellion.

The Jacobins, by their prime ministers, Marat and Robespierre, were the chief agents in the sanguinary process, and perished amid the desolation they had caused.

Of the individuals comprised in the foregoing lists, a considerable number underwent the guillotine; others committed suicide; more were massacred by popular indignation, or privately assassinated; while many sought concealment in the wastes and forests of the provinces, and perished by hunger, or were devoured by wild beasts; thus the mangled remains of Pethion, Barbaroux, and Buzot were found in caves and clefts in the woods and rocks of Languedoc and la Gironde.

Collot-d'Herbois, and a large colony of his accomplices, were deported to the pestilential island of Cayenne; of the small and obscure remainder, a few crawled into subordinate offices under successive usurpations, and so all, with few exceptions, disappeared from the soil they had polluted, leaving neither fame, nor name, nor fortune to any succeeding generation. "O'er them and o'er their names the billows rolled—the morrow knew not they were ever born."

* We assign to them no earlier an origin, although the Abbé Barruel, in his History of Jacobinism, affects to detect the first germ of the Revolution in the Telemachus of Fenelon, the good archbishop of Cambray.

IV.—THE NEW FRENCH CALENDAR ADJUSTED TO THE OLD ;

WITH THE DENOMINATIONS OF THE MONTHS, THE DECADES, AND THE INTERVENING DAYS, ALSO THE SUPPLEMENTAL DAYS, OR SANSCULOTTIDES, AS ESTABLISHED BY THE DECREES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE 5TH AND 24TH DAYS OF OCTOBER, 1793.

The first of the decrees abolishes the vulgar era for all civil purposes. The commencement of each year is fixed at midnight, beginning the day of the autumnal equinox, and ending at the midnight which separates the 21st from the 22d of September.

The year is divided into twelve equal months, of thirty days each, followed by five supplementary days.

Each month is divided into three decades, of ten days each, and each of these ten days is distinguished numerically.

The years which include an intercalary day, and are called bissextile, will bear the name of years francisque ; the period of four years, which terminates a year francisque, shall be called a franciade.

The intercalary day of a year francisque shall be placed after the supplementary days, and called the *day of the revolution*.

The year two of the French Republic shall commence at midnight of the 20th September, 1793.

The decree of 24th October declares that the three autumnal months shall be called Vendemaire, Brumaire, and Frimaire ; those of winter, Nivose, Pluviose, and Ventose ; those of spring, Germinal, Floréal, and Prairial ; and those of summer, Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor.

The days following each décadi shall be called Primdi, Duodi, Tridi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octidi, and Nonidi.

The five supplemental days shall be called Sansculottides, and shall be consecrated and kept by way of festivals in honour of Virtue, of Genius, of Labour, of Opinion, and of Reward.

1793.

VULGAR ERA.	ERA OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.	
JANUARY.	NIVOSE.	4TH MONTH.
1 Wednesday.	12 Duodi.	Thérébentine.
2 Thursday.	13 Tridi.	Argile.
3 Friday.	14 Quartidi.	Marne.
4 Saturday.	15 Quintidi.	<i>Lapin.</i>
5 Sunday.	16 Sextidi.	Plâtre.
6 Monday.	17 Septidi.	Pierre-à-chaux.
7 Tuesday.	18 Octidi.	Ardoise.
8 Wednesday.	19 Nonidi.	Sable.
9 Thursday.	20 Décadi.	VAN.
10 Friday.	21 Primdi.	Grès.
11 Saturday.	22 Duodi.	Silex.
12 Sunday.	23 Tridi.	Mercure.
13 Monday.	24 Quartidi.	Plomb.
14 Tuesday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Chat.</i>
15 Wednesday.	26 Sextidi.	Etain.
16 Thursday.	27 Septidi.	Cuivre.
17 Friday.	28 Octidi.	Fer.
18 Saturday.	29 Nonidi.	Sel.
19 Sunday.	30 Décadi.	CRIBLE.
	PLUVIOSE.	5TH MONTH.
20 Monday.	1 Primdi.	Lauréole.
21 Tuesday.	2 Duodi.	Mousse.
22 Wednesday.	3 Tridi.	Fragon.
23 Thursday.	4 Quartidi.	Perce-neige.
24 Friday.	5 Quintidi.	<i>Taureau.</i>
25 Saturday.	6 Sextidi.	Laurier-thym.
26 Sunday.	7 Septidi.	Mnie.
27 Monday.	8 Octidi.	Mézéréon.
28 Tuesday.	9 Nonidi.	Peuplier.
29 Wednesday.	10 Décadi.	COIGNEE.
30 Thursday.	11 Primdi.	Ellébore.
31 Friday.	12 Duodi.	Brocoli.

FEBRUARY.	PLUVIOSE.	5TH MONTH.
1 Saturday.	13 Tridi.	Laurier.
2 Sunday.	14 Quartidi.	Coudrier.
3 Monday.	15 Quintidi.	Vache.
4 Tuesday.	16 Sextidi.	Buis.
5 Wednesday.	17 Septidi.	Lichen.
6 Thursday.	18 Octidi.	If.
7 Friday.	19 Nonidi.	Pulmonaire.
8 Saturday.	20 Décadi.	SERPETTE.
9 Sunday.	21 Primdi.	Thlaspi.
10 Monday.	22 Duodi.	Thymelé.
11 Tuesday.	23 Tridi.	Chiendent.
12 Wednesday.	24 Quartidi.	Trainasse.
13 Thursday.	25 Quintidi.	Veau.
14 Friday.	26 Sextidi.	Guède.
15 Saturday.	27 Septidi.	Noisetier.
16 Sunday.	28 Octidi.	Ciclamen.
17 Monday.	29 Nonidi.	Chelidoine,
18 Tuesday.	30 Décadi.	TRAINEAU.
	VENTOSE.	6TH MONTH.
19 Wednesday.	1 Primdi.	Tussilage.
20 Thursday.	2 Duodi.	Cornouiller.
21 Friday.	3 Tridi.	Violier.
22 Saturday.	4 Quartidi.	Troène.
23 Sunday.	5 Quintidi.	Bouc.
24 Monday.	6 Sextidi.	Asaret.
25 Tuesday.	7 Septidi.	Alaterne.
26 Wednesday.	8 Octidi.	Violette.
27 Thursday.	9 Nonidi.	Marceau.
28 Friday.	10 Décadi.	BECHE.

MARCH.	VENTOSE.	6TH MONTH.
1 Saturday.	11 Primidi.	Narcisse.
2 Sunday.	12 Duodi.	Orme.
3 Monday.	13 Tridi.	Fumeterre.
4 Tuesday.	14 Quartidi.	Vélar.
5 Wednesday.	15 Quintidi.	<i>Chevre.</i>
6 Thursday.	16 Sextidi.	Epinards.
7 Friday.	17 Septidi.	Doronic.
8 Saturday.	18 Octidi.	Mouron.
9 Sunday.	19 Nonidi.	Cerfeuil.
10 Monday.	20 Décadi.	CORDEAU.
11 Tuesday.	21 Primidi.	Mandragore.
12 Wednesday.	22 Duodi.	Persil.
13 Thursday.	23 Tridi.	Cochléaria.
14 Friday.	24 Quartidi.	Pâquerette.
15 Saturday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Chevreau.</i>
16 Sunday.	26 Sextidi.	Pissenlit.
17 Monday.	27 Septidi.	Silvyé.
18 Tuesday.	28 Octidi.	Capillaire.
19 Wednesday.	29 Nonidi.	Frêne.
20 Thursday.	30 Décadi.	PLANTOIR.
	GERMINAL.	7TH MONTH.
21 Friday.	1 Primidi.	Prime-veré.
22 Saturday.	2 Duodi.	Platane.
23 Sunday.	3 Tridi.	Asperges.
24 Monday.	4 Quartidi.	Tulipe.
25 Tuesday.	5 Quintidi.	Coq.
26 Wednesday.	6 Sextidi.	Bette.
27 Thursday.	7 Septidi.	Bouleau.
28 Friday.	8 Octidi.	Jonquille.
29 Saturday.	9 Nonidi.	Aulne.
30 Sunday.	10 Décadi.	GREFFOIR.
31 Monday.	11 Primidi.	Peryenche.

APRIL.	GERMINAL.	7TH MONTH.
1 Tuesday.	12 Duodi.	Charme.
2 Wednesday.	13 Tridi.	Morille.
3 Thursday.	14 Quartidi.	Hêtre.
4 Friday.	15 Quintidi.	Poule.
5 Saturday.	16 Sextidi.	Laitue.
6 Sunday.	17 Septidi.	Méleze.
7 Monday.	18 Octidi.	Ciguë.
8 Tuesday.	19 Nonidi.	Radis.
9 Wednesday.	20 Décadi.	RUCHE.
10 Thursday.	21 Primdi.	Gainier.
11 Friday.	22 Duodi.	Romaine.
12 Saturday.	23 Tridi.	Maroumer.
13 Sunday.	24 Quartidi.	Roquette.
14 Monday.	25 Quintidi.	Pigeon.
15 Tuesday.	26 Sextidi.	Lilas.
16 Wednesday.	27 Septidi.	Anémone.
17 Thursday.	28 Octidi.	Pensée.
18 Friday.	29 Nonidi.	Mirtil.
19 Saturday.	30 Décadi.	COUVOIR.
	FLOREAL.	8TH MONTH.
20 Sunday.	1 Primdi.	Rose.
21 Monday.	2 Duodi.	Chêne.
22 Tuesday.	3 Tridi.	Fougere.
23 Wednesday.	4 Quartidi.	Aubépine.
24 Thursday.	5 Quintidi.	Abeille.
25 Friday.	6 Sextidi.	Ancolie.
26 Saturday.	7 Septidi.	Muguet.
27 Sunday.	8 Octidi.	Champignon.
28 Monday.	9 Nonidi.	Hyacinte.
29 Tuesday.	10 Décadi.	RATEAU.
30 Wednesday.	11 Primdi.	Rhubarbe.

MAY.	FLOREAL.	8TH MONTH.
1 Thursday.	12 Duodi.	Sainfoin.
2 Friday.	13 Tridi.	Bâton-d'or.
3 Saturday.	14 Quartidi.	Chamérifier.
4 Sunday.	15 Quintidi.	VER-A-SOIE.
5 Monday.	16 Sextidi.	Consoude.
6 Tuesday.	17 Septidi.	Pimprenelle.
7 Wednesday.	18 Octidi.	Corbeille-d'or.
8 Thursday.	19 Nonidi.	Arroche.
9 Friday.	20 Décadi.	SARCLOIR.
10 Saturday.	21 Primdi.	Staticé.
11 Sunday.	22 Duodi.	Fritillaire.
12 Monday.	23 Tridi.	Bourarche.
13 Tuesday.	24 Quartidi.	Valeriane.
14 Wednesday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Carpe.</i>
15 Thursday.	26 Sextidi.	Fusain.
16 Friday.	27 Septidi.	Civette.
17 Saturday.	28 Octidi.	Buglose.
18 Sunday.	29 Nonidi.	Senevé.
19 Monday.	30 Décadi.	HOULETTE.
	PRAIRIAL.	9TH MONTH.
20 Tuesday.	1 Primdi.	Luzerne.
21 Wednesday.	2 Duodi.	Hemerocalle.
22 Thursday.	3 Tridi.	Trefle.
23 Friday.	4 Quartidi.	Angelique.
24 Saturday.	5 Quintidi.	<i>Canard.</i>
25 Sunday.	6 Sextidi.	Melisse.
26 Monday.	7 Septidi.	Fromental.
27 Tuesday.	8 Octidi.	Martagon.
28 Wednesday.	9 Nonidi.	Serpolet.
29 Thursday.	10 Décadi.	FAULX.
30 Friday.	11 Primdi.	Fraise.
31 Saturday.	12 Duodi.	Betoine.

JUNE.	PRAIRIAL.	9TH MONTH.
1 Sunday.	13 Tridi.	Pois.
2 Monday.	14 Quartidi.	Acacia.
3 Tuesday.	15 Quintidi.	Canne.
4 Wednesday.	16 Sextidi.	Œillet.
5 Thursday.	17 Septidi.	Sureau.
6 Friday.	18 Octidi.	Pavot.
7 Saturday.	19 Nonidi.	Tilleul.
8 Sunday.	20 Décadi.	FOURCHE.
9 Monday.	21 Primdi.	Barbeau.
10 Tuesday.	22 Duodi.	Camomille.
11 Wednesday.	23 Tridi.	Chevre-feuille.
12 Thursday.	24 Quartidi.	Caille-lait.
13 Friday.	25 Quintidi.	Tanche.
14 Saturday.	26 Sextidi.	Jasmin.
15 Sunday.	27 Septidi.	Verveine.
16 Monday.	28 Octidi.	Thym.
17 Tuesday.	29 Nonidi.	Pivoine.
18 Wednesday.	30 Décadi.	CHARIOT.
	MESSIDOR.	10TH MONTH.
19 Thursday.	1 Primdi.	Seigle.
20 Friday.	2 Duodi.	Avoine.
21 Saturday.	3 Tridi.	Oignon.
22 Sunday.	4 Quartidi.	Veronique.
23 Monday.	5 Quintidi.	Mulet.
24 Tuesday.	6 Sextidi.	Romarin.
25 Wednesday.	7 Septidi.	Concombre.
26 Thursday.	8 Octidi.	Echalottes.
27 Friday.	9 Nonidi.	Absynthe.
28 Saturday.	10 Décadi.	FAUCILLE.
29 Sunday.	11 Primdi.	Coriandre.
30 Monday.	12 Duodi.	Artichaut.

JULY.	MESSIDOR.	10TH MONTH.
1 Tuesday.	13 Tridi.	Giroflée.
2 Wednesday.	14 Quartidi.	Lavande.
3 Thursday.	15 Quintidi.	Jumart.
4 Friday.	16 Sextidi.	Tabac.
5 Saturday.	17 Septidi.	Groseille.
6 Sunday.	18 Octidi.	Orge.
7 Monday.	19 Nonidi.	Cerise.
8 Tuesday.	20 Décadi.	PARC.
9 Wednesday.	21 Primdi.	Menthe.
10 Thursday.	22 Duodi.	Cumin.
11 Friday.	23 Tridi.	Haricots.
12 Saturday.	24 Quartidi.	Orcanete.
13 Sunday.	25 Quintidi.	Pintade.
14 Monday.	26 Sextidi.	Sauge.
15 Tuesday.	27 Septidi.	Ail.
16 Wednesday.	28 Octidi.	Vesce.
17 Thursday.	29 Nonidi.	Blé.
18 Friday.	30 Décadi.	CHALEMIE.
	THERMIDOR.	11TH MONTH.
19 Saturday.	1 Primdi.	Epeautre.
20 Sunday.	2 Duodi.	Bouillon blanc.
21 Monday.	3 Tridi.	Melon.
22 Tuesday.	4 Quartidi.	Ivroie.
23 Wednesday.	5 Quintidi.	Belier.
24 Thursday.	6 Sextidi.	Prêle.
25 Friday.	7 Septidi.	Armoise.
26 Saturday.	8 Octidi.	Carthame.
27 Sunday.	9 Nonidi.	Mûres.
28 Monday.	10 Décadi.	ARROSOIR.
29 Tuesday.	11 Primdi.	Panis.
30 Wednesday.	12 Duodi.	Salicot.
31 Thursday.	13 Tridi.	Abricot.

AUGUST.	THERMIDOR.	11TH MONTH.
1 Friday.	14 Quartidi.	Basilic.
2 Saturday.	15 Quintidi.	Brebis.
3 Sunday.	16 Sextidi.	Guimauve.
4 Monday.	17 Septidi.	Lin.
5 Tuesday.	18 Octidi.	Amande.
6 Wednesday.	19 Nonidi.	Gentiane.
7 Thursday.	20 Décadi.	ECLUSE.
8 Friday.	21 Primdi.	Carline.
9 Saturday.	22 Duodi.	Caprier.
10 Sunday.	23 Tridi.	Lentille.
11 Monday.	24 Quartidi.	Aunée.
12 Tuesday.	25 Quintidi.	Agneau.
13 Wednesday.	26 Sextidi.	Myrte.
14 Thursday.	27 Septidi.	Colza.
15 Friday.	28 Octidi.	Lupin.
16 Saturday.	29 Nonidi.	Coton.
17 Sunday.	30 Décadi.	MOULIN.
	FRUCTIDOR.	12TH MONTH.
18 Monday.	1 Primdi.	Prune.
19 Tuesday.	2 Duodi.	Millet.
20 Wednesday.	3 Tridi.	Lycoperde.
21 Thursday.	4 Quartidi.	Escourgeon.
22 Friday.	5 Quintidi.	Barbeau.
23 Saturday.	6 Sextidi.	Tubereuse.
24 Sunday.	7 Septidi.	Sucrien.
25 Monday.	8 Octidi.	Apocyn.
26 Tuesday.	9 Nonidi.	Reglisse.
27 Wednesday.	10 Décadi.	ECHELLE.
28 Thursday.	11 Primdi.	Pasteque.
29 Friday.	12 Duodi.	Fenouil.
30 Saturday.	13 Tridi.	Epine-vinette.
31 Sunday.	14 Quartidi.	Noix.

SEPTEMBER.	FRUCTIDOR.	12TH MONTH.
1 Monday.	15 Quintidi.	<i>Goujon.</i>
2 Tuesday.	16 Sextidi.	Orange.
3 Wednesday.	17 Septidi.	Cardiere.
4 Thursday.	18 Octidi.	Nerprun.
5 Friday.	19 Nonidi.	Sagette.
6 Saturday.	20 Décadi.	HOTTE.
7 Sunday.	21 Primidi.	Eglantier.
8 Monday.	22 Duodi.	Noisette.
9 Tuesday.	23 Tridi.	Houblon.
10 Wednesday.	24 Quartidi.	Sorgho.
11 Thursday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Ecrevisse.</i>
12 Friday.	26 Sextidi.	Bigarade.
13 Saturday.	27 Septidi.	Verge-d'or.
14 Sunday.	28 Octidi.	Maïs.
15 Monday.	29 Nonidi.	Marron.
16 Tuesday.	30 Décadi.	CORBEILLE.

THE SANS-CULOTTIDES, OR NATIONAL FESTIVALS.

17 Wednesday.	1 Primidi.	To Virtue.
18 Thursday.	2 Duodi.	— Genius.
19 Friday.	3 Tridi.	— Labour.
20 Saturday.	4 Quartidi.	— Opinion.
21 Sunday.	5 Quintidi.	— Reward.

	VENDEMAIRE.	1ST MONTH.
22 Monday.	1 Primidi.	Raisin.
23 Tuesday.	2 Duodi.	Safran.
24 Wednesday.	3 Tridi.	Châtaignes.
25 Thursday.	4 Quartidi.	Colchique.
26 Friday.	5 Quintidi.	<i>Cheval.</i>
27 Saturday.	6 Sextidi.	Balsamine.
28 Sunday.	7 Septidi.	Carottes.
29 Monday.	8 Octidi.	Amaranthe.
30 Tuesday.	9 Nonidi.	Panais.

OCTOBER.	VENDEMAIRE.	1ST MONTH.
1 Wednesday.	10 Décadi.	CUVE.
2 Thursday.	11 Primidi.	Pomme-de-terre.
3 Friday.	12 Duodi.	Immortelle.
4 Saturday.	13 Tridi.	Potiron.
5 Sunday.	14 Quartidi.	Reséda.
6 Monday.	15 Quintidi.	Ane.
7 Tuesday.	16 Sextidi.	Belle-de-nuit.
8 Wednesday.	17 Septidi.	Citrouille.
9 Thursday.	18 Octidi.	Sarrasin.
10 Friday.	19 Nonidi.	Tournesol.
11 Saturday.	20 Décadi.	PRESSOIR.
12 Sunday.	21 Primidi.	Chanvre.
13 Monday.	22 Duodi.	Pêche.
14 Tuesday.	23 Tridi.	Navet.
15 Wednesday.	24 Quartidi.	Gréniefienne.
16 Thursday.	25 Quintidi.	Bœuf.
17 Friday.	26 Sextidi.	Aubergine.
18 Saturday.	27 Septidi.	Piment.
19 Sunday.	28 Octidi.	Tomate.
20 Monday.	29 Nonidi.	Orge.
21 Tuesday.	30 Décadi.	TONNEAU.
	BRUMAIRE.	2D MONTH.
22 Wednesday.	1 Primidi.	Pomme.
23 Thursday.	2 Duodi.	Céleri.
24 Friday.	3 Tridi.	Poire.
25 Saturday.	4 Quartidi.	Betterave.
26 Sunday.	5 Quintidi.	Oie.
27 Monday.	6 Sextidi.	Héliotrope.
28 Tuesday.	7 Septidi.	Figue.
29 Wednesday.	8 Octidi.	Scorsonnere.
30 Thursday.	9 Nonidi.	Alifier.
31 Friday.	10 Décadi.	CHARRUE.

NOVEMBER.	BRUMAIRE.	2D MONTH.
1 Saturday.	11 Primidi.	Salsifis.
2 Sunday.	12 Duodi.	Cornuette.
3 Monday.	13 Tridi.	Poireterre.
4 Tuesday.	14 Quartidi.	Endive.
5 Wednesday.	15 Quintidi.	<i>Dindon.</i>
6 Thursday.	16 Sextidi.	Chiroui.
7 Friday.	17 Septidi.	Cresson.
8 Saturday.	18 Octidi.	Dentelaire
9 Sunday.	19 Nonidi.	Grenade.
10 Monday.	20 Décadi.	HERSE.
11 Tuesday.	21 Primidi.	Bacchante.
12 Wednesday.	22 Duodi.	Olive.
13 Thursday.	23 Tridi.	Garence.
14 Friday.	24 Quartidi.	Orange.
15 Saturday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Jars.</i>
16 Sunday.	26 Sextidi.	Pistache.
17 Monday.	27 Septidi.	Macjone.
18 Tuesday.	28 Octidi.	Coing.
19 Wednesday.	29 Nonidi.	Cormier.
20 Thursday.	30 Décadi.	ROULEAU.
		3D MONTH.
21 Friday.	1 Primidi.	Raiponce.
22 Saturday.	2 Duodi.	Turneps.
23 Sunday.	3 Tridi.	Chicorée.
24 Monday.	4 Quartidi.	Nefle.
25 Tuesday.	5 Quintidi.	<i>Cochon.</i>
26 Wednesday.	6 Sextidi.	Mâche.
27 Thursday.	7 Septidi.	Chou-fleur
28 Friday.	8 Octidi.	Epice.
29 Saturday.	9 Nonidi.	Genievre
30 Sunday.	10 Décadi.	Pioche.

DECEMBER.	FRIMAIRE.	3D MONTH.
1 Monday.	11 Primidi.	Thuya.
2 Tuesday.	12 Duodi.	Raifort.
3 Wednesday.	13 Tridi.	Cedre.
4 Thursday.	14 Quartidi.	Sapin.
5 Friday.	15 Quintidi.	<i>Laie.</i>
6 Saturday.	16 Sextidi.	Ajonc.
7 Sunday.	17 Septidi.	Ciprès.
8 Monday.	18 Octidi.	Lierre.
9 Tuesday.	19 Nonidi.	Bouleau.
10 Wednesday.	20 Décadi.	HOYAU.
11 Thursday.	21 Primidi.	Erable-sucre.
12 Friday.	22 Duodi.	Bruyère.
13 Saturday.	23 Tridi.	Roseau.
14 Sunday.	24 Quartidi.	Oseille.
15 Monday.	25 Quintidi.	<i>Grillon.</i>
16 Tuesday.	26 Sextidi.	Pignon.
17 Wednesday.	27 Septidi.	Liege.
18 Thursday.	28 Octidi.	Truffe.
19 Friday.	29 Nonidi.	Olive.
20 Saturday.	30 Décadi.	PELE.
	NIVOSE.	4TH MONTH.
21 Sunday.	1 Primidi.	Neige.
22 Monday.	2 Duodi.	Glace.
23 Tuesday.	3 Tridi.	Miel.
24 Wednesday.	4 Quartidi.	Cire.
25 Thursday.	5 Quintidi.	<i>Chien.</i>
26 Friday.	6 Sextidi.	Fumier.
27 Saturday.	7 Septidi.	Petrole.
28 Sunday.	8 Octidi.	Houille.
29 Monday.	9 Nonidi.	Resine.
30 Tuesday.	10 Décadi.	FLEAU.
31 Wednesday.	11 Primidi.	Poix.

V.—PRINCES AND PEERS OF FRANCE,

ACCORDING TO THEIR PRECEDENCE IN PARLIAMENT, AS THEY EXISTED
IN THE YEAR 1789, WITH THEIR TITLES, AND THE DATES
OF THEIR CREATION.

A.D.

987.

THE KING.

The Dauphin (duke of Normandy), his son.

Monsieur (count of Provence),
Charles (count of Artois), } his brothers.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

Duke of Orleans.

Prince of Condé.

Duke of Bourbon.

Duke of Enghien.

Prince of Conti.

LEGITIMATED BRANCH.

The Duke of Penthièvre.

SPIRITUAL PEERS.

Talleyrand-Perigord, archiepiscopal duke of Rheims.

Sabran, episcopal duke of Laon.

De la Luzerne, episcopal duke of Langres.

De la Rochefoucaud, episcopal count of Beauvais.

Clermont-Tonnerre, episcopal count of Châlons.

De Grimaldi, episcopal count of Noyon.

TEMPORAL PEERS.

1572. Duke of Uzès, born 1st January, 1728.

1582. — of Elbeuf, prince of Lambesc, born 28th September, 1751.

1595. — of Montbazou, born 15th January, 1764.

1599. Duke of Thouars and of la Trémoille, born 5th February, 1737.
1606. — of Sully, born 2d July, 1756.
1619. — of Luynes and of Chevreuse, born 4th November, 1748.
1620. — of Brissac, born 14th February, 1734.
1631. — of Richelieu, born 5th August, 1736.
1634. — of Fronsac, born 24th September, 1766.
1652. — of Albret and of Château-Thierry, and of Bouillon, born 26th January, 1728.
1652. — of Rohan, born 17th January, 1710.
1662. — of Piney and of Luxembourg, born 15th October, 1738.
1663. — of Grammont, born 19th April, 1722.
1663. — of Villeroy, born 8th October, 1731.
1663. — of Mortemart, born 8th February, 1752.
1663. — of Saint Aignan, born 2d August, 1766.
1663. — of Gesvres, born 9th May, 1733.
1663. Maréchal Duke of Noailles, born 21st April, 1713.
1665. Duke of Aumont, born 5th August, 1732.
1690. — of Bethune-Charost, born 1st July, 1738.
1690. — of Saint Cloud, archbishop of Paris.
1710. — of Harcourt, born 12th January, 1726.
1710. — of Fitz-James, born 26th November, 1743.
1711. — of Chaulnes, born 18th November, 1741.
1716. — of Villars-Brancas, born 5th May, 1714.
1716. — of Valentinois, prince of Monaco, born 10th September, 1720.
1721. — of Nivernois, born 16th December, 1716.
1723. — of Biron, born 15th April, 1747.
1731. — of Aiguillon, born 31st October, 1761.
1736. — of Fleury, born 25th April, 1770.
1757. — of Duras, born 28th August, 1741.
1759. — of la Vauguyon, born 31st July, 1746.
1762. — of Praslin, born 18th August, 1735.
1770. — of la Rochefoucaud, born 11th July, 1743.
1775. — of Clermont-Tonnerre, born 7th April, 1720.

1777. Duke of Aubigny, and of Richmond, born 3d March,
1735, (not yet admitted.)
1787. — of Choiseul, born 26th August, 1760.
1787. — of Coigny, born 28th March, 1737.

HEREDITARY DUKES NOT SUMMONED TO PARLIAMENT.

1598. Duke of Croy, born 10th December, 1743.
1667. — of Chevreuse—*see* Duke and Peer of Luynes.
1696. — of Chatillon, born 15th February, 1772.
1742. Marêchal Duke of Broglie, born 19th October, 1718.
1758. Duke of Liancourt, born 11th January, 1747.
1758. Marêchal Duke of Laval-Montmorency, born 21st September, 1723.
1766. Prince Ferdinand of Rohan, archiepiscopal-duke of
Cambray.
1767. Duke of Montmorency, born in 1732.
1769. — of Beaumont, count of Luxembourg, born 15th
June, 1767.
1773. — of Lorges, born 7th July, 1746.
1773. — of Croi d'Havré, born 12th October, 1744.
1774. — of Villequier, born in 1736.
1777. — of Chatelet, born 10th November, 1727.
1780. — of Polignac, born in January, 1747.
1784. — of Maillé, born 5th October, 1732.
1786. — of Saulx-Tavannes, born 11th August, 1739.
1787. — of la Force, born 22d April, 1768.

DUKES, &c., BY BREVET AND BREVETS OF HONOUR.

- Count of Lauraguais, born 3d July, 1733.
Duke of Ayen, born 26th October, 1739.
— of Gontaut, born 8th September, 1703.
— of Lesparre, born 17th September, 1749.
Marquis of Laval, born 22d January, 1747.
Duke of Chabot, born 20th April, 1733.
Prince of Poix, born 22d November, 1752.

Duke of Narbonne, born 27th December, 1718.

Count de la Tour d'Auvergne, born 10th August, 1720.

— de la Tour d'Auvergne, born 20th November, 1770.

Duke of Guines, born 14th April, 1735.

— of Mailly, born 28th November, 1744.

— of Crussol, born 30th December, 1756.

Prince of Broglie, born in September, 1756.

Duke of Guiche, born 17th August, 1755.

Count of Praslin, born 6th April, 1756.

— of Gand, born in Aug. 1751.

Marquis of Coigny, born 3d September, 1756.

Duke of Castries, born in August, 1756.

Prince of Luxembourg.

Duke of Cossé, born 29th November, 1746.

— of Beuvron, born 4th October, 1727.

— of Piennes, born 7th September, 1762.

Baron of Montmorency.

MARECHALS OF FRANCE, FIRST CREATED BY PHILIP AUGUSTUS, 1185,
IN 1790.

1758. M. de Contades, premier.

1759. M. de Broglie.

1775. M. de Noailles.

M. de Mouchy.

1783. M. de Mailly.

M. de Beauvau.

M. de Castries.

M. de Laval.

M. de Segur.

VI.—ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE DEPUTIES,

RETURNED TO THE STATES GENERAL BY THE CLERGY, NOBILITY,
AND TIERS ETAT OF FRANCE—SUMMONED BY THE KING'S COM-
MAND TO MEET AT VERSAILLES ON 5TH MAY, 1789—WITH SOME
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

The class or order by which each deputy was returned, whether
Clergy, Nobility, or Tiers Etat, is distinguished by the letters
c., *n.*, and *t.e.* placed within parentheses.

The several constituencies are printed in *italics*, and the pro-
fession of the deputy, when an advocate or procureur, distin-
guished by the letters *av.* or *pr.*, if royal denoted.

THE KING.

PRINCES OF RIGHT AND PRECEDENCE.

The Dauphin (a minor).

Monsieur

The Count d'Artois.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.

The Duke of Orleans.

The Prince of Condé.

The Duke of Bourbon.

The Duke d'Enghien.

The Prince of Conti.

The Duke of Penthievre.

ACHARD de Bonvouloir (*n.*), *Coutances*. He protested against
the double number of the *tiers état*, an innovation intro-
duced by Neckar.

ABADIE, de (*t.e.*), captain in the Royal Corps of Engineers,
Quatre Valles.

AFFERTY (*t.e.*), cultivator at Villepinte, *Viscounty of Paris*.

AGEN, Bishop of (*c.*), Jean Louis d'Usson de Bonac. He peremptorily declined taking the civic oath. *Agen*.

AGIER (*t.e.*), pr. royal, at the Hotel de Ville and at St. Maignet, *Poitou*.

AGOULT, Antoine, Count of (*n.*), was one of the first of his order to join the *tiers état*, but soon left them for the army under the Prince of Condé. *Dauphiné*.

AGUESSEAU de Fresne (*n.*), *Meaux*. He at an early period joined the *tiers état*, but not long after resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. Dubuat.

AIGUILLON, Duke of (*n.*), *Agen*. On 25th June he went over to the *tiers état*, became a determined revolutionist, held a command in the army of the Republic, gave offence, was arrested, escaped, and emigrated.

AIGALLIERS Brueys, Baron of (*n.*), *Nismes*.

AILLY, de (*t.e.*), conseiller d'état, *Chaumont in the Vexin*.

AIX, Archbishop of (*c.*), Jean de Dieu Raymond de Boisgelin. He joined the *tiers état*, and was president of the assembly when the address of Earl Stanhope and the friends of the people in London was presented to it. He soon became disgusted with the crimes and follies of his associates, and emigrated to England, where he published a translation of the Psalms. *Aix*.

ALLAIN, the Abbé (*c.*), rector of Josselin, *St. Malo*.

ALLARD (*t.e.*), physician, *Anjou*.

ALLARD du Plantier (*t.e.*), cultivateur et propriétaire, *Anjou*.

ALLARD, Baron (*n.*), captain of Chasseurs of Franche-Comté, *St. Pierre le Moustier*. A dull and dry financier, opposed to Neckar and to Rabaut St. Etienne; after the first session he engaged in commerce and agiotage.

ALQUIER (*t.e.*), premier avocat du Roi, and mayor of Rochelle. An active, intriguing revolutionist; voted for the king's death, with reservation; was a member of the senate under the Directory; and solicited office from Bonaparte. *Rochelle*.

AMBLY, Marquis of (*n.*), governor of Rheims, *Champagne*. He

strenuously resisted the proposed innovations, emigrated, and joined the army under Condé.

AMIENS, Bishop of, de Machault, Abbé of Vallaires (*c.*), *Amiens* and *Ham*.

ANDLAN, de, Prince Abbot of Murbuit (*c.*), *Colmar*.

ANDLAN de Hombourg, Baron, Premier Chevalier Héréditaire du Saint Empire, Maréchal de Camp (*n.*), *Haguenau*.

ANDRE, de (*n.*), conseiller au parlement d'Aix, *Provence*, promoted the Revolution, but, finding that his vacillations through all its changes promised no safety, attached himself to the royalists, and ultimately emigrated.

ANDRIEU (*t.e.*), avocat and mayor of Aignepperse, *Riom*, in *Auvergne*.

ANDURANT, (*t.e.*), av., *Villefranche*, in *Auvergne*.

ANGO, Bailli de Longue Robe de St. Sauveur, le Vicomte (*t.e.*), *Coutances*.

ANGOSSE, the Marquis of (*n.*), maréchal de camp, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791, against innovations. *Armagnac, Lectoure, et l'Isle Jourdain*.

ANGOULEME, Bishop of (*c.*), Albignac de Castelnau, *Angouleme*.

ANJUBAULT de la Roche (*t.e.*), judge of Laval, *Maine*.

ANSON (*t.e.*), receiver-general of the finances, *Paris*. An ingenious financier, and an active revolutionist, but, apprehensive of the still greater activity of the terrorists, he, in 1793, sought refuge in England, where he published a translation into French of the Odes of Anacreon.

ANTOINE of Boulay (*t.e.*), *Saarguemines*. A furious republican, and justice of the peace for Metz, where he caused the Abbé Fiquelment, a canon of that cathedral, to be assassinated; he was sent on a mission of blood and rapine to la Meurthe; he died in Metz in 1793, leaving his property to the nation, on which the convention decreed that his memory was dear to France.

ANTRAIGUES de Launay, Count of (*n.*), *Villeneuve de Berg*. He was a commissioner of conciliation at the early sittings of the assembly, and an able political pamphleteer; and, although a

republican at heart, he deemed it safer to emigrate, but was arrested on the frontier, and, on the eve of trial, effected his escape by the aid of his mistress, Madame Huberti, an opera performer, whom he gratefully requited by marriage.

Aoust, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Douai*. He voted for the death of the King. His son was a general in the republican army, and requited with the guillotine; the father survived to hold some obscure appointment under the Directory.

APCHIER, Marquis of (*n.*), *Mende*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by Chateauneuf-Randon.

ARGENTEUIL, Marquis of (*n.*), *Auxois*. He joined the army of the prince of Condé, and died in his service.

ARMAND (*t.e.*), *av.*, *St. Flour*. In 1795 he became one of the council of 500 under the Directory.

ARNANDAT, d' (*t.e.*), conseiller au parlement de Navarre, *Bearn*. On 22d March, 1791, he denounced the electoral body of Calvador, as contravening the decrees of the legislative body.

ARNOULT (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Dijon*. On 10th September, 1789, he proposed a declaration for excluding the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon from any claim to the throne of France.

ARLES, Archbishop of, Jean Marie Dulau (*c.*), *Arles*. Being imprisoned by order of the Legislative Assembly, he was massacred on 3d September, 1792.

ARRAING, de (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Soule*, in *Bearn*.

ARRIVEUR (*t.e.*), commissaire législatif of Lyons, *Trevaux*.

AUBERT (*c.*), curate of Convignon, *Chaumont*, in *Bassigny*.

AUBRY (*c.*), curate of Veel, in Bar, *Bar-le-duc*. Having taken the civic oath, he was appointed bishop of the department of la Meuse.

AUBRY de Bouchet (*t.e.*), commissary of Terrier, *Villers-Cotterets*, first suggested the division of France into departments, also a scheme for the payment of the national debt by the issue of assignats of the value of 300 livres each.

AUCLERC des Cottés (*t.e.*), physician to the Count of Artois, *Berry*.

AUDIER MASSILLON (*t.e.*), *Aix*. He became afterwards member of the tribunal of cassation.

AUGIER (*t.e.*), merchant of Cognac, *Angoulême*. Although a Pro-

testant, he strenuously resisted the encroachment by the assembly on the prerogatives of the crown, the privileges of the nobility, and the property of the church.

AUGIER Sauzaye (*t.e.*), merchant of Charente, nephew of the above, but widely differing from him in political principles, *Perigord*.

AURILLAC, Baron de (*n.*), *St. Flour*, signed the protest of September, 1791, against the meditated changes.

AURY (*c.*), curate of Herisson, *Moulins*.

AUVRY (*t.e.*), procureur syndic of the department, *Montfort l'Amaury*.

AUVINET (*t.e.*), senechal of Montagu, *Marches Communes of Poitou*, in *Brittany*. He had a son or nephew engaged as one of the chiefs of la Vendée, who submitted to the Republic on 17th February, 1795.

AUXERRE, Champion de Cice, Bishop of (*c.*), *Auxerre*.

AVARAY, Marquis of (*n.*), *Orleans*. He suggested a form of declaration of the *rights* in subservience to the *duties* of man; he, however, considered it his duty to sign the protest against the meditated innovations.

AVESSENS, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Languedoc*.

AYROLLES (*c.*), curate of Reiorvignes, *Quesnoy*, signed the protest of September, 1791.

BABEY (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Aval*, in *Franche-Comté*, a partizan of revolutionary opinions, contributing neither eloquence nor knowledge to their support; he, however, contrived to obtain a seat in the council of 500, which he vacated in 1797.

BACO de la Chapelle (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Nantes*. He also became a member of the council of 500 in 1795.

BAILLAUD, Jaques Charles (*t.e.*), *Perche*, voted for the detention of the king. He was a trimmer between the Modérés and the Jacobins, inclining rather to the latter, and managed to tide over the Reign of Terror, and became one of the council of 500, whose proceedings, and those of the Directory, he concurred with Carnot in denouncing, and was expelled in consequence.

BAILLET (*t.e.*), av., *Troyes*.

BAILLY, Jean Silvain (*t.e.*), *Paris*, one of the forty academicians, and member of the Academies of Belles Lettres and of the Sciences, and a distinguished astronomer. He was the first president of the National Assembly and mayor of Paris, and during his mayoralty ordered the national guard, under La Fayette, to fire on a seditious assemblage in the Champ de Mars, by which forty persons were killed, and more than double that number wounded: this was never forgotten or forgiven. He resigned his mayoralty on account of ill health, and in due time was handed over to the revolutionary tribunal, and sentenced to be guillotined on 12th November, 1793, on the spot where the sedition had been quelled. A red shirt, the ignominious mark of assassins, was put on him, and a red flag displayed in the cart which conveyed him; and he was assailed with mud and filth by the populace, who could scarcely be restrained from tearing him to pieces; the rain came down in torrents on his bald head, and deranged the scaffold, and he was compelled to move the logs for its reconstruction, and fainted away. One of the attendant brutes said to him, "Tu trembles, Bailly;" who replied, "Mon ami, c'est du froid seulement." He visited England in 1791, and his ill stars led him back to Paris.

BAILLY (*t.e.*), laboureur, *Vermandois*.

BALLART (*c.*), curate of Pogre, *Poitou*, one of the first to join the *tiers état*.

BALLIDART, de (*n.*), *Vitry le François*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

BANASSAT, de (*c.*), curate of St. Fiel, *Gueret*, signed the protest.

BANDI de la Chaux (*t.e.*), *Gueret*.

BARBANCON, le Comte de (*n.*), *Villers-Cotterets*. He resigned, and was replaced by M. Mazancourt. The count joined the Prince of Condé, was accredited by him to the court of Vienna, and died at Manheim on 19th March, 1797.

BARBIER (*t.e.*), *Vitry le François*.

BARBOTAN, le Comte de (*n.*), maréchal de camp, *Dax*. He was sixty years of age, when, in 1793, he was accused of an anti-revolutionary conspiracy, and acquitted by the local court be-

fore which he was tried, but, being transferred to the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, was convicted of transmitting money to an emigrant, and guillotined.

BARBOTIN (*c.*), curate of Preury, *Hainault*, signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

BARMOND-PEROTIN (*c.*), abbé de, conseiller au parlement de Paris, *Paris*. Accused of taking in his carriage the Chevalier de Bonne Savarodin to favour his escape; after being some time imprisoned, he was acquitted and discharged.

BARON (*t.e.*), avocat, *Rheims*.

BARNAVE, Antoine Jean Marie (*t.e.*), propriétaire, avocat, *Grenoble*. One of the earliest and most distinguished leaders of the Revolution movement, he contended in the assembly with Mirabeau for the palm of eloquence, but was as inferior to him as the highest artificial cultivation of that art will ever be to the spontaneous torrents of the transcendant inspirations of native genius. Barnave was only twenty-seven years of age when he made his first appearance in the assembly, and closed his short and brilliant but mischievous career in his thirty-second year under the guillotine on 28th November, 1793. He started an inveterate enemy to royalty, but being sent by the convention to conduct the royal party from Varennes, with two brutes, who were seated with him in the carriage, the queen, by her enchanting address, won him, and exasperated his colleagues, Pethion and la Tour Maimbourg; from that time it was suspected that he favoured the royal cause; he was denounced by Robespierre, and suffered accordingly.

BARRERE de Vieuzac (*t.e.*), conseiller au parlement de Toulouse, *Bigorre*. The most sanguinary, audacious, and mendacious of the satellites of Robespierre, the orator and reporter of the committee of public safety, and as such might be considered the prime-minister of the dictator, who was abandoned by him only the day before his fall. His reports of the successes of the French arms were nicknamed by the Parisians *carmagnols*, or, as we should say, rhodomontades. On his attempting to resume his seat in the convention, he was denounced by Lecointre, and tried and sentenced to deportation to Cayenne.

- He contrived to elude this sentence, and was named on the council of 500, but compelled to desist from presuming to sit as such ; he retired to the country, and ultimately applied to Bonaparte for office, but was rejected.
- BARVILLE, de (*n.*), officier aux Gardes, *Orleans*. He resigned, and was replaced by M. Cesarges.
- BASQUIAT de Mugriet (*t.e.*), *St. Severe Dox*, and *Bayonne*.
- BASTIDE, de la (*c.*), curate of Paultringuet, *Auvergne*.
- BASTIEN (*c.*), licentiate in theology, dean and curate of Xeuilly, *Toul*, resigned, and was replaced by M. Charville.
- BATZ, the Baron of (*n.*), *Nerve*. He was accused by Tallien of conspiring with the royalists and emigrants ; he signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.
- BAUCHETON, François de (*t.e.*), av., *Berry*, voted for the detention of the king, and became a member of the council of 500, from which he went out by rotation in 1797.
- BAUDOIN de la Maison Blanche (*t.e.*), av., *Lanion*, in *Brittany*.
- BAYONNE, C. Raver de Ville-Vielle, Bishop of (*c.*), *Navarre*.
- BAZAS, Bishop of (*c.*), *Bazas*.
- BAZIN (*t.e.*), av., *Gien*. He became afterwards a member of the council of 500.
- BAZOCHE (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Bar-le-duc*, voted for the detention of the king.
- BERENGER (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Dauphiné*, was of the council of 500 under the Directory, and was ultimately appointed to office by Bonaparte.
- BENOIT (*c.*), curate of St. Esprit, *Nismes*, signed the protest against innovations of 12th and 15th September, 1791.
- BEAUCHAMPS, Marquis of (*n.*), *St. Jean d'Angely*.
- BEAUDRAP, de (*n.*), *Coutances*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791, with special application to any invasion of the privileges of Normandy, and to any interference with its customs.
- BEAUHARNOIS, François, Marquis of (*n.*), supplementary deputy of Paris without the walls. He steadily adhered to the crown, and signed the protests of 12th and 15th September against innovations. *Paris*.

BEAUHARNOIS, Viscount (*n.*), *Blois*, had a command in the army, but was more distinguished at court as an accomplished dancer; he favoured the Revolution, and made some commonplace speeches at the tribune. He was secretary at war, and appointed general of the army of the Rhine, which he resigned. He was then arrested and imprisoned, and guillotined on 13th July, 1793; after which his widow, Josephine, lived with Barras, and then became the wife of Bonaparte.

BEAULIEU (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Touraine*.

BEAUMEZ, Briois de (*n.*), *Artois*.

BEAUPERREY (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Evreux*.

BEAUREGARD, la Brousse de (*c.*), *Saintes*, curate of Champagnelle.

BEAUREGARD, le Bigot de (*t.e.*), *Alençon*.

BEAUVAIS, Bishop of, François Joseph la Rochefoucault (*c.*), peer of France, *Clermont de Beauvois*. Disapproving of the proceedings of the assembly, and refusing to take the oaths, he was shut up in the monastery of the Carmelites at Paris, and massacred with his fellow prisoners on 2d September, 1792.

BIAILLE de Germont (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Poitou*.

BERGASSE Laziroule (*t.e.*), officier d'artillerie, *Pamiers*. A violent revolutionist, who contrived to get nominated on the council of 500, when he so warmly advocated Jacobin principles that he was excluded on the reform effected by Bonaparte and Sieyes.

BERGASSE (*t.e.*), av., de *Lyon*, a man of considerable talent, some eloquence, no judgment, and inordinate vanity; it was said of his speeches that they were perfect in delivery and composition, with only one fault, that he never said what he ought to say. He was denounced in 1794 as suspected. No one rose in his defence, and he only escaped the guillotine by the immediate fall of Robespierre.

BERNARD de Sassenay, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Chalons-sur-Saone*.

BERNARD Valentin Bourgeois (*t.e.*), *Bordeaux*.

BERNARD (*t.e.*), syndic du chapitre de Weissenburg, *Alsace*.

BERNIGAUD de Grange (*t.e.*), *Chalons-sur-Saone*.

BERTEREAU (*c.*), curate of Teille, *Maine*. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791, against change.

BERTHEREAU (*t.e.*), pr., *Paris*.

BERTHIER (*t.e.*), av., *Nemours*. He died during the session at the age of seventy-one, having evinced much revolutionary zeal.

BERTHONNIER de la Vilette (*t.e.*), *Moulins*.

BERTHON, de (*n.*), first president of the parliament of *Bordeaux*. He was the first to suggest the change in the title of Louis XVI. from king of France to king of the French, alleging that the former title implied the proprietorship of the territory; he, however, signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

BERTRAND (*t.e.*), av., *St. Flour*. He became a member of the council of elders during the Directory.

BERTRAND de Montfort (*t.e.*), *Dauphiné*.

BERNARD du Chesne (*t.e.*), *Coutances*.

BESSE (*c.*), curate of *St. Aubin, Avesnes*.

BEVIERE (*t.e.*), notary, *Paris*.

BECHEREL (*c.*), curate of *St. Loup, Coutances*. On his taking the oath required of the clergy, he was nominated to the bishopric of *la Manche*.

BEDEAU (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Chaumont en Vexin*.

BEGOUEN (*t.e.*), manufacturer at *Hâvre, Caux*. He opposed the law requiring all traders to take out licences, alleging that licences should be only for the idle.

BEHIN (*c.*), curate of *Hersin Conpigny, Artois*.

BENAZET Bourgeois de Sassac (*t.e.*), *Carcassonne*.

BENGY de Puivallée (*n.*), *Berry*. He strenuously opposed depriving the princes of their appanages.

BENOIST (*t.e.*), avocat and notary of *Froslois, Chatillon-sur-Seine*. He was, in 1797, nominated on the council of elders, but such appointment was vacated by the result of the proceeding of 4th September in that year.

BELBŒUF, de (*n.*), avocat-général, *Rouen*.

BIDAULT (*t.e.*), *Aval, in Franche-Comté*.

BIENCOURT, Marquis of (*n.*), *Gueret*, an early convert to the *tiers état*.

BIGNAN (*t.e.*), merchant, *Dauphiné*.

BIGOT de Vermiere (*c.*), *St. Flour*.

BILLETTE (*t.e.*), merchant, *Quimperlay en Bretagne*.

BINOT (*c.*), principal of the College of Anseny, *Nantes*.

BION, Jean Marie (*t.e.*), avocat, *Loudon*, voted for the detention and ultimate banishment of the king; was one of the council of 500, which he quitted in 1798.

BIRON, Duke of (*n.*), *Quercy*. An adherent of the Duke of Orleans; commanded as *maréchal de camp* in the Republican armies, but, being suspected of showing too much lenity to the insurgents in La Vendée, was arrested and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, and executed at the age of forty-six. On ascending the scaffold he said to his companions, "Ma foi, mes amis, c'est fini, je m'en vais."

BIROTEAU de Bourondieres (*t.e.*), avocat, *Poitou*.

BIZARD (*t.e.*), *Saumur*, afterwards one of the council of 500.

BLACHE, Count de la (*n.*), *Dauphiné*, joined the *tiers état* at an early period, but signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791, and remonstrated strongly against the issue of assignats.

BLACONS, Marquis of (*n.*), *Dauphiné*, joined the commons, and signed the protests of September, 1791.

BLANCARD (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Dauphiné*.

BLANDIN (*c.*), curate of St. Peter Puellier, *Orleans*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

BLANQUART (*t.e.*), des Salines, *Calais*.

BLIN (*t.e.*), Physician, *Nantes*. He spoke and voted against the ministers of the crown having voices in the assembly.

BLUGET (*c.*), Doctor of the Sorbonne, curate of the Riceys, *Bar-sur-Seine*, took the oath.

BODINEAU, (*c.*), curate of St. Bienheure, *Vendome*.

BOERY (*t.e.*), *Berry*, afterwards on the council of 500, and one of the legislative body; he, in the National Assembly, denounced one of his colleagues, who had in the tribune of the Jacobin club insisted on repudiating the king, and moved that he should be punished, but was not supported.

BOESSE, de (*t.e.*), *Lyons*

BOISAULARD, Colombel de (*t.e.*), *Alençon*, voted for the death of the king.

BOISLANDRY, de (*t.e.*), merchant at Versailles, *Paris*, spoke on measures of finance, and, being on the ecclesiastical committee, made a report requiring the residence of bishops.

BOISSIERE, l'Abbé de la (*c.*), Chanoine, Vicaire Général, *Perpignan*.

BOISSONAT (*t.e.*), Notary, *Bordeaux*.

BOISSY d'Anglas (*t.e.*), *Annonay*, Maître d'Hotel de Monsieur, voted for the detention of the king. He was sent to Lyons with Legendre and Vitel, and has been reproached for not restraining their sanguinary proceedings. He was a professed republican, but abstained from much publicity during the rule of Robespierre. He was never in favour with the Jacobins, who called the constitution of the year 3, the patrician code of Anglas. On the dissolution of the directory, he was one of the deputies sentenced to deportation to Cayenne, but escaped over the frontier, and was in 1799 recalled by Bonaparte. He was a Calvinist and a Reformer, and in pursuing a tortuous course, was, no doubt, guilty of many inconsistencies. M. Prudhomme, in his history of the crimes of the Revolution, accuses him of having pronounced a fulsome eulogy on Robespierre; and he certainly moved that the ashes of Marat, the friend of the people, should be deposited in the Pantheon.

BONNET, de (*t.e.*), Treyches, *Puy en Velay*, voted for the death of the king, and being himself condemned by the revolutionary tribunal as a Girondin, concealed himself during the reign of terror, and was readmitted into the convention after the fall of Robespierre.

BONNAL, François (*c.*), Bishop of Clermont, *Clermont*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791. He was one of the most respected prelates of the Gallican church, and a man of great firmness and ability: he condemned the meditated spoliation of the clergy as equally injurious to the state and to the church; he was willing to take the oath, saving all spiritual interests, and although urged, insulted, and threatened, he descended from the tribune without taking it. He emigrated, but was arrested in Holland, from whence, after enduring much harsh treatment, he was allowed to depart for Altona.

BONNAY, Marquis of, *Nivernois*, a constitutional royalist, and an able literary man, translated Sterne into French, and was reproached in the assembly with having been privy to the flight to Varennes, which he denied, but said that had he been consulted, he would have dissuaded the king, but should his majesty have insisted on his accompanying him, he would have done so, and gloried in dying by his side and in his service, (n.)

BONNET (c.), curate of Villefort, *Nismes*.

BONNET (t.e.), av., *Limoux*, voted for the death of the king, was one of the council of 500 under the directory, and afterwards one of the elders.

BONNEFOY, de (c.), canon of Thiers, *Auvergne*.

BONNEGERS (t.e.), *St. Jean d'Angely*.

BONNEMANT (t.e.), av., *Arles en Provence*.

BONNEVAL, l'Abbé de (c.), canon of the church, *Paris*.

BONNEVILLE, the Count of (n.), *Evreux*.

BORDEAUX, the Archbishop of (c.), Jerome Marie Champion de Cicé, *Bordeaux*. One of the first of his order to join the *tiers-état*, and induced many others to follow his example; he was rewarded by the assembly with a place in the ministry, but resigned it with his seat in 1790, in consequence of the assembly voting that the ministers had lost the confidence of the nation.

BORLHE (le) de Grandpre, (c.), curate of the parish of Oradoux Fanoix, *Basse Marche*.

BOTTEX, Curate of (c.), Neuville on Ains, *Bourg-en-Bresse*. He signed the protestations of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, against the innovations made by the national assembly.

BOUCHE (t.e.), avocat, *Aix*. Distinguished himself for his persecution of the clergy. On the 16th of July, he left the Jacobin Club, of which he was then president, and joined the *Feuillants*.

BOUCHE (t.e.), fils, avocat, *Forcalquier*.

BOUCHET (t.e.), avocat and procureur, *Touraine*.

BOUCHETTE (t.e.), avocat, *Bailleul*.

BOUCHER (t.e.), merchant and banker at Arras, *Artois*.

- BOUCHOTTE (*t.e.*), procureur, *Bar-sur-Seine*. He proposed to put into circulation thirty millions of three and six sou pieces to be struck from the metal of the bells of churches.
- BOUDART, Curé de la Conture, (*c.*), *Artois*. He signed the protestation of the 12th September, 1791.
- BOUILLIOTTE (*c.*), curate of *Arnay-le-Duc, Auxois*.
- BOUFFLERS, le Chevalier de, Maréchal de Camp, (*n.*). One of the forty of the French Academy, Grand Bailli of *Nancy*. He did not distinguish himself in the assembly, but at an early period retired from it into Prussia, was elected a member of the Academy of Berlin, and returned to France during the first consulate of Bonaparte, in 1799.
- BOULLE (*t.e.*), avocat à Pontivy, *Piormel en Bretagne*.
- BOULOUVARD (*t.e.*), merchant at Arles. Condemned to death as a conspirator, the 19th October, 1793, by the tribunal of the department of the Bouches du Rhone, *Arles*.
- BOURDET, Curé de Bouère, près Sablé, (*c.*), *Maine*.
- BOURDON, (*t.e.*), curate of Evaux, *Riom*. On taking the civic oath, he denounced the Bishop of Clermont as not acting in conformity with the principles of the assembly.
- BOURDON (*t.e.*), pr. royal of Arques, *Caux*. He was nominated on the council of elders in 1798.
- BOURGEOIS, laboureur (*t.e.*), *Villers-Cotterets*.
- BOURGES, Archbishop of (*c.*), Jean Auguste de Chatenet de Puysegur, *Berry*.
- BOURNAZEL, the Count of (*n.*), *Villefranche*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, against the innovation of the national assembly.
- BOURON (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Poitou*.
- BOURRAN, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Agen*.
- BOUSMARD, de (*n.*), *Bar-le-Duc*. He left France on being accused of having assisted in the surrender of Verdun to the King of Prussia.
- BOUTARIC (*t.e.*), *Quercy*.
- BOUTEVILLE Dumetz (*t.e.*), av., *Peronne*. He became one of the principal agents of Joseph Le Bon in the massacres at Arras. Being elected on the council of elders, he favoured the revolu-

tion effected by Bonaparte, and was consequently appointed a member of the tribunal of cassation.

BOUTHILLIER, the Marquis of (*n.*), Marechal de Camp, *Berry*.

He signed the protestations of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, and spoke and wrote in favour of the separate rights of the three orders; his position becoming hazardous in consequence, he joined the standard of the Prince de Condé, who appointed him on his staff.

BOUVET (*t.e.*), merchant, *Chartres*.

BOUVEYRON, bourgeois (*t.e.*), *Bourg-en-Bresse*.

BOUVIER (*t.e.*), pr., and professor of Civil Law, *Orange*.

BOUVILLE, de (*n.*), *Caux*. He signed the protestations of the 12th and 15th of September, 1791, against the encroachments of the *tiers état*.

BRACQ (*c.*), curate of Ribecourt, *Cambresis*.

BRANCHE, (*t.e.*), avocat, *Riom en Auvergne*.

BRASSART (*t.e.*), avocat, *Artois*.

BREUVART (*c.*), curate of St. Peter at *Douai*.

BREVET de Baujour (*t.e.*) av. royal, *Anjou*. He was a determined opponent to the king, and voted against most of the royal prerogatives; he, however, became a victim to his own party, and at the age of thirty, was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed accordingly. He was born at Angers.

BRIAULT, (*t.e.*), av., *Poitou*.

BRIGNON, de (*c.*), curate of Dore-l'Eglise, *Riom en Auvergne*.

BRILLAT Savarin (*t.e.*), av., *Bugey*. When the committee proposed at the sitting of the 30th May, 1791, the abolition of the pain of death, he opposed the motion, concluding his speech by saying, "If your committees seek to evince their philosophy by this suggestion, your rejection of it will be the best evidence of the value you attach to an honourable life."

BROCHETON, (*t.e.*), av., *Soissons*.

BROGLIE, Claude Victor, Prince of (*n.*), *Colmar* and *Schelstadt*.

Marechal de Camp, in the service of the republic, and son of the Marechal who had planned the flight to Varennes. He professed devoted attachment to revolutionary principles, and declaimed accordingly, but not sufficiently to satisfy the

Jacobins, at whose instance he was on the 27th June, 1794, at the age of 37, guillotined as a conspirator against the Republic.

BROSTANET (*t.e.*), av., *Nerac*. In 1795, he was nominated on the council of elders, under the directory.

BROUILLET, (*c.*), Curate of Avisa, *Vitry-le-François*.

BROUSSE (*c.*), curate of Volcrange; he conformed to the revolution by ascending the tribune, and taking the civic oath. *Metz*.

BROVES de Rafélis (*n.*), Viscount and Colonel of Infantry, *Draguignan*. He signed the protestations of the 12th and 15th September, 1791; he hastened to the rescue of the King at the Tuileries, on the 12th September, 1791, was wounded by the populace, and afterwards massacred by them before the church of St. Roch.

BRUN (*c.*), curate of St. Chely, *Mende*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. de Bruges.

BRUNET de Latuque (*t.e.*), *Nerac*.

BRUET (*c.*), curate of Arbois, *Aval*. Having tendered his resignation, he was replaced by M. Boyer.

BUCAILLE (*c.*), curate of Frethun, *Calais*. Bonaparte, in 1799, nominated him as a member of the Corps Législatif.

BUFFY (*t.e.*), Notary, *Dourdon*.

BURDELOT, mayor of (*t.e.*), *Pontorson en Coutances*.

BUREAU de Puzy (*n.*), *Amont en Franche-Comté*. A double return having been made, the chamber of nobles determined against the validity of his election, on which he entered the hall of the commons, who declared in his favour. He became a leading member of the assembly, and often acted as president. He attached himself to Fayette, and was accused of having conspired with him and Marechal Luckner against the Republic; of this charge he was acquitted, but soon afterwards left France with La Fayette, and shared his captivity.

BURIGNOT (*n.*), of Varenne, *Chalons-sur-Saone*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

BURLE, de (*n.*), *Forcalquier*.

BURNEQUEZ (*c.*), curate of Mouthe, *Aval en Franche-Comté*.

BUSCHEY, Desnoes (*t.e.*), *Evreux*.

BUTTAFOCO, Mathieu de, Maréchal de Camp (*n.*), *Corsica*. Paoli accused him of being engaged in various plots and conspiracies against the nation, and he was denounced by Mirabeau, but the charges could not be substantiated, and he signed the protests of 12th and 15th of September, 1791.

BUZOT, Francis Nicholas Edward (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Evreux*. He was considered one of the most able orators in the National Convention, particularly in his vituperations against church and king, voting for the death of the latter, with a suggestion of respite. He was a decided Jacobin until the schism of the Feuillants, when he was enrolled as a Girondin, attended Madame Roland's soirées, flattered her weak, vain husband, and is eulogized accordingly by her in her memoirs, in which she says that he combined the morals of a Socrates with the gentleness of a Scipio. He voted for the banishment of the Duke of Orleans and his family, as having had the misfortune of being born too near a throne, yet the Jacobins gave him the sobriquet of le Roi Buzot, in order to direct against him the vengeance of those female furies, the Poissardes of Paris, who, when they whipped their children, called them petits aristocrats. On the fall of Brissot and his party, he was outlawed, but not immediately arrested; he fled to Evreux, and with Pethion failing to excite an insurrection against the convention in the Calvados; they went to Bordeaux, but could find no safety there, and their mangled bodies, half devoured by wild beasts, were discovered in a wood, in which they had wandered, in August, 1793. He was born at Evreux, on the 1st of March, 1760.

CAHORS, Bishop of (*c.*), Louis Marie de Nicolay, elected, but prevented by indisposition from attending. *Quercy*.

CAIRON, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Caux*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th of September, 1791.

CAMPMAS (*t.e.*), physician at Alby, *Toulouse*. Voted for the death of the king.

CAMUS, Armand Gaston (*t.e.*), member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, *av.*, *Paris*. A compound of the most inconsistent opinions. He, who had been the retained advocate for the church in all its civil affairs, and derived his whole substance from it, became its most rabid enemy.

He wrote a letter to the Convention, giving his voice for the death of the King, and, with Bournonville and others being sent by the convention to watch the conduct of Dumourier, was delivered up by him with the other commissioners to the Austrians. He retained the office of historiographer to the Republic.

CAMUZAT de Belombre (*t.e.*), merchant, *Troyes*. On the rupture of the conferences between the three orders, he was the first to propose recourse to measures for forcibly compelling a union.

CARDON, de (*n.*), Baron of Sandrans, *Bourg-en-Bresse*.

CARONDELU, l'Abbé de (*c.*), *Lille en Flanders*.

CARTIER (*c.*), Curé de la Ville-aux-Dames, *Touraine*.

CASTAIGNEDE (*t.e.*), Notaire Royal, *Tartes*.

CASTELANET (*t.e.*), Notaire Royal, *Marseilles*. Elected in the place of M. Lequier, who died at Versailles.

CASTELLANE, the Count of (*n.*), *Chateauneuf en Thimerais*. A young nobleman of small talent, but large ambition, associated with Duport, Lameth, and others of the Anglo-American School, he was content to take a subaltern position in the revolutionary movement, and overacted his part by joining the sections of Paris against the convention, and was condemned to death at the instance of the latter, for having caused *la Générale* to beat without leave, and for having levied war against the representatives of the nation. He contrived to escape execution.

CASTELLAS, de (*c.*), Abbé and Dean of the Church Comté of Lyons, *Lyons*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CASTRIES, the Duke of (*n.*), *Paris*, son of the celebrated Marshal de Castries, who commanded a French army during the seven years' war. He supported the king zealously, and engaged in a duel with Charles Lameth, whom he wounded in the arm, and his hotel was in consequence pillaged by the populace, of which he complained to the Assembly, who afforded no redress. He then left England and raised a regiment of emigrants in the service of England, towards the end of 1795.

CAUNEILLES (*c.*), curate of Belvis, *Limoux*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CAUSANS, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Orange*.

CAYLA de la Garde (*c.*), *Paris*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, against the innovations of the National Assembly.

CAYLUS, the Duke of (*n.*), proved himself a strenuous defender of the monarchy and the church. *St. Flour*.

CAZALES de (*n.*), *Riviere-Verdun*, was an able and eloquent defender of his order, and an active commissioner of conciliation in the early stage of the meeting of the states-general, expressing his conviction that the union of the three orders would be fatal to the king and the monarchy; he then withdrew from the Assembly, and was prevented from proceeding further at Caussade, and returned to Paris, and resumed his attendance at the Assembly, where he took every opportunity of opposing Robespierre, whose rage was then as insignificant as it was ridiculous. He fought a duel with Barnave, and was wounded. On the flight to Varennes, he incurred the indignation of the populace, and emigrated to England: he returned to Paris in 1792, but being in peril of his life, escaped to the French Princes in Germany, after which he returned to England.

CERNON, the Baron of (*n.*), *Chalons-sur-Marne*.

CESVE, le (*c.*), curate of St. Triaize, *Poitou*.

CHABANETTES de (*c.*), curate of St. Michael, at *Toulouse*.

CHABOT (*c.*), curate of St. Victor, *Blois*.

CHABROL, de (*n.*), *Riom en Auvergne*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, against the innovations of the National Assembly.

CHABROUD (*t.e.*), av., *Dauphiné*. He was an able advocate, and exerted his talents in exculpating the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau from participating in the affair of 5th October, 1789, in which he succeeded, and as was said was most extravagantly remunerated at no other sacrifice than acquiring the sobriquet of le Blanchisseur Chabroud: in 1795, he was appointed a member of the Tribunal of Cassation.

CHAILLON, Etienne (*t.e.*), av., *Nantes*. He voted for the imprisonment and subsequent banishment of Louis XVI., became a member of the Council of Elders, and died in March, 1796.

CHAILLOUE, le Carpentiere de (n.), *Alençon*. He was secretary of his order at its first session, and 1st May, 1790, announced his intention to retire, his functions expiring with the month.

CHALEONS, the Baron of (n.), *Dauphiné*.

CHALONS, le Chevalier de (n.), *Castel-Moron d'Albert*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CHALONS-SUR-MARNE (c.), Bishop of (Clarmont-Tonnerre, Pair de France,) *Chalons-sur-Marne*.

CHAMBON de la Tour, (t.e.), Jean Michel, mayor of Uzes, *Nismes*, did not vote on the trial of the king. He became a member of the Council of Elders, and left in May, 1797.

CHAMBORS, the Count of (t.e.), *Couserans*, signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CHAMPEAUX, de (c.), curate of Montigny, *Montfort Lamaury*, signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CHAMBRAY, the Marquis of (n.), Marechal de Camp, *Evreux*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CHANTAIRE (t.e.), *Mirecourt*.

CHAPELIER, le, av., *Rennes*, (t.e.)

CHARRIER, Jean Baptiste de la Roche, *Lyons*, aged 60, born and residing at Lyons, sentenced to die as counter revolutionist by the revolutionary committee at Lyons, (t.e.)

CHARRIER (t.e.), avocat a Nasbinals, *Mende*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, and became the chief of the Royalists, who rose in the department of the Lozere against the Convention in 1793. He was at first successful, but was at length arrested and condemned to death at Aveyron, and executed 16th July, 1793.

CHARTRES, Bishop of (c.), Jean Baptiste Joseph de Lubersac, *Chartres*. He was the first prelate to join the *tiers état*, and on the general sacrifice of their rights by the several privileged classes, he, to the great amusement of the assembly, renounced the rights of the chace.

CHASSEBŒUF Volney (t.e.), propriétaire, *Anjou*.

CHASSET (t.e.), av., Charles Anthony, *Beaujolais*. He joined the revolutionary party, spoke vehemently against the clergy, but

voted for the detention only of the king until a general peace. He was outlawed by the Jacobins, and escaped into Turkey from whence he was recalled on the fall of Robespierre. In 1795, he was on the council of 500, afterwards of elders, and ultimately became a member of the conservative senate.

CHASTENAY-Lanty, Count of (*n.*), *Chatillon-sur-Seine*. A warm supporter of Neckar, and espoused the revolution, until he apprehended danger to himself from its destructive course; he then abandoned the *côté-gauche*, and retired from the scene of action.

CHASTRE, Viscount of (*n.*), Chevalier de St. Louis, *Poitou*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791, writing under them, "Aimer Dieu et mourir pour le Roi."

CHASTRE, Count of (*n.*), *Berry*. He signed the protest, joined the Royal Princes, and raised a regiment of loyal emigrants in the service of England.

CHATELET, the Duke of (*n.*), *Bar-le-Duc*.

CHATIZEL, (*n.*), curate of Soulaire, *Anjou*.

CHAVOIX (*c.*), *av.*, *Limosin*.

CHENET, (*t.e.*), mayor of Montelimart, *Dauphiné*.

CHENON de Beaumont (*t.e.*), *Naine*.

CHERFILS (*t.e.*), *pr. royal*, *Caux*.

CHERIER (*t.e.*), Jean Claude of Neufchateau, *Mirecourt*. He did not vote on the trial of Louis XVI. At the end of the session, he was nominated on the Council of 500, and was appointed in December, 1799, a member of the legislative body.

CHESE, de la (*t.e.*), *Quercy*.

CHESMON de Baigneux (*t.e.*), *Touraine*.

CHEVALIER, cultivateur (*t.e.*), member of the Royal Society of Agriculture, *Paris*. He endeavoured to promote a penal law against duels.

CHEVREUIL, the Abbé (*c.*), chancellor and canon of the Church of Paris, *Paris*. He signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791, against any invasion of the privileges of the church.

CHEVREUX, dom (*c.*), Ambrose, General of the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur, *Paris*. He at first appeared to

incline in favour of the revolution, but being in the end of the session confined in the monastery of the Carmelites, he was on the 3rd September, 1792, massacred with all his fellow prisoners.

CHOISEUL d'Aillecourt, Count of (*n.*), *Chaumont en Bassigny*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CHOISEUL Praslin, Duke of (*n.*), and Peer of France, *Anjou*. He became in 1799, a member of the conservative senate.

CHOISY d'Arcefay (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Chalons-sur-Marne*.

CHOMBART (*t.e.*), propriétaire at Herlies, *Lille*, and appointed in 1799 to the Council of Elders.

CHOPPIER (*c.*), curate of Flins, *Mantes* and *Meulan*. He took the oath required of the clergy, adopting the mental reservations proposed by the Abbé Grégoire.

CHOUVET (*c.*), curate of Thomeras, *Villeneuve de Berg*.

CIBERT (*c.*), the Abbé, curate of St. Martin, of Noyon, *Vermandois*.

CIGOGNE, de (*t.e.*), merchant at Saumur, *Saumur*.

CIPIERES, the Marquis of (*n.*), Chevalier de St. Louis, *Marseilles*.

CLAPIERS, de (*n.*), *Aix*. He signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

CLAIRMONT (*n.*) d'Esclaibes, Comte de, *Chaumont en Bassigny*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CLAUDE (*t.e.*), av. at Longwy, *Metz*.

CLAVERIE (*t.e.*), Jean Baptiste Joseph, av., *Armagnac*, voted for the imprisonment of the king. In 1795, he was a member of the Council of Elders, which he quitted in 1798.

CLAYE (*t.e.*), laboureur at Beu, near Dreux, *Chateaufneuf*. He opposed the decree for the deportation of priests who declined taking the oath.

CLERGET (*c.*), curate of Onans, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

CLERMONT, Tonnerre Stanislas, Count of (*n.*), son of the Duke, who, at the age of 74, was guillotined 26th July, 1793, *Paris*. He sat constantly on the *côté gauche*, and figured amongst those who demanded the spoliation of the clergy, and was several times president of the National Assembly, and although an aristocrat at heart, he sacrificed his feelings and his princi-

ples to his egotism and anxiety to shine. He advocated in set orations the claims of full citizenship of Protestants, Jews, actors, and executioners ; in his endeavours to propitiate each of the factions, he forfeited the esteem and confidence of all, and was massacred on the 10th August, as a traitor to the Republic.

CLERMONT, Mont Saint Jean, Marquis of (*n.*), *Bugey*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

COCHARD (*t.e.*), av. at Vezoul, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

COCHEREL, le Chevalier de (*t.e.*), *St. Domingue*. On the 6th October, 1789, being mistaken at Versailles for the Viscount Virien, the populace were about to suspend him from a lantern, when he was released on citizen Goui d'Arcy vouching for his patriotism.

COCHON de Lapparent, Charles (*t.e.*), *Poitou*, voted for the death of the king, and was sent on several missions by the Jacobins. He became a member of the council of elders, and had the ministry of the police confided to him. He was involved in the proscription of those who opposed Bonaparte, but avoided deportation to Cayenne, and retired to Oleron, from whence he was recalled by Bonaparte in 1799.

COIFFIER, Baron of (*n.*), *Bourbonnais*. On the union of the orders he tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by Lucas.

COIGNY, the Duke of (*n.*), *Caen*.

COLONNA, Count of (*n.*), *Corse*.

COLSON (*c.*), curate of Nitting, *Saarguemines*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

COMASERRA de (*n.*), *Perpignan*.

CONDOM, Alexander César d'Auteroche, bishop of (*c.*), *Nerac*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CORENTIN le Floc (*t.e.*), laboureur at Quanquizern, *Hennebon en Bretagne*.

CORNUS (*c.*), curate of Murct, *Comminges*.

CORROLLER Dumoustoit (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Hennebon en Bretagne*. An ultra Jacobin of the first class, only deficient in ability and opportunity to have rivalled Marat. He adhered to the party and

its principles, after both had been devoted to universal execration, and boasted publicly of having contributed to the assassination of Juignes, archbishop of Paris.

COSTE, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Charolles*.

COSTEL, (*c.*), curate of Foissy, *Sens*. He signed the protestation of 12th September, 1791.

COSTER (*c.*), canon and archdeacon of Verdun, *Verdun*. At the early meetings of the states general, he was one of the commissioners of conciliation appointed by the clergy, and steadily opposed the union of the orders. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

COTTIN (*t.e.*), an American proprietor, *Nantes*.

COUDERC (*t.e.*), merchant, *Lyons*.

COUDRAYE (*n.*), le Chevalier de, *Poitou*.

COULMIERS (de) Abbé (*c.*), *Paris*. He was an early convert to the *tiers état*, adhered to the *côté gauche*, and was foremost in every measure for the plunder and destruction of his order, and for these merits was in 1799 appointed on the legislative council. He was brother to M. Decoulmier, steward to the Countess of Montant.

COUPART (*t.e.*), avocat, *Dinant en Bretagne*.

COUPILLEAN (*t.e.*), notary, *Poitou*.

COURMESNIL (*t.e.*), Belsey de, Procureur du Roi, *Alençon*.

COUSERANS (*c.*), Dominic de Laste, Bishop of, *Couserans*.

COUSIN (*c.*), curate of Cucuron, *Aix*.

COUTANCES (*c.*), Ange François de Tolarn de Chalmazel, Bishop of, *Coutances*.

COUTURIER (*c.*), curate of Saliver, *Chatillon-sur-Seine*. He volunteered taking the oaths, concurred in every attack upon the church and clergy, and gave rise to much ridicule, but at the same time occasioned serious inconvenience and trouble to the assembly by some outrageous suggestions, among others, that the bishops might be indifferently consecrated in the synagogues of the Jews and in the chapels of the Protestants.

CRECY, the Count of (*n.*), *Ponthieu*.

CRENICRE (*t.e.*), merchant at Vendome, *Vendome*. He made so long an harangue, suggesting an elaborate definition of the

rights of man, that he never succeeded in obtaining another hearing; this, however, did not interfere with his being nominated in 1795 on the council of elders.

CREUSE de la Touche, *Chatelherault*, was a person of considerable financial and administrative talent, and was on all committees for the conduct of the mint, and the confiscation and alienation of the property of the clergy, whom he persecuted with inexorable rigour. He voted for the detention of the king until a peace: he was afterwards one of the council of 500, and favouring Bonaparte's accession to power, was nominated by him on his conservative senate, (*t.e.*)

CRILLON, the Count of (*n.*), *Beauvais*. He from the first embraced the popular party, immediately joined the *tiers état*, introduced Dumourier to the Jacobin club, and was himself one of the founders of that of the Feuillants. He was on all occasions opposed to the king and to the court, and voted against granting to the crown the prerogative of making peace and war.

CRILLON, the Marquis of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Troyes*. He also favoured the popular party, and served as general in the republican armies, at an early period of the revolutionary war.

CRISTIN (*t.e.*), avocat at St. Claude, *Aval*.

CROIX, the Count of (*n.*), *Artois*. He voted in the chamber of nobles in the minority against the motion of the Duke of Luxembourg, for retaining their separate rights as one of the three orders of the state.

CROUPPÉ (*t.e.*), *Morlaix en Bretagne*.

CROY, Anne Emanuel Ferdinand Francis, Duke of (*n.*), *Quesnoy en Hainault*. He was elected vice-president of the chamber of nobles, and soon afterwards resigned his seat in the assembly, in which he was succeeded by M. Medonchel.

CROY and HAVRÉ, Duke of (*n.*), a general in the armies of France, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and a Grandee of Spain of the first class. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791. He then joined the French princes at Coblenz, and was sent by them as their minister to the court at Madrid. *Amiens* and *Ham*.

CRUSSOL, the Baron of (*n.*), *Bar-sur-Seine*. He signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

CRUSSOL, the Bailli of (*n.*), *Paris*, captain of the Guards of the Count d'Artois. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CRUSSOL d'Amboise, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Poitou*. When the article in the constitution was read in the assembly for the suppression of the nobility, he left his seat on the *côté gauche*, and strongly remonstrated against the act. He, at the age of 69, was guillotined at Paris, on the 26th July, 1793, the day before the overthrow of Robespierre.

CULANT, the Count of (*n.*), *Angouleme*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

CULLY, de (*t.e.*), ex-director of the mint at Caen, *Caen*.

D'ABBAYE (*t.e.*), *Poitou*. He became one of the royalist chiefs in Vendée, served under Charette, was taken prisoner the 22d February, and shot the 16th of March, 1796.

DAMAS, the archbishop of (*c.*), coadjutor of the cardinal bishop of Alby, *Carcassonne*.

DARCHE (*t.e.*), *Avesnes*.

DAUCHY (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Clermont en Beauvoisis*. He was one of the presidents of the assembly, and on all its committees in matters of finance, in the conduct of which he evinced some ability.

DAUBERT (*t.e.*), Juge Royal à Villeneuve, *Agen*. He received the thanks of the assembly for his conduct in Caux, on appeasing the troubles there on occasion of the high price of grain.

DAUDE (*t.e.*), av. royal, *St. Flour*.

DAVID (*c.*), curate of l'Ormaison, *Beauvais*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th of Sept., 1791, and afterwards died in the prison of la Force.

DAVIN (*c.*), l'Abbé, curate and canon of the collegiate church of St. Martin, *Marseilles*.

DAVOST (*t.e.*), Greffier du point d'honneur, *Provins*.

DAVOUST (*c.*), (Dom) Prieur-Claustal, Abbé de St. Ouen, *Rouen*. He took the oaths required.

DEBOURGE (*t.e.*), merchant, *Paris*, Commissary to Arles in 1792

He was, under the *régime* of terror in March 1793, denounced by Grangeneuve and condemned, but escaped execution.

DECRETOT (*t.e.*), manufacturer at Louviers, *Rouen*. He confined himself to the financial duties of the assembly, and on all occasions vehemently opposed the issue of assignats, which he alleged to be destructive of the interests of commerce.

DELABAT (*t.e.*), merchant, *Marseille*.

DE LA COUR (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Senlis*.

DELAGE (*c.*), curate of St. Cristoly en Blayois, *Bordeaux*. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

DELAHAYE Delaunay, Jean Pierre Guillaume (*t.e.*), *Orleans*, nominated deputy in 1795, by the department of the Sarthe, to the council of 500.

DELATTRE (*t.e.*), merchant at Abbeville, *Ponthieu*. He attended on the committees of agriculture and trade, and drew up some able reports which were not relished by his prejudiced associates. He also delivered a well-digested discourse on the colonies; in 1795, he was one of the council of 500, and was afterwards promoted to the legislative body.

DELATTRE de Balzaert (*t.e.*), *Bailleul*.

DELAUNAY (*c.*), canon, prior, and rector of Plouagat-Châtelaudren, *Treguier en Bretagne*.

DELETTRE (*c.*), curate of Berni-Rivière, *Soissons*.

DELFAUT (*c.*), Archiprêtre d'Agant en Sarladais, *Perigord*.

He was confined in the Carmelite monastery, and massacred the 3d September, 1792, with all his fellow prisoners.

DELLEY d'Agier (*t.e.*), mayor of Romans, *Dauphiné*.

DELORT Puymalie (*t.e.*), *Tulles*. In 1797, he was in the council of elders, and from thence proceeded to the legislative body.

DEMANDRE (*c.*), curate of the parish of St. Peter, in Besançon, *Besançon*. He submitted to take the oaths required.

DEMOUNIER (*t.e.*), bourgeois of Paris, *Paris*.

DENEUVILLE (*t.e.*), *Berieu en Bretagne*.

DESANDROUIN, the Viscount of (*n.*), Chevalier of Malta, *Calais*.

At the first meeting of the states, he voted with the minority of the nobility for union with the *tiers état*.

DESCHAMPS (*n.*), *Lyons*. He opposed the motion of Mirabeau for establishing the inviolability of the person of each deputy, and which he alleged would protect only against creditors, and not against the populace. Having absented himself for a considerable time from the assembly, a successor was appointed to him.

DESECOUTES (*t.e.*), tanner and dealer in wood at Coulommiers, *Meaux*. He resigned soon after the opening of the chambers, and was replaced by M. Menager.

DESFOSEZ, the Viscount of (*n.*), *Vermandois*. He was arrested by order of the convention as suspected, and sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal as implicated in the conspiracy of the prisoners in St. Lazare, with whom he was confined. He was 57 years of age.

DESMAZIERE (*t.e.*), Conseiller au Siège d'Angers, *Anjou*. In 1797, he was nominated on the council of elders, and from thence in 1797, he became a member of the legislative body.

DESPATYS de Courteille (*t.e.*), *Melun*.

DEVIEFVILLE des Essarts (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Vermandois*.

DEVILLAS (*t.e.*), judge at Pierrefort, *St. Flour*.

DEVOISINS (*t.e.*), avocat, *Toulouse*.

DIEUZIE, the Count of (*n.*), *Anjou*. He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris as a conspirator, and executed in March, 1793, at the age of 45.

DIGOINE DU PALAIS (*n.*), Marquis de, *Autun*, acted as Secretary to the Assembly, but signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791, and on all occasions evinced his attachment to the constitutional monarchy of 1789, and made a motion that the king should be petitioned to put himself at the head of the federation.

DIJON, René Desmoutier, bishop of (*c.*), *Dijon*.

DILLON (*c.*), curate of Vieux Pouzauges, *Poitou*. He supported the proposal of Talleyrand-Perigord to sell the property of the clergy, and was particularly offensive in his language to his opponents. He had no talents nor knowledge, nor education, and could never obtain the respect or attention of the assembly.

Ultimately he was named on the council of 500, and from thence promoted to the legislative body.

DIONIS Duséjour (*n.*), *Paris*. He was one of the first to join the commons, and in 1790 was appointed judge of one of the district tribunals of Paris.

DIOT (*c.*), curate of Ligny-sur-Canche, *Artois*. He took the civic oaths, and in 1790 was appointed constitutional bishop of the department of the Marne.

DINOCHEAU (*t.e.*), avocat at *Blois*. In 1790, he was appointed judge of the criminal tribunal of the department of Loire et Cher.

DODDE (*c.*), curate of St. Peray, *Annonay*.

DOLOMIEU, l'Abbé de (*c.*), Chanoine-Comte du Chapitre de St. Pierre, *Dauphiné*. He died during the session.

DORTAN, Charles, Count of (*n.*). He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791. *Dôle*.

DOSFANT (*t.e.*), notary, *Paris*.

DOUCHET (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Amiens et Ham*.

DOURTHE (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Sedan*. He resigned his seat and was replaced by M. Mangin.

DREVON (*t.e.*), avocat, *Langres*. In 1799, was nominated on the council of 500.

DRUILLON (*t.e.*), *Blois*.

DUBOIS (*t.e.*), pr. royal, and mayor of *Chatelherault*.

DUBOIS de Crance (*t.e.*), Edmund Louis Alexis, écuyer, ancien Mousquetaire, de la Garde du Roi, Lieutenant des Maréchaux de France, *Vitry-le-François*, born at Chalons, of a very ancient Burgundian family, although their claim to nobility had been rejected. In 1762, he was expelled the Mousquetaires on account of his having presented forged titles of nobility. He became an ultra Jacobin, and flatterer of Robespierre, calling him the Cato of France, and voted for the death of the king. Without any military talent, he was made Maréchal de Camp, and sent to quell the insurrections at Lyons and la Vendée; in the former place he rivalled, for he could not exceed, the atrocities of Collot-d'Herbois. As a financier, he proposed

the issue of compulsory assignats, with this inscription on them, "Les assignats ou la mort." On the fall of Robespierre he assumed a more moderate tone, which only added to the horror and contempt universally felt and expressed towards him. He endeavoured to propitiate Napoleon, but was treated by him with marked displeasure. M. Prudhomme, in his History of the Crimes of the Republic, can present no more accomplished specimen of his subject than Dubois Crance. When on the war committee, he suggested and carried into effect the reorganization of the army, by allowing officers to be taken from the ranks, and incorporating the national guards with those of the line. These measures completed the defection and corruption of the armies with all the demoralizing consequences which ensued.

DUBOIS (c.), curate of St. Madeleine of Troyes, *Troyes*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

DUBOIS-MAURIN (t.e.), *Villeneuve*.

DUBUISSON D'INCHY (t.e.), agriculturist and proprietor, *Artois*.

DUCASTAING (c.), curate of Lanux, *Armagnac*, etc.

DUCELLIER (t.e.), avocat, *Paris*.

DUCRET (c.), curate of St. André de Tournus, *Mâcon*.

DUFRAISSE du Chey (t.e.), *Riom en Auvergne*. He sat uniformly throughout the session on the *côté droite*, and steadily and consistently supported the king and the principles of constitutional monarchy. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

DUFRESNE (c.), curate of Mesnil-Durand, *Alençon*. He also signed the protests of September, 1791.

DUHART (n.), the Marquis of, *Soule*.

DUMAS (t.e.), avocat, *Orange*.

DUMAS-GONTIER (t.e.), *Libourne*.

DUMESNIL DESPLANQUES (t.e.), mayor of Carentan, *Coutances*.

DUMONT (c.), curate of Villers devant le Thours, *Vitry-le-François*. He took the oaths.

DUMOUCHEL (c.), rector of the University, *Paris*. He was the son of a peasant in Picardy, and being charitably entered of the college of St. Baron at Paris, by great docility and suppleness of character, ingratiated himself with his superiors, and,

with a smattering of small literature and much volubility, rose to be rector. He was among the first to join the *tiers état* and the Jacobins, by whom, on his taking all the oaths required of him, he was promoted to the bishopric of Nismes, whither he went with no improvement of his principles.

DUMOUSTIER de la Fond (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Loudun*.

DUPLAQUET, Abbé (*c.*), chaplain of the order of Malta and Censor Royal, *St. Quentin*. He was afterwards member of the Council of 500, and from thence removed to the legislative body.

DUPRE de Ballay (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Verdun*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. George.

DUPRE (*t.e.*), manufacturer at Carcassonne, *Carcassonne*.

DUPONT (*t.e.*), conseiller d'état, propriétaire, et cultivateur, *Nemours*.

DUPONT (*t.e.*), avocat, *Bigorre*.

DUPORT, François Mathurin (*n.*), conseiller au parlement de Paris, *Paris*. He was Anglo-American and revolutionary before the revolution, and had select coteries, in which he instilled his principles into the Lameths, the Castellanes, Espremenils, and Liancourts. He professed attachment to the constitutional monarchy, although he was one of the commissioners for interrogating the king. He then attached himself to the Duke of Orleans, with whom he was seen walking arm in arm in the midst of some of the seditious movements in the metropolis. He fell with the Orleans faction; the Jacobins caused him to be condemned and executed as a conspirator on the 20th April, 1794, at the age of 76.

DUPUIS (*c.*), curate of Ailly-le-haut-Clocher, *Ponthieu*. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

DUQUESNEY (*t.e.*), avocat, *Bar-le-Duc*. An active member of the assembly in subordinate matters of detail, but not distinguished otherwise than as an avowed opponent of the Orleans faction.

DURAND (*t.e.*), avocat, *Quercy*.

DURAND de Mailliane (*t.e.*), avocat, *Arles*, was the only one of the deputies from his constituency who did not vote for the death of the king, on which account a price was set upon his

head by the people of Marseille. He made many attacks in the assembly on the Jacobins, and submitted motions for the dissolution of all their clubs and societies. He afterwards became a member of the council of elders, and so remained until 1797.

DURAND (*t.e.*), merchant-farmer at St. Maurice-sur-Rivery, *Lyons*.

DURGET (*t.e.*), the elder, of Vezoul, *Amont en Franche Comté*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

DUSERS (*t.e.*), conseiller au présidial de *Vannes*.

DUSVERNAY (*c.*), curate of Villefranche, *Beaujolois*.

DUTROU (*t.e.*), Bornier, conseiller at Montmorillon, *Poitou*, voted for the reclusion of the king and his exile after a general peace. He was ultimately named on the council of elders, and in 1799 became one of the legislative body.

DUVAL d'Espréménil, Jaques (*n.*), conseiller au parlement de Paris, *Paris*. Born at Pondicherry, and endowed with first-rate talents for public life, and fraught with every private and domestic virtue. He first distinguished himself in the parliament of Paris by successfully resisting the appeal of Lally-Tollendal for rehabilitating the memory of his father, who had been executed in the reign of Louis XV. Espréménil at first inclined to the Anglo-American party, and with this bias became an earnest promoter of the desire expressed for the revival of the States General, and spoke so boldly in the parliament against the changes in the laws meditated by the minister Brienne, that he was arrested by the crown, and carried off to one of the Islands of St. Margaret. On his recall he was almost worshipped by that populace by whom he was at no distant day attempted to be assassinated, and was afterwards massacred. In the assembly he in every instance vindicated the king, and on one occasion had the boldness to propose a resolution for re-establishing the monarchy in the plenitude of its ancient power. He resisted the issue of assignats, and taunted Mirabeau with blind and ignorant adherence to Neckar. He signed all the protests against the inroads of the assembly on the rights of the crown, the nobility, and the church, and was in consequence waylaid in

the Palais Royal, and wounded by many sabre cuts, and left for dead; he recovered from his wounds, and his friends were anxious that he should retire abroad; this he declined to do, saying that he was bound to follow all the vicissitudes of a revolution to which he had partially contributed. He could not avert the indignation of the Jacobins, was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal as a conspirator, and guillotined in April, 1793, at the age of 48. A patent of nobility having been conferred on him by Louis XVI., he at the meeting of that order, when a minority went off to the Commons, said, "The cowards desert us, but by closing our ranks we shall increase our strength in the field of battle which is preparing for us."

DUVAL de Grandpré (*t.e.*), av. et pr. royal, *Ponthieu*.

DUVIVIER (*t.e.*), cultivator at Bonneuil, Isle of France, *Paris*.

EGMONT (*n.*), the Count of, *Soissons*, a grandee of Spain of the first class and knight of the Golden Fleece, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king, and chevalier of the royal orders. He left France and joined the forces of the brothers of the king.

EMMERY, the elder (*t.e.*), avocat, *Metz*. He joined the revolutionary party, but was viewed with much jealousy by the Jacobins on account of the moderation of his sentiments. He spoke with much ability on questions of finance and the organization of the army; he also carried several acts in relief of the emigrants and their families, and in due time became a member of the conservative senate, and was nominated in 1799 by Bonaparte on his council of state.

ESCARS (*n.*), Francis, Count of, *Châtelherault*. He joined the army under the Count d'Artois, and was appointed by him captain of his guards.

ESCLANS (*n.*), the Chevalier d', *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

ESCOULOUBRE (*n.*), the Marquis of, *Toulouse*.

ESCOURRE de Peluzac (*t.e.*), avocat, *Agen*.

ESPIC (*t.e.*), avocat at Aubénas, *Villeneuve*.

ESQUILLE (*n.*), le Président d', *Bearn*.

ESTAGNIOL, the Count of (*n.*), *Sedan*.

ESTAING (dom) (*c.*), Prieur de Marmoutiers, *Tours*. He took the oaths.

ESTOURMEL, the Marquis of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Cambrésis*. A bold, uncompromising royalist, he vindicated his constituency from the charge of incivism adduced against them, and called Robespierre to order for having spoken disrespectfully of the king; he resisted the resolutions of spoliation against the clergy, and denounced the arrest of M. Hautefeuille as illegal, a proposition which convulsively agitated the assembly to the conclusion of their sitting. He was a member of the meeting of notables in 1789, and a few more such right-minded and energetic members might at this early period have averted the fatal scenes which ensued.

EUDE (*c.*), curate of Angerville-Lorcher, *Caux*. Took the oaths.

EVEQUE, l' (*c.*), curate of Tracy, *Caen*.

EXPILLY (*c.*), rector of St. Martin at Morlaix, *Pol de Leon en Bretagne*. He took the oaths and supported most of the revolutionary movements, and thus earned the bishopric of Morbihan; still the justice must be done him, that he never was identified with the Jacobins.

EYMAR, d' (*n.*), *Forcalquier*. He was the first of the nobles who joined the commons, and distinguished himself as a worshipper of J. J. Rousseau, proposing that a statue should be erected to his honour, and his ashes removed to the Pantheon.

EYMARD, the Abbé (*c.*), provost of Neuville, in Alsace, *Haguenau*.

FRANÇOIS (*t.e.*), agriculturist, *Agen*.

FOURNETZ, Laurence (*c.*), curate of Puy Miélant, *Agen*. He refused to take the oaths, pronouncing these words from the tribune, "My bishop has refused to take the oaths, and I glory in following his example, as St. Laurence did that of his pastor."

FOURNIER (*c.*), curate of Heilly, *Amiens et Ham*.

FLEURY (*t.e.*), cultivateur at Coupelle-Vielle, *Artois*.

FAYETTE, Molier, the Marquis of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Riom en Auvergne*. Volumes would not suffice to expose the worthlessness of this weak, vain, cold, calculating, ungrateful man, whose only interval from mischief was the period of his

imprisonment at Olmutz. Early in life he went to the aid of the Americans, and by the help of some very able young officers who accompanied him, acquired a certain degree of reputation, on the strength of which he returned to France, where he was received with unprecedented distinction by the king, and especially by the queen; this he requited by the basest ingratitude, and made his *début* in the States-General by proposing a rigmarole declaration of the rights of citizens, one of the articles of which was that "Insurrection was one of the most sacred of duties," a maxim of which each successive faction made sanguinary application; and on a subsequent discussion as to the position of the king, and the continuance of the monarchy, he coldly observed, that it might become expedient that one man should be sacrificed for the good of the whole community. It was surmised that he was privy to the flight to Varennes, and then, to recover his fading popularity, sent two of his aides-de-camp after the royal party to assist in their capture and return. The people never forgot or forgave his causing the troops to fire on them by order of Bailli in the Champ de Mars. Miscalculating his influence with the army, he attended the assembly to remonstrate against the excesses of the populace, was coldly received, and barely escaped an immediate order for his arrest, to avoid which he escaped over the frontier, and fell into the hands of the Austrians, by whom, after having been paraded from fortress to fortress, he was lodged in Olmutz, from whence he escaped by help of his physician, but was retaken and confined at Streuberg; he was enlarged in 1799, and returned to Paris, where he was coldly received by Bonaparte, and subsided into a condition of neglect and obscurity most mortifying to his vanity. He died in 1834.

FISSE, Jaubert (*t.e.*), physician at Cadillac-sur-Garonne, *Bordeaux*.

FERMONT des Chapellières (*t.e.*), pr., *Rennes*. With little talent, but some fluency, he contrived to make himself useful in committees of finance and other administrative details. He was moderate in his opinions, and voted for the detention or exile of the king, of whom he spoke with respect. This excited the

indignation of the Jacobins, who obtained a decree of outlawry against him, and an order of arrest; he succeeded in withdrawing from Paris until the close of the Reign of Terror, when he returned to the convention, was in 1797 nominated on the legislative body, and in 1799 appointed by Bonaparte on his council of state.

FOURNIER de la Pommerais (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Fougeres en Bretagne*.

FAVRE (*c.*), curate of Hotonne, in Valrumey, *Bugey*.

FRANÇOIS, le (*c.*), curate of Mutrecy, *Caen*.

FLAUST (*t.e.*), *Caen*.

FLEURYE (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Caux*.

FRANCOVILLE (*t.e.*), avocat, *Calais*.

FRICAUD (*t.e.*), avocat, *Charolles*.

FLACHSLANDEN (*t.e.*), *Haguenau*.

FLACHSLANDEN, the Baron of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Colmar*.

He joined the royal princes at Coblenz, and was placed on their council of war. He followed Monsieur to Verona as his military minister, and died at Blankenbourg. He was one of the assembly of notables in 1789.

FAROCHON (*c.*), curate of Ormoy, *Crepy*.

FROCHOT (*t.e.*), av. royal, *La Montagne*, a man of talent, the intimate friend of Mirabeau, and one of his subordinate scribes, for whom he collected materials, and prepared reports. In 1799 he was appointed by Bonaparte on his legislative council.

FROMENT, de (*n.*), *Langres*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

FOREST de Masmoury (*c.*), Bachelor of Divinity, curate of Ussel, *Limosin*.

FLACHAT (*c.*), curate of Notre-Dame de St. Chaumont, *Lyons*.

FRANCHETAU de la Glaustière (*t.e.*), av., *Marches-Communes de Poitou et Bretagne*.

FRETAU de St. Just (*n.*), Emanuel Marie Michel Philip, counsellor in the parliament of Paris, *Melun*. A devoted adherent of the Duke of Orleans, and in 1788 contributed to embroil the king with the parliament, for which he was arrested, but released on the dismissal of Brienne. He went

over to the *tiers état* with the first minority of the nobility. He incurred the ridicule of Mirabeau, who called him "la commere Freteau." He endeavoured to conciliate each party, and lost the respect of all, and most eminently of the Jacobins. Robespierre marked him for the scaffold, to which, at the age of 49, he was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed accordingly.

FRICOT (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Mirecourt*. He became a member of the council of 500, which he left in 1797.

FOURNAISE, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Nismes*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

FRANCHISTEGUI (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Navarre*.

FOUGERE (*c.*), curate of St. Laurent at Nevers, *Nivernois*.

FILLEAU (*t.e.*), *Poitou*. He died during the session, and was replaced by M. Faulcon.

FAYDEL (*t.e.*), avocat, *Quercy*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

FONT (*c.*), chanoine, curate of the collegiate church of Pamiers, *Pamiers*. He also signed the protests of September, 1791.

FOUCAULD-L'ARDIMALIE, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Perigord*, one of the most undaunted champions of the throne, denouncing alike the intrigues of Mirabeau and of Orleans, and the trimming conduct of the minions of the court. He spoke with great good sense in a loud and authoritative tone, which rang through the assembly, and Mirabeau dreaded his *gros bon sens* more than all the eloquent declamations of his other opponents. He signed the protests of September; but, unable to stem the tide of revolution, joined the Prince of Condé, and became an officer in the corps of the nobility.

FOUQUIER d'Hérouël (*t.e.*), propriétaire et cultivateur at Hérouël, *St. Quentin*.

FERRIERES (*n.*), the Marquis of, *Saumur*.

FLEURY (*c.*), curate of Ige, Glaire, et Villette, *Sedan*.

FAILLY, the Count of (*n.*), *Vitry-le-François*.

FOURNIER de la Charmie (*t.e.*), *Perigord*.

FERTE (*t.e.*), laboureur, *Soissons*.

Fos de la Borde (*t.e.*), physician, mayor of Gaillac, *Toulouse*.

FERAUD (*t.e.*), avocat, *Toulon*.

FRESNAY (de Bailly) (*n.*), Marquis of, signed the protests of September, 1791. *Maine*.

FAY, de (*t.e.*), merchant, *Orleans*.

FONTENAY, de (*t.e.*), *Rouen*.

FRANCES, de (*t.e.*), avocat, *Villeneuve*.

FUMEL (*n.*), the Marquis of, de Monségur, *Agen*.

GABRIEL (*c.*), rector of Questembert, *Vannes*.

GAGNIERES (*c.*), curate of St. Cyr-les-Vignes, signed the protests of September, 1791. *Forez*.

GAGON du Chenay (*t.e.*), avocat, *Dinant en Bretagne*.

GAILLON (*n.*), the Marquis of, *Nantes*. He resigned his seat in 1790.

GALISSONNIERE (*n.*), the Count of, signed the protests of September, 1791. *Anjou*.

GAILLAND (*c.*), curate of Charmes, *Mirecourt*.]

GALLOT (*t.e.*), physician, *Poitou*.

GANTHERET (*t.e.*), cultivateur-propriétaire, *Dijon*.

GARAT the elder (*t.e.*), advocate at Bordeaux, *Labour*, one of the commissioners of conciliation at the opening of the States-General. He was inveterate against the clergy, and supported every measure to their prejudice.

GARAT the younger (*t.e.*), professor of history at Paris, *Labour*, a Jacobin, and considered the most vile, perfidious, and cowardly of his tribe, described by Prudhomme as the officious apologist of every crime. He read to the king the sentence of his death with brutal indifference, when even Collot-d'Herbois and the other commissioners were moved by unwonted touches of human nature. He successively betrayed the Girondins and every other party, and although often denounced and accused, contrived to escape the condign punishment he had on every account so justly merited. He was sent ambassador to Naples, nominated by the Directory on the Council of 500, assisted Bonaparte in the destruction of the constitution of 1795, was appointed on the legislative body, and afterwards on the conservative senate. He lastly

became a member of the National Institute in the class of Metaphysics.

GARDIOL (*c.*), curate of Callian, *Draguignan*.

GARESCHE (*t.e.*), propriétaire at Nieule près Marennes, *Saintes*.
He attached himself to the committees of finance and the colonies.

GARNIER (*n.*), rector of Notre-Dame de Dol, *Dôle*.

GARNIER, conseiller (*t.e.*), *Paris*.

GARRON de la Bevière (*n.*), chevalier de St. Louis, *Bourg-en-Bresse*.

GASCHET de Lisle (*t.e.*), merchant, *Bordeaux*.

GASSENDI, Prieur (*c.*), curate of Barras, *Forcalquier*. He espoused the cause of the revolution, and in 1799 became a member of the legislative council.

GAULTIER de Biauzat (*t.e.*), avocat, *Clermont*. He spoke much to little purpose, and did as much mischief as his small ability would allow.

GAUSSERAND (*c.*), curate of Rivière, in Albigeois, *Toulouse*. On taking the oaths was nominated to the bishopric of Alby.

GAUTIER des Orcières, Antoine François (*t.e.*), avocat, *Bourg-en-Bresse*, voted for the death of the king. Incapable and insignificant for all better purposes, he was sent on missions to Lyons and Marseille, where he exhibited his accustomed inconsequence. He was in 1798 a member of the council of elders.

GAUTHIER (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Touraine*. In 1797 he was nominated on the council of elders, but his election was cancelled, his principles not being in accordance with those of the friends of Bonaparte.

GAUVILLE, the Baron of (*n.*), *Dourdan*. He resigned in 1790, and was succeeded by M. Bechante.

GENETET (*c.*), curate of Etrigny, *Chalons-sur-Saône*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

GEOFFROY, Come-Antoine (*t.e.*), avocat, *Charolles*. He required the confiscation of the property of the Prince of Condé. In 1795 he was elected on the council of 500. In 1799 he was removed to the legislative body.

GERARD (*t.e.*), laboureur at Montgermont, *Rennes*. Le Père Gerard, as he was called in the assembly, was a rich peasant, who enjoyed the respect of his whole canton, and was elected in the hope of gratifying his class by seeing one of their immediate order seated among the representatives of the nation. He was a right-minded, sensible man, with no education or acquired knowledge whatever, his sense of which deficiencies he expressed in a letter to his constituents: "What have I to do among a crowd of advocates and petty practitioners who think they know everything, and consider themselves members of the haut-tiers, although the greater part of them possess not an inch of land under the sun, and whose only chance of gain is the subversion of all France?" He always retained and wore his rural costume, which he took back with him without a stain. When one of his colleagues once asked him, "Well, father Gerard, what think you of all this?" "I think," replied he, "that there are many *coquins* among us." This good man appears to have formed a just appreciation of his brethren in the assembly, and we are happy in this opportunity of recording the honestest man illustrating the lowest class.

GERARD (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *St. Domingue*. In 1790, he was a member of the committee on colonial affairs.

GERARD (*t.e.*), avocat, *Toul* and *Vie*.

GERMAIN (*t.e.*), merchant, *Paris*.

GERMIOT (*t.e.*), agriculturist, *Mantes*.

GIDOUIN (*t.e.*), *Etampes*.

GILLET de la Jaqueminière (*t.e.*), pr., *Montargis*. In 1799 he became one of the council of 500.

GIRARD (*c.*), curate of Lorris, *Montargis*.

GIRARD (*t.e.*), physician at Tarare, *Lyons*.

GIRAUD du Plessix (*t.e.*), Pierre Guillaume Henri, av. royal, *Nantes*. In 1795 he was elected on the Council of Ancients, and in 1787 was a member of the Assembly of Notables.

GIROD, bourgeois (*t.e.*), *Gex*.

GIROD de Toiry (*t.e.*), avocat and pr. royal, *Gex*.

GIROT de Pouzol (*t.e.*), *Auvergne*.

- GLEZEN (*t.e.*), avocat, *Rennes*. A voluble talker, but exercising no influence whatever.
- GLEISES, de, de la Blanque (*t.e.*), *Beziers*. Signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.
- GOAZRE, le, de Kervelegan, *Quimper en Bretagne*.
- GODEFROY (*c.*), curate of Nonville, *Mirecourt*.
- GOLIAS, le (*t.e.*), avocat, *Carhaix Bretagne*.
- GOMER, the Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, Commandeur de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis, *Saarguemines*. He resigned in 1790.
- GONNES, the Baron of (*t.e.*), *Bigorre*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.
- GONTIER de Biran (*t.e.*), *Perigord*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.
- GOSSIN (*t.e.*), *Bar-le-Duc*. He was chiefly occupied in the details of dividing France into departments and their minor districts, which engrossed his whole time, so that he was seldom heard except upon technical points of legislation; he however moved that the ashes of Voltaire should be deposited in the Pantheon. He attached himself to the constitutional party, but, being sent on a mission to Verdun, was implicated in some arrangement with the Prussians, on its recovery from them, which gave opportunity to his enemies to accuse him of treason; on which he was confined in the Luxembourg, and sentenced to die by the revolutionary tribunal, for conspiring with his fellow prisoners to escape, and executed accordingly at the age of 40.
- GOSSUIN (*t.e.*), *Quesnoy*.
- GOUBERT (*c.*), curate of Bellegarde, took the civic oaths. *Gueret*.
- GOUDARD (*t.e.*), merchant, *Lyons*.
- GOUGES Carta (*t.e.*), merchant at Moissac, *Quercy*.
- GOULLARD (*c.*), curate of Roanne, signed the protests of September, 1791. *Forez*.
- GOUNOT (*t.e.*), avocat, *Nivernois*.
- GOUPIL de Préfelne (*t.e.*), *Alençon*. He was a revolutionist, but not of the exaggerated order, only rendering himself ridiculous by the frequency of his solemn imprecations and emphatically insisting on the example of the Romans. On the insurrec-

tionary movement of the populace to Versailles, he exclaimed, "Catiline is at the gates, intending to cut the throats of the senators, and we deliberate." In the debates on the royal prerogatives he voted in favour of them, and made use of the memorable expression, "We are not sent here to make a new constitution, but to restore and repair the old one." Yet he supported the motion for the abolition of all titles of nobility, excepting only those of the princes of the blood royal. He uttered his trite observations with disproportionate emphasis, rendered the more ludicrous by his age of 75. He was the avowed enemy of the Duke of Orleans, but was not in favour himself with the two great parties; and at the end of the session, finding his vehement harangues to be of no avail, he sank into a state of comparative obscurity, which shielded him from the sword of the Mountain; after which, in 1795, he was elected on the Council of Elders, from whence he was promoted to the tribunal of Cassation.

GOURDAN (*t.e.*), *Amont en Franche-Comté*. A zealous promoter of revolutionary principles, in pursuance of which he supported the decree declaring the forfeiture of the crown, and voted in 1792 for the death of the king, having forgotten that in the year 1790 he had said that the king was cherished in the heart of every Frenchman. In 1795 he was placed on the council of 500, went out in 1798, and entered the council of elders, and was ultimately appointed on the tribunal of Cassation, and all these honours earned by evincing as much of jacobinism as he considered it safe for him to exhibit.

GOURNAY (*t.e.*), avocat, *Maine*.

GOUTTES (*c.*), Curate of Argilliers, *Beziers*.

GOUX d'Arsy, the Marquis of (*n.*), *St. Domingue*. He joined the *tiers état* in order to obtain that distinction he was not qualified to obtain in his own order. An interminable speaker, but unable to obtain a single willing hearer. He supported Neckar, and then attached himself to the Duke of Orleans and shared his fate, being convicted by the revolutionary tribunal of conspiracy with his fellow prisoners at the Carmelites. He was guillotined at the age of 41. The author of

the Gallery of the States General describes him as a man of small views and still smaller powers for carrying them out.

GOYARD (*t.e.*), avocat, *Bourbonnois*.

GOZE (*c.*), curate of Gaas, *Dax*.

GRAIMBERG de Belleau, de (*n.*), Lieut. des Marechaux de France, *Château-Thierry*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. de Bois-Romray.

GRAMMONT, the Count of (*n.*), Lieutenant Général des armées du Roi, *Bearn*.

GRANDIN (*c.*), curate of Ernée, *Maine*. In a speech he delivered in August, 1789, he judiciously exposed the danger of issuing the proposed declaration of the rights of men, unless accompanied by a stringent and penal enforcement of their duties. He took nothing by his speech.

GRANGIER (*t.e.*), avocat, *Berry*. Signed the protestation of 12th September, 1791.

GRASSAN (*t.e.*), licencié en droit, *Perpignan*.

GRÉGOIRE, Abbé (*c.*), curate of Emberménil, *Nancy*. He was the first to take the oaths, and to take his seat among the *tiers état*, where he indulged in the most exaggerated and occasionally inconsistent declamations against the court and higher classes of the clergy. He thus obtained, by favour of the Jacobins, the bishopric of Blois. He then extended his protection to the Jews in Alsace and to the negroes in the colonies, and apologized for all their outrages and massacres of the whites. He seconded the motion of Collot for the abolition of royalty. Being absent on a commission he did not vote for the death of the king, but wrote to the president approving of that measure. He professed Christianity, and abstained from the blood and rapine indulged in by his associates, decently performed his episcopal functions at Blois, and latterly passed into the council of 500, and thence into the legislative body.

GRELLET de Beauregard (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Gueret*.

GRENIER (*t.e.*), av., *Riom en Auvergne*. He was named in 1798 on the council of 500, and in 1799 promoted to the tribunal.

GRENOT (*t.e.*), av., *Dôle en Franche-Comté*. He voted for the death of the king. He was one of the 73 deputies denounced by the Mountain as Girondins, but was liberated on the fall of Robespierre. He became a member of the council of 500, and in 1799 entered the legislative body.

GREZOLLES, the Count of (*n.*), *Forez*.

GRIEUX, l'Abbé de (*c.*), Prieur-Commendataire de St. Himer, *Rouen*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

GRIFFON de Romagné (*t.e.*), *Rochelle*. He also signed the same protests.

GROS (*c.*), curé de St. Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, *Paris*. Having signed the protests he was confined in the prison of the Carmelites, and massacred in that of St. Firmin on 3rd September, 1792. Recognizing in his assassin a person on whom he had conferred great favours, he reminded the wretch of them, asking him to spare his life. The answer was, "I remember it well; I cannot do it; the nation wills it; and I am paid," and on the instant threw him out of window.

GROS (*t.e.*), av. at Boulogne, *Boulonnois*.

GROSBOIS, de (*n.*), premier Président du Parlement de *Besançon*.

GUEGAN (*c.*), Rector of Pontivy, *Vannes*.

GUEIDAN (*c.*), Curé de Saint-Trivier, *Bourg-en-Bresse*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

GUEPIN (*c.*), Curate of St. Peter at Tours, *Touraine*. Also signed the protests.

GUERIN (*t.e.*), *Maine*.

GUILHELM, Clermont-Lodève, Marquis of (*n.*), *Arles en Provence*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

GUILHERMY, de (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Castelnaudary*. He was a zealous defender of the monarchy, and incurred an arrest of three days for having called Mirabeau "scélérat et assassin." He signed the protests of September, 1791, and, finding his efforts unavailing, left France, and was graciously received and employed by Louis XVIII.

GUILLAUME (*t.e.*), av., *Paris*. Although adopting what were denomi-

nated the philosophical principles, Guillaume had some just perceptions of the claims of duty and morality. He presented the petition, signed by 20,000 persons, remonstrating against the insults offered to the king, and volunteered to undertake his defence on his trial. This offer was rejected, as was also the petition. He uniformly persisted that the trial of the king should be referred to a legal tribunal.

GUILLOTIN (*t.e.*), physician, *Paris*. Born 29th March, 1738.

He was distinguished in the Assembly by no other quality than an extraordinary suavity of manner, and by some reports made by him conveying an impression of great sensibility and humanity. In some observations published by him on the penal code, he suggested, as a gain to humanity, the use of the fatal instrument which bears his name, but of which he was by no means the inventor.

GUILLOT (*c.*), curate of Orchamps-en-Venne, *Dôle*. Took the oaths.

GUINO (*c.*), Rector of Elliant, *Quimper en Bretagne*.

GUINEBAUD de Saint-Mesme (*t.e.*), merchant at *Nantes*.

GUINGAN de Saint Mathieu (*c.*), Curate of St. Pierre, *Limoges*.

He took the oaths and yet signed the protests of September, 1791.

GUIOT de St. Florent (*t.e.*), av., *Auxois*. Voted for the death of the king, and, escaping the perils of the conflict between the Mountain and the Girondins, he was nominated on the council of 500, under the Directory; passed from thence to the elders, and lastly was a member of the legislative body.

GUIO (*t.e.*), av. at Arnay, *Auxois*. Voted for the death of the king.

GUIRANDEZ de Saint-Mezard (*c.*), *Auch*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

GUITTARD, Chevalier de St. Louis (*t.e.*), *Belfort en Huninguen, Alsace*. He was a supplementary member, and latterly nominated in 1798 on the council of 500.

GUSTINE, the Count of (*n.*), *Metz*.

GUYON (*c.*), Curé de Bazieges, *Castelnaudary*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

- HANOTEAU (*t.e.*), fermier-cultivateur, *Crepy*.
- HARCHIES, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Bailleul*, resigned in 1790.
- HARDY de la Largère (*t.e.*), Maire de Vitré, *Rennes*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.
- HAREMBURE, Baron of (*n.*), *Touraine*, was a zealous advocate for revolutionary principles, wrote an address approving of the proceedings of 10th August, which more than any other event tended to the overthrow of the monarchy, but got into trouble for refusing to swear the oath of equality; for this he was arrested, and tried by the revolutionary tribunal, but acquitted of intentional incivism. He had a son who was killed in the service of Condé.
- HARMAND (*t.e.*), avocat, *Château-Thierry*.
- HAUDUCŒUR (*t.e.*), ancien laboureur, *Montfort l'Amaury*.
- HAUTOY, the Viscount of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Bar-le-Duc*. He signed the protests of September, 1791, and in 1793 served in the army of the Prince of Condé, and on the 10th of October particularly distinguished himself at the forcing of the lines of Weissenburg.
- HEBRARD (*t.e.*), av., *St. Flour*.
- HELL, François (*t.e.*), procureur, *Haguenau* and *Weissenburg*, was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed in May, 1793, at the age of 63.
- HELMSTATT, the Count of (*n.*), *Saarguemines*. Soon resigned and was succeeded by M. Dumeri.
- HENNET (*t.e.*), *Avesnes*. Signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.
- HERAL, de (*c.*), vicar general, *Bordeaux*. In 1792 he was commissioned by the French princes to the court of Madrid.
- HERCE, the Chevalier d' (*n.*), *Maine*, signed the protests.
- HERNOUX de Belle-Fontaine (*t.e.*), merchant at St. Jean de Luz, *Dijon*.
- HERRMAN, John Frederic (*t.e.*), *Colmar* and *Schelestadt*, became in 1795 on the council of 500, and declared himself in favour of moderate measures.
- HERWIN (*t.e.*), conseiller, *Bailleul*.
- HEURTAULT la Merville, Viscount of (*n.*), *Berry*, was favourable

to moderate measures, and displayed considerable practical knowledge of agriculture, and became in 1796 a member of the council of 500.

HINGANT (*c.*), curate of Andel, *St. Brieux*, signed the protests.

HODICQ, Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Montreuil*.

HOUDET (*t.e.*), *Meaux*, signed the protests of September, 1791.

HUGUET, Jacques Antoine, mayor of Billom, *Clermont-Ferrand*, became a member in 1795 of the council of 500.

HUILLIER de Rouvenac, Baron of (*n.*), *Limoux*.

HUMBLLOT (*t.e.*), merchant, *Beaujolois*, signed the protests.

HUNAULT (*c.*), Recteur-Doyen de Billé, *Rennes*, resigned, and was replaced by M. Dubourg Lanalat.

HUOT de Gancourt (*t.e.*), av., *Bar-le-Duc*.

HURAUULT (*c.*), curate of Broyes, *Sezanne*, took the oaths.

HUTTEAU (*t.e.*), av., *Paris*.

IRLAND de Bazoges (*n.*), *Poitou*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

ISBERG, le Sergent d' (*t.e.*), Lieutenant des Maréchaux de France, *Artois*.

JAC (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Montpellier*, voted for the death of the king, and was successively member of the council of 500 and of the elders under the Directory, and from whence he retired in 1799.

JAILLANT (*t.e.*), *Sens*.

JALLET (*c.*), curate of Cherigné, *Poitou*. He insisted on the 31st October, that the wealth of the clergy belonged to the nation. He was one of the first three to join the *tiers état*, and on every occasion evinced the most malignant feeling towards his order and the monarchy.

JAMIER (*t.e.*), propriétaire at Montbrisson, officier du point d'honneur, *Forez*.

JANNY (*t.e.*), avocat at Brienne, *Chaumont en Bassigny*.

JANSON (*t.e.*), av., *Gien*.

JARRY (*t.e.*), agriculteur, *Nantes*. Voted for the detention of the king until a general peace ; he attached himself to Roland and

the Girondins, was denounced and arrested by the Mountain, and only escaped execution by the fall of Robespierre. He afterwards served in the council of 500.

JAUMES d'Hyères (*t.e.*), merchant, *Toulon*.

JEANNET (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Troyes*.

JEANNET (*t.e.*), merchant at Arcis-sur-Aube, *Troyes*.

JESSE, the Baron of (*n.*), *Beziers*. He took an active part in the discussions in the assembly on the projects for the reform of the church and the confiscation of its revenues, but appeared desirous of retaining some efficiency in the crown.

JOUBERT, the Abbé (*c.*), curate of St. Martin, *Angoulême*. Having taken the oaths he was appointed constitutional bishop of Angoulême in March, 1791.

JOURDAN (*t.e.*), av., *Trevoux*.

JOUSSARD d'Iversay, the Count of (*n.*), *Poitou*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

JOUIS des Roches (*t.e.*), *Maine*. He did not incur the imputation of being an exaggerated revolutionist.

JOYEUX (*c.*), curate of St. Jean of *Chatellerault*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

JUIGNE, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Marches Communes de Poitou et Bretagne*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

JUIGNE, the Baron of (*n.*), *Coutances*, also signed the protests. On the question of the veto, he required and obtained a decree, declaring the inviolability of the person of the king, and the hereditary inviolability of the crown.

JULIEN (*c.*), Abbé and curate of Arrosez, *Béarn*.

KAUFFMANN (*t.e.*), provost of Matzenheim, *Colmar*. In 1795 he was nominated on the council of elders, and left it in 1799.

KYTSPOTHER, de (*t.e.*), *Bailleul*.

LA BESTE (*t.e.*), propriétaire at Cumières, *Rheims*.

LABORDE Escuret (*t.e.*), notaire royal, *Soule*.

LABORDE, John Peter (*c.*), curate of Corneillan, *Condom*, joined the revolutionary party, and was promoted to a tribunal as judge.

LABORDE de Mereville-sur-Seine (*t.e.*), *Etampes*. He signed the protests of September, 1791, and chiefly attended to the financial measures of the assembly. His moderation, or rather his immense wealth, brought him to the scaffold, to which he was condemned as a conspirator by the revolutionary tribunal. He was born in Spain, and executed at the age of 70.

LABOREYS de Château-Favier (*t.e.*), *Gueret*.

LACOUR d'Ambésieux (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Dauphiné*.

LADENBERG-Wagenbourg, Baron of (*n.*), *Belfort en Alsace*.

LAFARGUE (*t.e.*), *Bordeaux*.

LAFORGE, de (*t.e.*), *Blois*.

LA GOILLE de Roche-Fontaine (*c.*), a doctor of the Sorbonne, and canon of the metropolitan church of *Rheims*.

LAI de Grantugen (*t.e.*), labourer, *Morlaix*.

LAIGNIER (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Montfort l'Amaury*.

LAIPAUD, Count of (*n.*), *Basses Marches*, signed the protests of September, 1791.

LALOY (*t.e.*), physician, *Chaumont*.

LAMARQUE (*t.e.*), *pr. royal*, *Dax*.

LAMBEL (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Villefranche*. Previous to the Revolution, he had been retained as *avocat-généalogiste*, and he appears to have considered it his duty, by an inverse sense of it, to vote for the suppression of all titles of nobility.

LAMBERT-FRONDEVILLE (*t.e.*), president of the Parliament of *Rouen*. He signed the protests of September, 1791, and took every opportunity of vindicating the rights of the crown and the privileges of his province.

LAMBERTYE, the Count of (*n.*), *Maréchal de Camp*, *Poitou*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

LAMBRE, de (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Cambresis*.

LAMETH, Count Charles (*n.*), *Artois*.

LAMETH, Alexandre de (*n.*), Chevalier de Malte and Gentil-homme d'Honneur to the Count d'Artois, *Peronne*. He had served in America in the war of independence as aide-de-camp to M. Rochambeau. From his entrance into the States General, he instantly joined the ultra-revolutionary party in vehement opposition to the monarchy and to the Church, gra-

dually seeking to deprive the King of every one of the royal prerogatives granted by the constitution—the veto, the rights of pardon, and of peace and war. He was a leading member of the Feuillants, and patronised the butcher Legendre and other demagogues, until he found that they were gaining the ascendancy over him. He and his brothers had, with their widowed mother, been raised from poverty and obscurity to fortune and to station, by the bounty of the king and queen, and figured largely in the celebrated red-book of pensions and gratuities which were with lavish hands bestowed on them by their sovereign, at whose expense they were all educated and promoted in the army, and which benefits they requited by the basest ingratitude. When too late, he, with Fayette and their Anglo-American friends, tried in vain to stem the torrent of Jacobinism. He then denounced Robespierre as the author of all their woes, but himself was decreed in accusation, and escaped by the connivance of Legendre, who evinced more gratitude to him than he had to his sovereign, and he was enabled to escape with Fayette, and to share his captivity, until 1795, when his mother, by the intercession of M. Broglie, procured his liberation; he then took refuge in England, whence he was very properly warned to depart by the salutary operation of the Alien Act. He then joined his brother Charles at Hamburg, and ventured into France, humbly imploring the Directory to erase his name from the list of emigrants. This was refused, and he was too happy to return safe to Hamburg. He was more successful in his application to Bonaparte in 1800, by whom he was permitted to return, when he sank, with his friend Fayette, into that obscurity and insignificance from which nothing but the amiable and condescending benevolence of royalty could have raised them.

LAMY (*t.e.*), merchant, *Caen*.

LALANDE, de (*t.e.*), *Maine*.

LALANDE (*c.*), curate of Illiers-l'Evêque, *Evreux*. He signed the protests of September, 1791, and was massacred on 3rd September, 1792, in the prison of St. Firmin.

LALLETHERIE, de (*t.e.*), av. *Mâcon*. He was placed in 1799 in the legislative body.

LANDINE, de (*t.e.*), av., member of several academies and librarian to that of Lyons, *Forez*. He was a man of some ability, and occasionally resisted the wilder notions of his revolutionary associates; but, sensible of the decline of his influence, he retired to Lyons in 1791, and was arrested on the capture of that city, and held in reclusion until the downfall of Robespierre, when he was recalled to the Assembly.

LANDREAU (*c.*), curate of Moragne, *St. Jean d'Angely*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

LANDRIN (*c.*), curate of Garancière, *Montfort*.

LANGLIER (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Amiens et Ham*. On the jury of the revolutionary tribunal.

LANGON, Marquis of (*n.*), *Dauphiné*. With all the deputies of Dauphiné, at a very early period joined the *tiers-état*; he, however, signed the protests of September, 1791.

LANGRES, de (*c.*), Episcopal Duke of, *Laluzerne*, a peer of France, *Langres*. He at first had a bias in favour of the Anglo-American principles, but, on his entering the Assembly, insisted more on the duties than on the rights of citizens, in consequence of which, on his election as president by the party of the *modérés*, he was so grossly insulted by the *côté gauche*, that he was compelled to relinquish the chair. He then retired to his diocese, at the earnest request of the inhabitants, and afterwards sought refuge in Germany, where he published some theological and political works.

LANJUINAIS, Jean Denis (*t.e.*), av. and professor of canon law, *Rennes*. A man of some ability, and the declared enemy of the King, the Church, and the nobility. He was one of the founders of the Breton, afterwards the Jacobin Club. He gradually abated in his enmity to the Crown, was denounced by Tallien, and in his turn denounced Robespierre, who had not yet attained full dominion. After this, he energetically opposed the proceedings against the King by the Assembly, in their threefold capacity of accusers, witnesses,

and judges, and ultimately voted for the exile of the King until a peace. He animadverted on the massacres, and attacked the terrorists with more courage than any of the Girondins; and when he obtained possession of the tribune, thundered invectives against the Mountain, amid a tumult of hisses, and threats of personal violence, which he incurred from the butcher Legendre, who attempted to tear him from the tribune. That same evening, he was put under arrest in his own house, from whence he contrived to escape, and was outlawed, and continued in concealment until the storm had blown over, when he was invited to resume his seat in March, 1795. There he exerted himself in obtaining a mitigation of the laws relating to the emigrants and the deported priests. He was placed on the Council of Ancients, under the Directory, but always consistently adhered to his avowed republican sentiments.

LANNOY, the Count of (*n.*), *Lille*.

LANUSSE, Abbé (*c.*), curate of St. Etienne, near Bayonne, *Tartas*.

LAON (*c.*), the Episcopal Duke of, Louis Hector Honoré Maxime de Sabran, peer of France, *Vermandois*.

LAPLACE (*c.*), curate, *Péronne*, signed the protests of September, 1791.

LAPORTE (*c.*), curé de Saint Martial d'Hautefort, *Perigord*, signed the same protests.

LA POYPE-VERTRIEUX (*n.*), Marquis of, Chef d'Escadre, and Maréchal de Camp, *Toulon*. Espoused the cause of the revolution from its commencement, and, whether as general or commissioner, carried out the sanguinary instructions of the convention and of his brother-in-law Freron. He assisted at the recapture of Toulon, and, in excuse for the bloody executions there, alleged that his wife had been murdered by the inhabitants. This was promptly denied by her, who had sought safety under the British flag, and had been treated with every courtesy, as she acknowledged, by Lord Hood. La Poype resumed his title of Marquis, and took a subordinate command as general under Bonaparte.

LAQUEILLE (*n.*), Viscount of, *Limosin*.

LA RADE (*t.e.*), Syndic du Diocèse d'Aleth, *Limoux*.

LA RENNE (*c.*), curate of St. Martin of Nevers, *Nivernois*, signed the protests.

LA REVEILLERE L'EPEAUX (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Anjou*, voted for the death of the king, and became a Girondist, but was of so little importance that he was not included in the proscription of that party; although such was his dread of death, and especially of being hanged, which was his dominant apprehension, that he left his house and wandered from place to place until the tyranny was overpast, and then reappeared in the convention, after which he became a member of the council of ancients, and was promoted to the Directory, and after being repeatedly re-elected, yielded to the approaching storm by concurring with Rewbel and Barras in assisting their intrigues for the introduction to power of Bonaparte. He was deformed in mind as well as body, and was the leader of the sect of Theophilanthropists. Carnot, in his Memoirs, asserts that he never knew a more immoral or hypocritical man than this little serpent, that he had a corrupt heart and a perfidious head.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, Louis Alexander, Duke of (*n.*), peer of France, *Paris*. Was carefully educated by his mother, the Duchess of Anville, but was as undignified in appearance as he was infirm of purpose. He became revolutionary, of the monarchical faction, who were in some respects more injurious to the crown than the avowed republicans. He displeased the sections, who required his resignation of his seat. This he submitted to, and on leaving Paris was followed by Santerre with an order of arrest, in the execution of which he was murdered in the arms of his wife and of his mother, then of the age of 93; this took place at Gisors, and he was the fifth of his family who had been massacred, including M. Rohan Chabot, his brother-in-law, and a nephew.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, de (*c.*), Abbé of Prully and Vicar-General of Aix, *Provins*, signed the protests.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, le Cardinal de (*c.*), Archbishop of Rouen, *Rouen*, resisted from the first the pretensions of the commons,

and was only induced on the urgent entreaty of the king to follow the last section of his order into the common hall of the *tiers état*. He afterwards read in the assembly a declaration against their claim to interfere with the rights of the church, and also signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

LA ROCHENEGLY, de (c.), Prior of St. Honoré of Blois, *Blois*.

LA ROQUE DE MONS, Count of (n.), *Perigord*.

LARREYRE (t.e.), Conseiller du Roi, *Tartas*.

LARTIGUE, de (t.e.), *Toulouse*.

LA SALL (t.e.), Lieut.-General at Saare-Louis, *Metz*, in 1799 went to Egypt to regulate the finances there.

LASALLE-ROQUEFORT, the Marquis of (n.), *Mont-de-Marsan*, signed the protests.

LASMARTRES (c.), curate of Lisle-donne, *Comminges*.

LASNIER de Vaussenay (t.e.), merchant at *Laval*.

LASNON (t.e.), cultivateur, *Caux*.

LASLIER (t.e.), marchand de bois at Rambouillet, *Montfort*.

LASSIGNY de Juigné, the Count of (n.), *Draguignan*. Signed the protests.

LA TERRADE, de (t.e.), Juge-Mage de Lectour, *Armagnac*.

LATIL (t.e.), av., mayor of Sisteron, *Forcalquier*.

LATOCHE-Treville le Vassor, Count (n.), Chancelier de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, *Montargis*, abandoned his own order at the earliest period, and joined the *tiers état* at the bidding of the Duke of Orleans, to whom he attached himself. He was a captain in the navy before the revolution, was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral under the Republic, served at Toulon, and escaped the proscription attaching to his party. Bonaparte, on his accession to the consulate, confirmed him in his rank.

LATOUR (t.e.), physician and mayor of Aspres, *Comminges*.

LA TOUR-du-Pin Gouvernet, César Frederic, Count of (n.), Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi, Commandant en Chef des Provinces d'Aunis, Poitou, Saintonge, et Bas-Angoumois, appointed minister of war, and replaced by the Count of Brémond-d'Ars. His unmeasured ambition induced him to join the commons in the hope of governing by them, and with the same view he endeavoured to conciliate all the factions, and

fell a victim to the fiercest of them, being arrested, imprisoned, and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed in April, 1793, at the age of 66. *Saintes*.

LA TOUR Maubourg, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Puy en Velay*, no otherwise worthy of notice than that he was one of the three deputies who returned with the royal party from Varennes, that he behaved with more arrogance and insolence to his sovereign and the queen than even Petion, and formed a perfect contrast to the amiable Barnave, and yet was the only survivor of that deputation. He incurred the contempt of his entire family, and his only claim to notoriety consisted in his intrigues and immorality. He was a creature of Fayette, and, worthy of such a chief, he went over with him to the Austrians, shared his captivity, was released at the instance of the directory, and the alliance was further cemented by the marriage of his son to Fayette's daughter.

LATTEUX (*t.e.*), av., ex-mayor of Boulogne, *Boulonnois*.

LATYL (*c.*), priest of the Oratory, and superior of the College of Nantes, *Bretagne*. He entered with zeal into the revolution, and was rewarded by the curacy of St. Thomas Aquinas, at Paris, but soon fell with the other clergy who had taken the oaths, was condemned as a conspirator by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed July 1793, aged 47.

LAUNAY, de (*t.e.*), avocat at Bayeux, *Caen*.

LAURENCE (*t.e.*), merchant at Poitiers, *Poitou*.

LAURENDEAU (*t.e.*), av., *Amiens et Ham*.

LAURENT (*c.*), curate of Huiltiaux, *Moulins*, took the oaths and was elected constitutional bishop of Allier.

LAVENUE (*t.e.*), av. at Bordeaux, *Bazas*, opposed Neckar, and wearied the attention of the assembly with financial questions until interrupted by the action of the guillotine, to which he was subjected at Bordeaux as a counter revolutionist, in October, 1793.

LAVIE, le Président (*t.e.*), *Bordeaux*, went all lengths with the revolution, and was ultimately nominated on the council of elders, but his election was annulled in 1799, on the accession of Bonaparte.

- LAVIGUERIE (*t.e.*), Juge Royal of Muret, *Comminges*.
- LAVYE (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Belfort en Alsace*.
- LE BLANC (*t.e.*), mayor of Senlis, *Senlis*.
- LE BOYS des Guays (*t.e.*), *Montargis*.
- LE BRUN, Charles-François (*t.e.*), écuyer, *Dourdan*. Had been secretary to the Chancellor Maupeou, and in 1795 was in the council of elders, and in December, 1799, became third consul. M. Mallet-du-Pan makes favourable mention of him, and of the speeches and writings composed by him for the Chancellor in his disputes with the Parliaments. He translated the Iliad in a style more eloquent than faithful, and he also published a translation of Tasso, commonly attributed at the time to J. J. Rousseau.
- LE BRUN de la Motte-Vessé (*t.e.*), bourgeois, *Moulins*.
- LE BRUN (*c.*), curate of Lyons-la-Forêt, *Rouen*.
- LE CARLIER (*t.e.*), mayor of Laon, and Secretary to the King, *Vermandois*.
- LECLERC (*t.e.*), bookseller, *Paris*.
- LECLERC (*t.e.*), curate of Cambe, *Alençon*. He declined taking the oath, and signed the protests of September, 1791.
- LE CLERC (*t.e.*), laboureur-propriétaire, *Vermandois*.
- LE COUTEULX de Canteleu (*t.e.*), banker, *Rouen*. He was a warm supporter of Neckar and his financial reveries, and, having survived the reign of Terror, was in 1795 nominated on the council of ancients, which he left in 1798, and was promoted to the conservative senate.
- LE DEAN (*t.e.*), *Quimper*. Formerly engaged in the business of the French East India Company.
- L'ESCURIER (*t.e.*), *St. Flour*.
- L'ESPINASSE (*c.*), titular prior of St. Pierre le Moustier, *St. Pierre le Moustier*.
- LEFEBVRE du Chailly (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Rouen*. Voted for the reclusion of the King, and his exile after a peace. He was one of the seventy-three deputies proscribed by Robespierre, and afterwards recalled. He then was nominated on the council of 500.
- LEISSEGUES, de (*c.*), de Rosaven, rector of Plogonnec, *Quimper*. Took the oaths.

LE FRANÇOIS (c.), curate of Mage, *Perche*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

LEGENDRE (t.e.), av., *Brest*.

LE GRAND (t.e.), av. royal, *Berry*. Proposed, in the Assembly, the most rigorous measures against the clergy who would not take the oaths, and also for the suppression of all feudal rights. He was afterwards a member of the council of 500.

LE GROS (t.e.), *Paris*.

LEGUEN de Kerangal (t.e.), manufacturer and propriétaire, *Lesneven en Bretagne*. He voted for the abolition of all feudal rights.

LEJEANS (t.e.), merchant, *Marseilles*. In 1799, he became a member of the conservative senate.

LE ROUVILLOIS (c.), curate of Carantilly, *Coutances*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

L'ELEU de la Ville-aux-Bois (t.e.), subdélégué at Laon, *Vernandois*. Was desirous of reducing to the lowest figure the tax qualification for voting for deputies.

LE FORT (t.e.), merchant, *Orleans*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

LEFORT (t.e.), propriétaire and merchant, *Rouen*.

LE MAIGNAN (t.e.), *Anjou*. Voted for the reclusion of the king, and afterwards passed into the council of 500.

LE MERCIER (t.e.), *Saintes*. Afterwards a member of the council of 500, of which he was president at Paris and St. Cloud, on 9th and 10th November, 1799, when Bonaparte assumed the consulate, and who in return promoted him to the conservative senate.

LEMOINE de la Girandais (t.e.), av., *Fougeres*.

LEMOINE ou LE MOYNE, the elder (t.e.), jeweller, *Paris*.

LE MOINE de Belleisle (n.), *Chaumont en Vexin*. Formerly chancellor to the House of Orleans.

LENCOSME, the Marquis of (n.), *Touraine*.

LE ROUX (t.e.), *Amiens et Ham*. Being the senior of his whole order, he presided over it as doyen d'âge on its opening.

LE NOIR la Roche (t.e.), av., *Paris*. He trimmed successfully between the Mountain and the Girondins, and afterwards became a member of the council of 500.

LEREFAIT (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Rouen*.

LE SACHER de la Palière (*t.e.*), *Coutances*.

LESTERPT de Beauvais, Benoit (*t.e.*), av., *Basses-Marches*. He voted for the death of the king, and fell with the Girondins, being executed at the age of 43, on a charge of federalism.

LESTERPT, Jacques (*t.e.*), av., *Basses-Marches*, became a member of the council of 500.

LE SURE, Nicholas Remi (*t.e.*), *Vitry-le-François*, one of the notables and a justice of the peace; he was condemned as a conspirator by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed 7th September, 1793.

LEVIS, Marc Antoine, the Duke of (*n.*), *Senlis*, condemned as a counter revolutionist, and executed at 55 years of age, in April, 1793.

LEVIS-MIREPOIX, Charles Philibert, Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Dijon*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791; condemned to death as a conspirator, and executed in May, 1793, at the age of 41.

LEYMARIF (*c.*), curate of St. Privat, *Quercy*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

LEZAY-MARNESIA, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Aval*.

LIANCOURT, le Duc de (*n.*), Grand Master of the wardrobe of the king, and Chevalier of his orders, *Clermont en Beauvoisis*. Honoured with the personal friendship and confidence of the king, and loaded with various tokens of his favour, it might be supposed that Louis might have looked to him for counsel and for aid. Both were withheld, and Liancourt, imbued with the prevailing Anglo-American mania, and the blighting philosophy of the Encyclopédistes, joined the mischievous faction of the *Monarchiens*, or constitutional royalists, who, granting to the king the minimum of authority, afterwards sought bit by bit to deprive him of every vestige of it. Irritated by the sarcasms of some of his own order, he plunged deeper in the revolutionary vortex, and with his friend, the Duke of Aiguillon, encouraged the ridiculous demonstrations of Anacharsis Cloots and the embassy got up by him on behalf of the human race. Roused at length from his delu-

sions, he gave indications of his altered views. Upon this he was dismissed from the army on 10th August, 1792, after which he was denounced, convicted, and sentenced to die. He escaped to England, and from thence went to America, and published an elaborate account of his travels, which, although containing some just sentiments, is still strongly tinged with the philosophy by which he had been seduced.

LIDDA, the Bishop of (c.), suffragan of the diocese of Bâle, *Belfort en Alsace*.

LILLIAS de Crose (t.e.), av., *Bugey*.

LIMOGES, the Bishop of (c.), Duplessis d'Argentre, *Limosin*.

LINET, Robert Thomas (c.), curate of St. Croix de Bernay, *Evreux*. Attaching himself to the revolutionary party, he took the oaths, and was nominated Bishop of Eure, and voted for the death of the king. He was the first bishop who took a wife, and was publicly married by a married priest, according to the rites of the church. He soon afterwards abjured his religion, and renounced his bishopric, and laid on the table of the Convention his priest's orders, and with them those of several of the clergy of Evreux, whom he had induced to follow his example. In 1795 he was nominated on the council of elders, and so continued until 1797.

LINIERE, the Count of (n.), maréchal de camp, *Nismes*.

LIVRÉ, Echevin (t.e.), *Maine*. Admitted on the death of M. Heliand, who died at Versailles 7th May, 1789.

LOUTAL (c.), rector of Redon, *Vannes*.

LOEDON de Keromen (c.), rector of Gourin, *Quimper*. He took the civic oath prescribed by the constitution.

L'OFFICIAL (t.e.), *Poitou*. He voted for the detention of the king during the war, and for his banishment after a general peace.

LOGRAS, the Marquis of (n.), conseiller au parlement de *Navarre*.

LOLIER (c.), curate of Aurillac, *St. Flour*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

LOMBARD de Taradeau (t.e.), *Grasse, Draguignan, and Castellane*.

LOMET (t.e.), av., *Bourbonnois*.

LONGPRE (c.), canon of Champlitte, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

On 2nd January, 1791, he took the constitutional oath required from all priests exercising public functions.

LONG (t.e.), pr. royal, *Rivière-Verdun*.

LONGUEVE, Henri (t.e.), av. royal, *Orleans*. He had invariably evinced so much moderation in his conduct, that on being re-elected on the council of 500 in 1797 by the department of Loiret, his return was annulled by the faction which brought in Bonaparte.

LORAS, the Marquis of (n.), *Lyons*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

LOUSMEAU Dupont (c.), curate of St. Didier de Chalaronne, *Trevoux*.

LOYNES, de (n.), Chevalier de la Coudraye, *Poitou*.

LOYS (t.e.), *Perigord*.

LUBOIS, le (c.), curate of Fontenay, *Coutances*, signed the protests of September, 1791.

LUCAS (c.), rector of Minihiy-Ploulan, *Treguier*.

LUCAS de Bourgerel (t.e.), avocat, *Vannes*. He obtained the situation of public accuser at the criminal tribunal of Morbihan, and in 1798 was elected on the council of 500.

LUCON, Bishop of, de Mercy (c.), *Poitou*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

LUDIERE (t.e.), av., *Tulle in the Limosin*.

LUDRES, the Count of (n.), Maréchal de Camp, *Nancy*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

LUPE (n.), Baron, *Auch*. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

LUSIGNAN, the Marquis of (n.), *Condom*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

LUYNES, the Duke of (n.), *Touraine*. He was a man of enormous bulk, and universally called Le Cochon Luynes. He joined the monarchists, but added no other than physical weight to that party.

LUZE (de) l'Etang (t.e.), notary, *Bordeaux*.

LUZIGNEM (n.), the Marquis of, *Paris*. Joined the *tiers état* from the commencement, and, imbued with the philosophy of

the Encyclopédistes, he attached himself to the pseudo-monarchical faction, and, being stationed with his Flemish regiment at Versailles, on 5th October, 1789, instead of protecting his sovereign, he only considered how he could serve his own party. Of course he fell with it, and saved his life by emigrating. In 1800 he was permitted by Bonaparte to return with some of the leaders of that mischievous party.

MACAYE (*n.*), Viscount of, *Labour*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

MACQUEREL de Quesnoy, de (*t.e.*), Chevalier de St. Louis, *Vermandois*.

MADIER de Monjan (*t.e.*), av., *Villeneuve de Berg*. He was an extraordinary, if not solitary instance of a consistent support of the ancient royalty of France, as contradistinguished from the mere semblance of a monarchy. He signed the protests of September, 1791, by resisting every invasion of the prerogative; and on a motion that all capital punishment should be by simple decapitation, he proposed by way of amendment that some additional severity should be inflicted on a regicide. He endeavoured to protect the parents and children of emigrants from the confiscation of their property and other penal consequences, almost miraculously escaping visitation from the bloodhounds of both parties, whether Jacobins or Girondins, for the expression of these sentiments of loyalty and humanity. He was elected on the council of 500, until the Directory was reduced to three, Sieyes being dictator. In 1797, he was involved in the proscription of Barthelemy and others, and sentenced to deportation to Cayenne, from whence he was recalled by Bonaparte in 1799.

MAILLOT (*t.e.*), *Toul*.

MAILLY, Augustin Joseph, Duke of (*n.*), Marshal of France, *Peronne*. Condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, a copy of a letter addressed by him to his son, an emigrant, having been found in his possession, he was executed accordingly in 1793, being 39 years of age.

MAISONNEUVE (*c.*), doctor in theology, rector of St. Etienne-de-

Montluc, *Nantes*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. Mechin.

MALARTIC (*c.*), curate of St. Denis de Pile, *Castel-Moron d'Albret*, took the constitutional oath.

MALARTIC, Viscount (*n.*), Chevalier of the order of St. Louis, *Rochelle*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

MALATESTE de Beaufort (*c.*), curate of Montastruc, *Agen*.

MALES (*t.e.*), av., *Tulle*. In 1795, he was elected on the council of 500, where he was, however, as entire a nullity as he had been in the assembly; this condition of nonentity earned for him promotion to the tribunal.

MALOUET (*t.e.*), Intendant de la Marine at Toulon, *Riom en Auvergne*. Had a tendency in the first instance to promote the revolution, but on entering the assembly became extremely moderate in his opinions, was against the union of the chambers, and vindicated the royal prerogatives. He attached himself to no party, and indulged in no personalities, except where they were justly bestowed, on Marat. When the king took the oath to support the constitution, he moved that the members should stand uncovered; this was resisted, and the *côté gauche* remained sitting with their hats on. He went to London in September, 1792, and on the approach of the trial of the king, he wrote to the Assembly, alleging that he was no emigrant, having left France on passport, and solicited permission to act as counsel for the king; this was refused, and he was declared an emigrant, and remained in England, where he rendered good service to the royal cause, by his sound judgment and extensive knowledge of parties and opinions in France.

MALRIEU, Abbé (*c.*), curate of Loubons, *Villefranche*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MANHIAVAL (*t.e.*), propriétaire-cultivateur, *Villefranche de Rouergue*.

MANS, the Bishop of (*c.*), Francis Gaspard de Joaffrey de Gonsans, *Maine*.

MARANDAT d'Oliveau (*t.e.*), av., *Nevers*. He never opened his mouth in the assembly but to abuse the agents of the clergy.

MARCHAIS (*t.e.*), assessor of the duchy of Rochefoucault, *Angouleme*.

MARCK, Count of la (*n.*), *Quesnoy*.

MARECHAL, le (*t.e.*), merchant at *Rugles*.

MAREUX (*t.e.*), cultivateur at Tricot, *Peronne*. He resigned and was replaced by M. Lionard.

MARGONNE (*t.e.*), merchant at Nogent-le-Rotrou, *Perche*.

MARGUERITTES, the Baron of (*n.*), mayor of *Nismes*, a man of some talent, and spoke well in the assembly. Having occasion to go to Nismes in 1790 on public business, he gave a banquet to the national guard, at which some white cockades were displayed; for this he was denounced to the assembly, and summoned to their bar, and acquitted himself with some tact and eloquence; he afterwards fell under the displeasure of the Jacobins, was arrested, and transferred from one prison to another, and was released from the Conciergerie on the death of Robespierre.

MARHIAS (*c.*), curate of the New Church, *Riom en Auvergne*.

MARIE de la Forge (*t.e.*), *Auxerre*.

MAROLLE (*c.*), curate of St. Jean and St. Quentin, *St. Quentin*. Having taken the constitutional oath, he was appointed bishop of the department of the Aisne.

MARQUIS (*t.e.*), av., *Bar-le-Duc*. After the session, he was appointed one of the judges of the high court at Orleans. On the trial of the king, he declared that as judge he voted for his death, but as legislator for his provisional imprisonment, thinking he might prove a useful hostage. He was nominated in 1795 on the council of 500, and retired from it in 1797.

MARSANNE-FONTJULIANE, Count of (*n.*), *Dauphiné*. He was one among the most moderate of the representatives of this ever turbulent province, and signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

MARSAY, de (*c.*), curate of Neuil-sur-Dive, *Loudun*.

MARTIN d'Auch (*t.e.*), Licentiate in law, *Castelnaudary*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

MARTIN (*t.e.*), av., replaced M. Blanc, who died at Versailles, *Besançon*.

MARTIN (*c.*), curate of St. Aphrodise, *Beziers*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

MARTINEAU (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Paris*. He was one of the best specimens of the small party of the *Modérés*, and in many instances successfully exerted himself in alleviating the penalties of the clergy, and mitigating the confiscation of their and the church property. He opposed with effect a proposition made by Camus for reducing the king's civil list after the return from Varennes; and a handbill having been posted, inviting the king to abdicate, he moved that the individuals whose names were attached to it should be immediately arrested, and the order of the day having been passed upon it, he loudly designated such proceeding as *infamous*.

MARTINET (*c.*), canon and curate of Daon, *Anjou*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MASCON, Count of (*n.*), signed the same protests. *Riom en Auvergne*.

MASSIEU (*c.*), curate of Sergy, *Senlis*. He took the oath and was rewarded by the bishopric of Beauvais, and distinguished himself from the first as the most bitter and sanguinary persecutor of his order. He voted for the death of the king, and was sent on a mission of blood and pillage throughout his diocese of the department of the Oise, reported to the convention that he had preached a sermon in his cathedral which would cure all fanaticism. He instituted hired bands of assassins, caused the whole municipality of Sedan to be massacred, and proceeded to such extremities of murder and rapine, that the inhabitants of Sedan, Beauvais, Reims, and Vitry on-Marne presented petitions to the assembly, denouncing this apostate priest, who, they said, had from the pulpit abjured christianity, had massacred their worthiest inhabitants, and destroyed their manufactures. The assembly on this placed him under arrest; he underwent a short imprisonment and was then released.

MATHIEU de Rondeville (*t.e.*), *Metz*.

MAUBEC, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Sens et Villeneuve le Roi*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MAULETTE, le Chevalier de (*n.*), *Montfort l'Amaury*. Was one of the first to abandon his order, and to join the *tiers état*.

MAUPETIT (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Maine*. In 1795 he was named on the council of elders, and from thence in 1797 passed to the legislative body.

MAUREINS, de (*n.*), Président à Mortier au Parlement de *Toulouse*.

MAURIET de Flory (*t.e.*), *Mont de Marsan*.

MAURY, Jean Siffrein (*c.*), abbé and prior of Lyons; preacher to the king and member of the French Academy; afterwards archbishop of Nicea, and then cardinal. He was born at Valeras in 1746 of a family engaged in commerce, and was himself intended for the bar, but entered the church at his own choice. He had distinguished himself before the revolution by his eloquence in the pulpit and his able compositions. On entering the States-General he strenuously opposed the union of the orders, and in the assembly vindicated the rights of the ancient monarchy, and opposed every measure for the spoliation of ecclesiastical and other property. His bold, fervid, but dignified diction imposed respect and attention on all his hearers, but unhappily without attaining the end he had in view. Fortunately for himself he went to Rome previous to the period of Jacobin ascendancy, and thus escaped the scaffold or the distress which most of the champions in the same cause were fated to endure, although most of the members of his family perished in the same struggle. He adopted Rome as his country and obtained high promotion there, and, being made a cardinal, was appointed nuncio to the emperor on his coronation.

MAYER (*t.e.*), avocat and propriétaire, *Saarguemines*.

MAYET (*c.*), curate of Rochetailleé, *Lyons*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MAZURIER de Penannech (*t.e.*), merchant at Morlaix, *Lanion en Bretagne*.

MEIFRUN (*t.e.*), consul of Toulon, *Toulon*. Afterwards mayor of that city, which office he retained until 1793, when the English took possession.

MELON de Pradoux (*c.*), prior and curate of St. Germain-en-Laye, *Paris*.

MELON (*t.e.*), *Tulle en Limosin*.

MENARD de la Grove (*t.e.*), *Maine*. He was nominated in 1795 on the council of 500.

MENONVILLE, de (*n.*), maréchal-de-camp, *Mirecourt*. He signed the protests of September, 1791, and was a man of profound knowledge and intelligence, but with so faint and feeble a voice as to be unable to make any adequate impression on the tumultuous assembly in which he was placed. On one occasion, however, he successfully exposed the ignorance which prevailed as to the formation and functions of an English jury, and on another advocated the prerogative of pardon in the crown.

MENOU, Jaques Bon, Baron of (*n.*), *Touraine*. A parasite of the Duke of Orleans, and the vilest specimen of his order of nobility, and therefore among the very first to join the *tiers état*. He was an ultra member of the Jacobin club, and adopted as the motto on his seal and otherwise "*ennemi des cultes et des rois*." He brutally insulted mesdames the aunts of the king on their departure for Italy, but his coarsest attacks were directed against the pope and the whole clergy of France, and on all these occasions received the sympathising encouragement of Jourdain Coupe-tête, his coadjutor in the massacres of Avignon, but had to encounter the severe sarcasms of the Abbé Maury, who exposed him to the contempt and ridicule of the assembly, and on being sent to repress the insurgents in Vendée was signally defeated by La Rochejaquelein. In May, 1798, he accompanied, as general of division, Bonaparte into Egypt, where he turned Mohammedan, assumed the Turkish costume, and worshipped in a mosque as the price of an Egyptian girl.

MENU de Chomorceau (*t.e.*), *Sens*.

MERCERET (*c.*), curate of Fontaine-le-Dijon, *Dijon*.

MERIGEAUX (*t.e.*), *Beziers*.

MERLE (*t.e.*), mayor of Mâcon, *Mâcon*. He was unanimously elected first constitutional mayor of Mâcon, and his accession to that office was celebrated by every demonstration of civic and provincial festivity, by balls and entertainments. He took no prominent part in the assembly, but at the end of the session

returned to Mâcon. The displeasure of the Jacobins, however, had preceded him; he was denounced as suspected of moderation, and condemned with a relation of his to death. With above a thousand other victims, they were bound to the trees in Brotteaux and exposed to a *mitraille* from the regiment stationed there. He escaped any fatal shot, but was disabled of one hand only; with the other he disentangled himself and escaped into the fields, and wandered some days until overtaken by some of the cavalry, by whom he was sabred to death upon the spot.

MERLIN (*t.e.*), av., *Douay*. Voted for the death of the king. He was the son of a peasant at Anchin, and placed as servant boy and chorister in the abbey of that town, he ingratiated himself with the priests, who were at the charge of sufficient education for him to pass as advocate, and he then married the sister of one of the priests, which secured him a small competence. He requited all these benefits by suggesting in the assembly every measure for the persecution of the clergy and the confiscation of their property. The most atrocious of his acts, and one which inflicted on France the greatest misery, filling its prisons and causing much innocent blood to be shed, was the law suggested by him against suspected individuals. This law obtained for him the names of "Merlin-suspect," "Merlin-potence;" and Prudhomme, adverting to his homicidal tendencies, exclaims, "O Merlin! O execrable bourreau!" He assisted Robespierre in destroying the Girondins, and Tallien in destroying Robespierre and denouncing Barère, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, and Billaud-Varennès. He himself afterwards only escaped the scaffold by entering the Directory, then betrayed his colleagues, Barthelemy and Carnot, and was himself superseded and cashiered by Sieyès. On the accession of Bonaparte, he sank into contempt and obscurity, and was happy ultimately to obtain an humble post as deputy to a commissary of the Government in one of the legal tribunals of Paris.

MESGRIGNY, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Troyes*. Signed the protests of 12th September, 1791.

MESNARD (c.), prior and curate of Aubigny, *Saumur*.

MESTRE (t.e.), av., *Libcurne*,

MEUNIER du Breuil (t.e.), *Mantes*. Signed the protests of 12th September, 1791.

MEURINE (t.e.), cultivateur, *Clermont en Beauvoisis*.

MEVOLHON (t.e.), av., *Forcalquier*.

MEYER (t.e.), physician, *Alsace*.

MEYNIEL (t.e.), av., *Condom*.

MEYNIER de Salinelles (t.e.), *Nismes*. A retired merchant, mayor of Nismes, and condemned by the revolutionary party as a counter-revolutionist, and executed at the age of 65.

MICHELON (t.e.), pr. royal, *Bourbonnois*.

MILLANOIS (t.e.), *Lyons*. A retired bookseller in Lyons, and condemned to death on the surrender of that city, two of his relations perishing with him.

MILLET, Abbé (c.), curate of St. Pierre de Dourdan, *Dourdan*. At the close of the session he was confined in the St. Firmin, and massacred with all his fellow prisoners on 2d September, 1792.

MILLET de Belleisle (t.e.), av., *Agen*.

MILLET de la Mambre (t.e.), *Sedan*.

MILLON de Montherlant (t.e.), av., *Beauvais*. Condemned to death for having harboured a royalist. He was 68 years of age.

MILLSSENT (t.e.), *Anjou*.

MIRABEAU (t.e.), Gabriel Honoré de Riquetti, Count, *Aix*, was born in 1749, descended from a noble and ancient family in Provence. His father, a man of considerable talent perverted to the worst purposes, was the author of a popular periodical called *L'Ami des Hommes*; his mother, a proud, passionate, and vindictive woman, was in a perpetual state of altercation and litigation with her husband, so that their son had no benefit of precept or example from either. He ran wild accordingly, and at the age of twenty had exhausted every species of vice and even of crime. The next twenty years were spent in vagabond travelling abroad or imprisonment in France; and latterly, to avert the heavier penalties of outraged law, he

at the instance of his friends was immured, by lettre de cachet, in the castle of Vincennes. He was liberated on the eve of the meeting of the States-General, and immediately repaired to Aix in his native province to court popularity, and, being rejected by the nobility, assumed a commercial character, and was elected by the *tiers état* as their representative. His reputation had preceded him to Paris, and, high as was the expectation entertained, it was more than realized by the demonstration he made on the meeting of the Deputies, by his bold apostrophe to the grand master of the ceremonies, as reported in a former part of this volume; the assembly was electrified, and his dominion over it established. He there exhibited the surpassing power of eloquence in all the plenitude of native genius. He had yet to select which party he would head, but equally despised them all. Necker, then minister, with his morbid frigidity, had repulsed him from the court. The Monarchiens, with Lafayette and the Lameths at their head, he viewed with supreme contempt, while with the same feeling, mingled with some apprehension, he was deterred from the Girondins and Jacobins, then ripening into action. As his only remaining alternative, he attached himself to the Duke of Orleans, as the best paymaster, and with him was implicated in the fatal outrages of 5th and 6th October, 1789, at Versailles; but soon afterwards dissolved partnership with the Duke and his soul of mud, or, as he called it, *son âme de boue*. He now acquired unbounded influence over the assembly and the populace, but gradually entered into relations of amity with the court, when, after an interview with the king and queen, his debts were paid, amounting to 2,000,000 of francs, and a pension of 6,000 francs each month assured to him. He was therefore meditating the measures to be adopted for securing the restoration of the regal power when he was struck with his fatal illness. Some vague knowledge of his intention had transpired, and the Lameths and their party intimated the probability of a grand *trahison*; and towards the close of his attendance in the assembly, there were indications from some sections in it of diminished acclamations when he spoke. It

was alleged that his plan was to have removed the royal family to Metz, and to have dissolved the assembly. Whether he could have effected this or any other scheme, is one of those historical problems which can never obtain any certain solution. He died the 2nd of April, 1791, at the age of 42, and was pompously interred; his last words were, "J'emporte la monarchie avec moi, des factieux s'en partageront les débris." In December, 1792, he was declared by the assembly to have been a traitor to his country; his ashes were removed from the Pantheon and scattered to the winds. For the most concise and authentic record of his character and proceedings we would refer to the *Souvenirs de Mirabeau*, written by his friend and literary fellow-labourer, M. Dumont, a Swiss gentleman of the highest attainments and most amiable and honourable character, who early in life settled in St. Petersburg with some of his family as minister of the *église réformée* there, and was introduced to the Rev. W. Tooke, the chaplain to the British factory, author of the *Life of Catherine II.* and of other works relating to Russia, with whom he renewed intimacy after a long interval, in London, where he had already established relations of intimate friendship with Sir Samuel Romilly and Jeremy Bentham, whose reveries in jurisprudence were ably paraphrased rather than translated into French by Dumont, and thus rendered intelligible to ordinary comprehensions, an advantage they did not possess in their native language. M. Dumont died at Milan in September, 1829, aged 70.

MIRABEAU, the Viscount (*n.*), *Limosin*. The brother of the Count, quite as profligate and immoral, and almost as clever. He adopted, however, in politics, a directly contrary line of action, invariably defending the crown, and endeavouring to save the church from spoliation. At the first meeting of the States-General, he insisted on the continued separation of the chambers, and when the king commanded them to unite, he was the last to leave the hall, breaking his sword in proof of his hopelessness of being permitted to wield it against the miscreants he was compelled to join. In the assembly he fear-

lessly defied Robespierre, and exposed to ridicule and disgust the shallow arguments and nefarious projects of the *côté gauche*. Finding all his efforts to stem the torrent unavailing, and after in vain endeavouring to restore the discipline and rouse the loyalty of his regiment, he emigrated, sending a letter of resignation to the assembly, protesting against all they had done, were doing, or proposed to do. He then raised a loyal legion, joined the Prince of Condé, and accompanied him into Poland, distinguished himself by his bravery on several occasions, and died in December, 1792, at Frobourg, in the Brisgau. The viscount was of an extraordinary personal figure, nearly as broad as long, with an enormous head and no neck, which obtained for him the name of "Mirabeau-Tonneau." He was an able writer, and published a satirical periodical called *La Lanterne Magique*, one of the earliest publications of the kind. It had many imitators, but no equal.

MIREMONT, the Count of (*n.*), *Vermandois*. Resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. Novion.

MIREPOIX, Count of (*n.*), *Paris*.

MOLLIEN (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Rouen*.

MONCORPS, the Count of (*n.*), *Auxerre*.

MONNEL (*c.*), curate of Valdelancourt, *Chaumont*. An unmistakable Jacobin; voted for the death of the king, and thus established his claim to office under the Directory.

MONNERON, the elder (*t.e.*), *Annonay*.

MONSINAT (*t.e.*), av., *Toulouse*.

MONSPEY, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Beaujolais*. Warmly attached to the monarchy, he strenuously resisted every invasion of its rights.

MONTAGUT-BARRAU, Baron of (*n.*), *Comminges*. Resisted the union of the orders, and signed the protests of September, 1791.

MONTAUBAN, the Bishop of (*c.*), Breteuil le Tonnelier, *Rivière-Verdun*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MONTAUDON (*t.e.*), av., *Limosin*.

MONTBOISSIER, Baron (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Chartres*. He

resigned early in the session, and was replaced by M. de Talon.

MONTBOISSIER, the Count of (n.), *Clermont en Auvergne*. He commanded the mousquetaires in the armies of the brothers of the king, and had been a member of the assembly of notables in 1789. In respect of his seniority, he presided over his order as doyen d'âge.

MONTCALM-GOZON (n.), Maréchal de Camp, *Carcassonne*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

MONTCALM-GOZON, the Marquis of (n.), *Villefranche*. Member of the committee of pensions which ordered the publication of the celebrated *livre rouge* in April, 1790.

MONT-D'OR, the Marquis of (n.), *Lyons*.

MONTESQUIOU, the Abbé (c.), agent-general of the clergy of France, *Paris*. Signed the protests of September, 1791, and vindicated the claims of his order with eloquence, and at the same time with such dignity and moderation as to conciliate the respect of all parties; and although he could not avert the spoliation, he was put on the committee for conducting the alienation of the property of the church, so as to afford him opportunity for mitigating the details.

MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC, the Marquis of (n.), Maréchal de Camp, and member of the academy, *Paris*. One of the worst specimens of the *haute noblesse* of France. Brought up in the school of the Encyclopédistes, he without any gratitude or regard for the bounties conferred upon him by the king, and particularly by Monsieur, sacrificed both to his two ruling passions of avarice and ambition. To gratify the former he amassed without regard to the means an enormous fortune, and with a view to the latter paid court to the Jacobins, justified the proceedings of Coupe-tête Jourdain and the massacres of the Marseillois. Having the command of the armies on the Swiss frontier, he was denounced by Dubois-Crance and Barrère for the suspicious character of his negotiations with Geneva, and was deprived of his command. Having apparently anticipated this event, he had invested all his movable wealth abroad, where

he remained until he obtained permission to return in 1795, and died in France on the 30th December, 1798. He was the eighth noble who voluntarily joined the *tiers-état* previous even to the secession of the minority of his order.

MONTFERRE, le Chevalier de (*n.*), *Perpignan*.

MONTGAZIN, l'Abbé Meric de (*c.*), vicar-general of the diocese of Boulogne, *Boulonnois*. He signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

MONTJALLARD (*c.*), curate of Barjols, *Toulon*. Under the influence of remorse and despair for having submitted to take the civic oath, he precipitated himself out of his window on the 20th August, 1791, and died within the hour.

MONTJOYE-VAUFREY, the Count of (*n.*), *Belfort et Huninguen en Alsace*.

MONTMORENCY, Mathieu, Count of (*n.*), *Montfort l'Amaury*. At the age of 25, he abandoned his order, joined the *tiers état*, and courted the society of the avocats, who prepared short speeches for him to deliver at the tribune, one of which was in support of the motion of the Count of Noailles for the suppression of all titles of nobility, and the abandonment of armorial bearings, on which it was said that he was the first of his name and race who had ever voluntarily laid down his arms. Of that family it is mentioned by Gibbon that it boasts of being one of the four most illustrious descents in Europe, namely, the houses of Este, Bourbon, Courtenay, and Montmorency. Tired of the insignificant part he acted, he went abroad, and in 1795 obtained permission to return to France.

MONTPELLIER, l'Evêque de, de Malita (*c.*), *Montpellier*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

MONTREVEL, the Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Mâcon*.

MOREAU (*t.e.*), av., *Touraine*.

MOREL (*t.e.*), cultivateur at Vezeigne, *Chaumont en Bassigny*. In 1790, he sent in his resignation, and was replaced by M. Gombert.

MORGE, the Count of (*n.*), *Dauphiné*.

MORIN (*t.e.*), av., *Carcassonne*. In 1792 in the convention, he

voted for the reclusion of Louis XVI., and his banishment at the peace. He became a member of the council of 500, and retired in 1798.

MORTEMART, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Rouen*. He signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

MORTIER (*t.e.*), merchant, *Cambresis*.

MOUGEOTTE de Vigne, (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Chaumont en Bas-signy*.

MOUGINS de Roquefort (*c.*), curate of Grasse, *Draguignan*. He attached himself to the revolutionary party, and took the oaths.

MOUGINS de Roquefort (*t.e.*), mayor of Grasse, *Draguignan*. Desirous of shining, but exhibiting no sufficient lights for that purpose, he occupied himself during the whole session of the constitutional assembly in the small talk of legislation.

MOUROT (*t.e.*), av., *Bearn*.

MOUTIE (*c.*), canon in the church of *Orleans*.

MOUTIER (*t.e.*), *Sezanne*.

MOYOT (*t.e.*), a retired captain in the merchant service, *Brest*.

MUGUET de Nanthou (*t.e.*), écuyer, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

A young man of 25, of a class of frequent occurrence in troublous times, who, having great appetite for distinction, and no legitimate qualification for attaining it, would supply the deficiency by clamour and gesticulation. He took on himself the surveillance of the tribunes, and prompted the public in the hall and in the galleries when to applaud, when to hiss, and when to interrupt. As he attached himself to the Jacobins, he was for a time patronised by them; but as he was incapable of rendering them any real service, he at the end of the first session was neglected by them, and repressed by ten other members, and so relapsed into the obscurity from whence he should never have emerged.

MULLIER, le, de Bressey (*n.*), *Dijon*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

NAIRAC (*t.e.*), merchant, *Bordeaux*. In 1797, he was elected one of the council of 500, and in 1799 became a member of the legislative body.

NANCY, Lafare, Bishop of (c.), *Nancy*. He delivered a very impressive discourse in the church of St. Louis, in Versailles, to the States General, on the opening of their session there. In the assembly, he distinguished himself by his dignified and eloquent appeals in vindication of the rights and property of the church, and proposed a resolution recognising the Roman Catholic form of worship as the religion of the state. The discussion caused great disturbance in the assembly, which, after much confusion, came to no vote on the subject.

NAU de Belleisle (t.e.), mayor of Castel-Moron d'Albret, *Castel-Moron*.

NAURISSART (t.e.), director of the mint at Limoges, *Limosin*. He devoted himself to questions of finance, and was a member of the committee on that subject.

NICODEME, Paul-Joseph (t.e.), *Valenciennes*. Born at Cambray, and one of the twenty-four enfeoffed franks of the county of Cambresis, senior consul of the merchants, and ex-sheriff of Valenciennes.

NIOCHE (t.e.), av. at Loches, *Touraine*. Afterwards deputy for the Indre et Loire to the national convention, where he voted for the death of Louis XVI., although he had asserted a few days before that the convention had no right to judge that prince. He was sent as commissioner to Lyons, with 6,000 troops at his disposal, where he exercised great cruelty, and exacted enormous sums from the inhabitants. These merits rendered him acceptable to the Directory, who no doubt shared in the spoil, and who, on his retirement from the council of elders in 1797, employed him on various confidential missions.

NISMES, Cortois de Dalare, Bishop of (c.), *Nismes*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

NOAILLES, de, Prince de Poix (n.), *Amiens* and *Ham*. A knight of the Golden Fleece, and a captain in the Royal Gardes-du-Corps. He at first favoured the revolution, and was appointed to the command of the national guard at Versailles, which he resigned in June, thus fortunately escaping the fatal days of October, 1789. He then appeared inclined to follow the original

bent of his disposition by joining Condé, but not being encouraged by the emigrants, he evinced his attachment to the king by remaining with him over the period of August, 1792, when being arrested and imprisoned, he would have suffered in the general massacre of 2d and 3d September, but that he purchased his release only a few days previously, at a very high ransom. NOAILLES, the Viscount of (*n.*), *Nemours*. He was the deputy who in the nocturnal sittings of 4th and 5th August, 1789, moved and carried by acclamation the surrender by the clergy and the nobles of all their titles, privileges, feudal rights, and armorial bearings. He assisted the Jacobins as long as he thought he could control them, but sensible that the reverse of that position was approaching, he resigned his command before Valenciennes, and retired abroad. He thus avoided the result which some of his accomplices experienced, who found that there is no trifling with impunity with the repose of a nation, and that ambition becomes a crime, and in ordinary agents is punished as such when it compromises that repose.

NOLF (*c.*), curate of St. Pierre de Lille, *Lille*.

NOMPAIX DE CHAMPAGNY, de (*n.*), Major de Vaisseau, *Forez*. In January, 1791, he presented a report on the marine, in which he recommended that there should be no other distinction between the two services for the state and for commerce than that the latter should be a school or training for the former. Having survived the reign of terror, he was elected, in December, 1799, one of the Council of State under the Consulate in the section of the Marine.

NOUSSITON (*t.e.*), avocat at Pau, *Bearn*, ultimately nominated on the council of 500.

NOVELLES (*n.*), the Baron of, *Lille*. He sent in his resignation in 1790, and was replaced by the Count of Elbhecq.

OGE (*c.*), curate of St. Pierremont, *Vermandois*. He took the constitutional oath on the 2d January, 1791, at the tribune of the assembly.

OLERON, Villoutreix de Faye, Bishop of (*c.*), *Soule*, signed the protests of September, 1791.

ORLEANS, Louis Philip Joseph, Duke of (n.), *Crepy*, was born at St. Cloud, 13th April, 1747; married 3d April, 1769, to Louisa Maria Adelaide of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Penthièvre; she was born 13th March, 1753. He was Duke of Chartres until the death of his father in 1787. On the death of the Duke of Penthièvre, the Duke of Orleans succeeded in right of his wife to the richest inheritance in France, if not in Europe, to which she became entitled on the death of her brother, the Prince of Lamballe, a weak young man, killed directly or indirectly, it matters not which, by his brother-in-law. The unhappy duchess then obtained, at a very great sacrifice, a separation from her husband. Immediately on the Duke of Penthièvre's death, Orleans went to Vernon to obtain possession of all the jewels and valuables, and had no sooner done so than Danton, Robespierre, and others of his *friends* apprised him of the risk he ran of denouncement, arrest, and probable confiscation, and recommended him to deposit his valuables in their safe custody; he did so, and in the course of a few months they enjoyed their fraudulently acquired prize. The Duke of Orleans was fifth in succession, himself included, from Louis XIII., namely, Monsieur, the brother of Louis XIV.; Philip of Orleans, the regent during the minority of Louis XV.; Louis of Orleans; Louis Philip of Orleans; and Louis Philip Joseph. History, whether ancient or modern, presents no more odious character than that of Citizen Egalité. In the preceding chronicle we have presented some features of it; and the French historians of each party, after exhausting a whole vocabulary of contumelious epithets, in which their language peculiarly abounds, conclude their accounts by saying that he was *scélérat* beyond all former precedent, yet add that he was *encore plus vil que scélérat*. He voted for the king's death, and was himself guillotined on 6th November, 1793.

ORMESSON DE NOYSEAU, A. L. F. de P. (n.), president of the parliament of Paris, *Paris*.

ODAILLE (t.e.), laboureur, *Beauvais*.

ODOT (c.), curate of Savigny en Revermont, *Châlons-sur-Saône*.

PACCARD (*t.e.*), avocat at Châlons-sur-Saône, *Châlons-sur-Saône*.

Signed the protests of September, 1791.

PAIN (*t.e.*), conseiller, *Caen*.

PALASNE de Champeaux (*t.e.*), *Brieux en Bretagne*. In September, 1791, he was appointed president of the criminal court in the department of the Côtes du Nord.

PAMPELONE, l'Abbé de (*c.*), archdeacon of the Cathedral Church of Niviers, *Villeneuve de Berg*. Having joined the republican party, he was appointed in 1793 on the revolutionary tribunal of Lyons, which caused the massacre of so great a number of the inhabitants of that city, and the neighbouring departments. In December, 1799, he was advanced to the legislative body.

PANAT, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Toulouse*.

PANAT, the Viscount of (*n.*), *Trevoux*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

PANETIERS, the Count of (*n.*), *Couserans*.

PAPIN (*c.*), curate of Marly-la-Ville, *Paris*. In the place of M. le Guen, curate of Argenteuil, who died at Versailles, 24th June, 1789.

PARDIEU, the Count Félix of (*n.*), *St. Quentin*. He was one of the 27 members of the chamber of the nobility, who protested on the 19th of June, 1789, against the majority, and joined the *tiers état*. He vegetated afterwards in a condition of semi-revolutionism.

PARENT de Chassi Nicolas (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Nivernois*. He was condemned to death as being implicated in the papers alleged to have been found at the Tuileries. He was executed in January, 1793, at the age of 37.

PARIS, Archbishop of (*c.*), Antony Eleanor Leo le Clerc, Duke of St. Cloud, Peer of France, *Paris*. This apostolic prelate was translated from the bishopric of Chalons-sur-Marne to the metropolitan see in 1781 on the death of M. Beaumont, at the immediate instance of the king, influenced only by the high character he had established for piety and learning. In 1788, he distributed in alms and benefactions nearly half a million of livres. He had thus so justly endeared himself to the

people, that the revolutionary agents were apprehensive of the consequences, and therefore used every endeavour to prejudice the populace against him by circulating libels, accusing him of being a counter revolutionist; these failing, they attempted the more summary expedient of assassination, and with that view he was assaulted in Versailles by Bouche and other deputies, and only escaped by taking refuge in the church of St. Louis. After this it was reported that he was dead, but he had withdrawn into Savoy, from whence he, in 1790, issued a mandate against the oaths exacted from the priests. In 1792 he removed into Germany, where he bestowed all that he could spare of his reduced means, after supplying his own very moderate requirements in the relief of his poorer emigrant brethren.

PARISOT (*t.e.*), av. and pr., *Bar-sur-Seine*.

PAROY, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Provins*.

PAULHIAC de la Sauvetat (*t.e.*), av., *Perigord*.

PAULTRE des Epinettes (*t.e.*), bourgeois at St. Sauveur, *Auxerre*.

PAYEN (*t.e.*), cultivateur de Boiry-Becquerel, *Artois*.

PAYEN Boisneuf (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Touraine*.

PEGOT (*t.e.*), merchant at St. Gaudens, *Comminges*.

PELANQUE-BERAUT (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Condom*.

PELISSIER (*t.e.*), physician, *Arles*.

PELLEGRIN (*c.*), curate of Sommercourt, *Bar-le-Duc*. He replaced M. Collinet, who had resigned.

PELLERIN de la Buxiere (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Orleans*.

PELLERIN (*t.e.*), av., *Nantes*.

PELLETIER de Feumusson (*c.*), curate of Domfront, *Maine*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

PEMARTIN (*t.e.*), av. at Oléron, *Bearn*. He voted for the detention of the king during the war, and for his exile at the peace. In September 1795, was nominated on the council of 500, and in March, 1799, was advanced to the legislative body.

PERDRY, le cadet (*t.e.*), av., *Valenciennes*.

PERES d'Artassan (*t.e.*), conseiller au parlement de Bordeaux, *Mont Marsan*. He resigned and was succeeded by M. Dulau.

PEREZ, de (*t.e.*), av. at Mirande, *Auch*. In 1797 he was in the council of 500, and having fruitlessly resisted a measure in favour of the fugitives from Toulon, he rushed out of the hall, loudly vociferating against the majority.

PERES de Lagesse (*t.e.*), av., *Rivière-Verdun*.

PERETTI della Rocca (*c.*), Grand Vicaire d'Aleria, *Corsica*. He signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

PERIER (*c.*), curate of St. Peter at *Etampes*.

PERIER (*t.e.*), ancien notaire de Paris, *Chateaufort de Thimerais*.

PERIGNY, the Marquis of (*t.e.*), *St. Domingue*. A cousin and pupil of the Lameths. During the vacation he went on a revolutionizing mission into Switzerland, where his doctrines not being relished, he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged, which was commuted for the pillory and whipping. Unimproved by this process, he returned to France by Strasbourg, where he lectured in favour of pikes, and against emperors and kings, and wrote pamphlets to the same effect, which savoured more of madness than of crime.

PERISSE du Luc (*t.e.*), bookseller, *Lyons*. Took his seat on the *côté gauche*, notwithstanding which being returned to Lyons, he was convicted of being a *modéré*, and fell in one of the wholesale massacres in that devoted city.

PERNEL (*t.e.*), notaire royal at Lure, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

PERPIGNAN, Bishop of, Antoine Felix de Leyris Desponchez (*c.*), *Perpignan*.

PERREE Duhamel (*t.e.*), merchant, *Coutances*.

PERRET de Trégadoret (*t.e.*), av., *Piormel en Bretagne*. In 1795 he became one of the council of 500.

PERRIN de Rosiers (*t.e.*), av., *Villefranche*.

PERVINQUIERE (*t.e.*), av., *Poitou*.

PETION de Villeneuve, Jerome (*t.e.*), av., *Chartres*. This bold, bad man has occupied so considerable a portion of our former narrative as to render it unnecessary to enlarge further on his crimes in this place. From the first he was a mercenary tool of the Duke of Orleans, and was sent by him to London in 1789, to effect a speculation in corn, which proved a total failure. By the same interest he succeeded Bailli as mayor of

Paris, and from that period, at the instigation of the Duke, manifested invariable hostility to the king and queen, omitting no opportunity for circulating libels against them, and for personally insulting the king, rushing day by day to the tribune, invoking instant trial and speedy execution. With this view he contrived, and by himself and his agents conducted, assaults on the king and his guards at Versailles, and in the Tuileries, and the massacres in the prisons of the clergy and others in confinement there. He was one of the three deputies who accompanied the royal party back from Varennes, and afterwards voted for the death of the king. Having slackened in his partnership of guilt with Robespierre, and attached himself to the equally criminal faction of the Girondins, he was included in the proscription of that party, and placed under arrest in his own house, from whence he escaped and wandered with his accomplice Buzot into la Gironde, in the hope of exciting insurrection there; in this they failed, and their mangled remains were identified in a field; an end compared with which the guillotine would have been an act of mercy, but as the crimes of Petion were of uncommon enormity, so equally uncommon and awful was their visitation, whether by famine, suicide, assassination, or by wild beasts less savage than their victims.

PETIOT (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Châlons-sur-Saône*.

PETIT (*t.e.*), cultivateur at Magnicourt, *Artois*.

PETIT MENGIN (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Chalons-sur-Saone*.

PEYRUCHAUD (*t.e.*), av., *Castel-Moron d'Albret*.

PEZONS (*t.e.*), av. at Alby; afterwards was on the council of elders. *Castres*.

PFLEIGER (*t.e.*), cultivateur et procureur, *Belfort et Huningue*.

Voted for the death of the king, was afterwards nominated on the council of 500, from which he retired in 1798.

PHELINES, de (*n.*), *Blois*. He acted with the minority of his order, joining the *tiers état*, and protesting, 19th June, 1789, against the majority, but, notwithstanding these demonstrations, did not emerge from his original obscurity.

PICART de la Pointe (*t.e.*), *St. Pierre le Moustier*.

PICQUET (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Bourg-en-Bresse*, was, in 1797, elected on the council of elders, when his election was annulled by the Bonapartists.

PIFFON (*c.*), curate of Valeyrac, *Bordeaux*, signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

PIIS, Charles Antony de (*n.*), *Bazois*. He resigned his seat in 1790, and was tried and condemned by the military commission of Bordeaux, as an enemy of the revolution. He was executed in May, 1793, at the age of 52.

PILASTRE de la Brardiere (*t.e.*), *Anjou*. He voted for the detention of the king, and his banishment at a peace. He became member of the council of ancients, and was called, in December, 1799, to the legislative body.

PINCEPRÉ de Buire (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Péronne*.

PINELLE (*c.*), curate of Hilsheim, *Colmar*.

PINNELIERE (*c.*), doctor in theology, curate of the town and parish of St. Martin, Isle of Rhé, *Rochelle*. Signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

PINTEREL de Louverny (*t.e.*), *Château-Thierry*.

PISON du Galand (*t.e.*), av. at Grenoble, *Dauphiné*. Although a zealous promoter of the revolution, he never went into extremes, and was one of the few who were desirous of giving a fair share of influence to the provinces, and on several occasions justified the conduct of the king and of some of his adherents. He was one of the first members nominated on the council of 500, and was elected its first secretary. The following notice of him in the "Gallery of the States General" affords a correct portrait of a considerable class of second-rate public agitators: "He never exactly knows what he does, seldom what he says, nor what he intends, but still among the many curious contradictory elements in the human mind, and of which several instances may be adduced, this very man has the faculty of analysing the arguments and so concentrating the conflicting points in debate, as to expose all their metaphysical inconsistencies."

PLAS de Tane, Count of (*n.*), *Quercy*.

PLEURE, the Marquis of (*n.*), maréchal de camp, *Sezanne*.

Signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

POCHERON (*c.*), curate of Champvert, *Charolles*.

POCHET, de (*t.e.*), av. et pr., *Aix*. Signed the protests of 12th and 15th September, 1791.

POIGNOT (*t.e.*), merchant, *Paris*.

POISSAC, Baron of (*n.*), *Tulle en Limosin*. He resigned his seat in June, and having returned to Tulle, he was nearly massacred by the populace, who pursued a Captain de Massi into the baron's house, with a view to hang him at a lanthorn, and who was only saved by being delivered over to prison.

POITIERS, Bishop of, Martial Louis Beaupoile de St. Aulaire, *Poitou*. Notwithstanding his great age he ascended the tribune on 4th January, 1791, to record his refusal to take the constitutional oath, alleging that he would not dishonour his old age by denying his God.

PONCET d'Elpech (*t.e.*), av. *Quercy*. In 1797 he was elected on the council of 500.

PONS de Soulages (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Rhodesz*.

POPULUS, Marie Etienne (*t.e.*), av., *Bourg-en-Bresse*. Being at Lyons during the siege of that city in 1793, he was accused of having aided in the revolt, and condemned to death by the revolutionary committee, and executed in November, at the age of 57.

PORTERIE, de la (*c.*), curate of Lincouac, *Mont-de-Marsan*. He took the constitutional oath.

POTHEE, Echevin de Mantoire (*t.e.*), *Vendôme*.

POUCIN (*t.e.*), av., *Quesnoy*.

POUGEARD du Limbert (*t.e.*), av., *Angoulême*. In 1795 he was elected on the council of elders, and left it in 1799.

POUILLY, the Baron of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Verdun*.

POULAIN de Boutancourt, Celestin (*t.e.*), *Vitry-le-François*. He voted for the imprisonment of the king, and his exile at the peace. Afterwards was on the council of 500, and in 1799 became a member of the legislative body.

POULAIN de Corbiou (*t.e.*), mayor of *St. Brieux en Bretagne*.

POULAIN de Beauchesne (*t.e.*), ancien lieutenant de la grande louvererie de France, *Caen*. On the discussion relative to the abolition of feudal rights, he required the suppression of those of pigeons, rabbits, and monks ; because the first, he said, eat the corn in seed, the second in blade, and the third in ear.

POULE, la, av., *Besançon*. Destitute as well of natural as of acquired ability and cultivation, he attached himself, of course, to the *côté gauche* ; but he rendered himself so ridiculous by his ignorance, that the one party was as unwilling to retain as the other to receive him ; and this might well be expected when it was known that his early training was that of marker at a billiard table.

POULE, l'Abbé de (*c.*), *Orange*. Replaced the Bishop of Orange, who resigned his seat. The Abbé signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

POULTIER (*t.e.*), *Montreuil*. In March, 1799, the department of Pas-de-Calais elected him on the council of 500, and in December he became a member of the legislative body.

POUPART (*c.*), curate of Sancerre, *Berry*.

POURET ROQUERIE (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Contances*.

POUS (*c.*), curate of Mazamet, *Toulouse*. On the 3d January, 1791, he took the civic oath.

POUTRE, le (*n.*), farmer at Linsel, *Lille*.

POYA de l'Herbay (*t.e.*), *Berry*.

PRADT, Abbé de (*c.*), vicar general of Rouen, *Caux*. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1792. He wrote and published many works against the new revolutionary principle, and generally on the war and the finances and foreign policy of France.

PRASLIN, Count of (*n.*), *Maine*.

PRÉVÔT (*t.e.*), avocat royal, *Peronne*. He was an active member of the committees charged with the administration and alienation of the national domains, and ultimately elected on the council of 500 for one year.

PREZ de Grassier (*n.*), chevalier de St. Louis, *Gex*. Having espoused the revolutionary cause was appointed maréchal de camp, and employed in 1792 under Dnmouriez, and afterwards

under Dampierre, and in November, 1793, took the chief command of the army of the Pyrenees, but was dismissed shortly afterwards and imprisoned in Paris, and released on the fall of Robespierre; and in 1795 was restored to his rank, but not again actively engaged.

PRIEUR (*t.e.*), avocat at Châlons, *Châlons-sur-Marne*. Rendered himself conspicuous by his yelping tone and the expression of his extreme opinions, obtaining in consequence the name of *Le Crieur*. He vented the grossest abuse against the king on the subject of his departure from Paris, and afterwards voted for his death. He was sent to allay the troubles in La Vendée, and one of his first expedients was to induce one thousand peasants to lay down their arms, and then cause them all to be shot. Although a devoted agent of the Jacobins, he was employed by their successors, but being afterwards implicated in one of their conspiracies for regaining their ascendancy, was arrested and imprisoned, but enlarged on the general amnesty granted by the Directory. This, however, did not change the leopard's skin, and he verified the experience of the Parisians, who asserted that once a Jacobin always a Jacobin.

PRIVAT (*c.*), curate of Craponne, *Puy en Velay*. Signed the protest of 12th September, 1791.

PROVENCAL, de, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Arles*.

PRUCHE (*t.e.*), perpetual mayor of Dormans, *Sezanne*.

PRUDHOMME de Keraugon (*t.e.*), de St. Paul de Léon, commissaire des états de Bretagne, *Lesneven en Bretagne*.

PRUGNON (*t.e.*), avocat, *Nancy*. Appears to have been a moderate and judicious man in his treatment of the questions of legislation, respecting which he chiefly occupied himself, and it is to be regretted that his plain sense and good abilities were not engaged in a better cause.

PUCH de Monbreton, de (*n.*), *Libourne*. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

PUISAY, Count Joseph of (*n.*), *Perche*. This unsurpassed caitiff commenced his representative career by ranging immediately with the small number of the recreant nobility who voted for union with the *tiers état*, and protested against the proceedings

of the great majority of his order, took his seat immediately on the *côté gauche*, and was rewarded, as was said, by a grant from the national funds. He then joined the federal party, and during the reign of terror commanded a division of the departmental forces in the Calvados. From thence—but it has never been well explained when, why, or wherefore—he entered into relations with the Chouans, and distinguished himself as one of their generals. He then paid several visits to England and made delusive representations of the strength of his party to Mr. Pitt and the government, who sanctioned the fatal expedition to Quiberon, an account of which will be found in this volume. He basely saved his own life by flight, and sacrificed the gallant Sombreuil and the whole emigrant forces. It has never been explained whether cowardice and incapacity or fraud and perfidy were the governing motives of his conduct. He sought refuge in America from the universal horror his conduct had excited in Europe.

QUATREFAGES de la Roquette (*t.e.*), bourgeois, *Nismes*.

QUERU de la Coste (*t.e.*), *Rennes en Bretagne*.

QUENILLE, Marquis of, *Auvergne*.

RABAUT de Saint Etienne (*t.e.*), *Nismes*. A literary character and a minister of the *église réformé*. He entertained, in common with all the Calvinists in the south of France, a bitter feeling of resentment against the Roman Catholic Church and clergy for the cruelties and persecutions they had exercised against his party, and therefore concurred in all the severe measures of the assembly against the church, the clergy, and their property, whether endowed or personal. Otherwise he was no decided republican, but thought the royal dynasty might be changed. On the trial of the king he voted for his detention during the war and exile on a peace. He with uncompromising energy on all occasions resisted Robespierre and the terrorists, but did not join their organised opponents; still this did not protect him from a decree of accusation and outlawry, and he was tried and condemned to death accordingly, as a member of the faction of *hommes d'état*. He contrived to

escape to Bordeaux, where he was seized by the authorities and executed as an outlaw the next day, at the age of fifty. He was the author of several works, and among others one of the best accounts we possess of the early period of the revolution.

RABY de Saint Médar (*t.e.*), bourgeois de Castel-Sarrazin, *Toulon*.

RAMEL-NOGARET (*t.e.*), avocat and pr. royal, *Carcassonne*. Voted for the death of the king, and otherwise was occupied exclusively in the department of finance, speaking ably on all the questions of taxes, loans, assignats, the law of the maximum, and the other numerous questions which occurred in that fruitful department. The reputation thus acquired obtained for him in 1796 the appointment of minister of finance, which he retained until 1799.

RANCOURT de Villiers, de (*n.*), *Gien*.

RANGEARD (*c.*), member of the royal academy of sciences and belles-lettres, archpriest of Angers, curate of Andard, *Anjou*.

RATHSAMHAUSEN, le Baron de (*n.*), Colonel d'Infanterie, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite Militaire, l'un des Assesseurs au Directoire de la Noblesse immédiate de la Basse-Alsace, *Haguenau*. Resigned in September, 1790, apprising the president that he considered his mission at an end, the order of nobility being abolished, and that he was no otherwise deputy than by their authority and election.

RASTIGNAC, l'Abbé de Chapt de (*c.*), Vicar-General of Arles, rector of the Sorbonne, *Orleans*. He signed the protests of September, 1791. At the end of the session he was confined in the Abbaye, and remained there until the massacres of 2d and 3d September, 1792. At the moment when the butchery commenced, he and the Abbé Laussant were in the pulpit of the chapel where they were imprisoned. They announced to their fellow-prisoners that their end was approaching, and bestowed on them their last benedictions. Within the ensuing hour these two aged priests and all their brethren in the building were slaughtered.

RATIER de Montguion (*t.e.*), propriétaire et avocat, *Saintes*.

RATIER (c.), recteur de Broos, *St. Malo en Bretagne*. He took the civic oath.

RAUX (t.e.), *Reims*.

RAZE, de (t.e.), *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

REDON (t.e.), av., *Riom en Auvergne*. He had a high reputation for probity, and whilst member of the National Assembly, constantly required of the members to obey the cahiers or instructions delivered to them by their constituents, all of which recognized the right of the veto in the crown. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

REGNAULT (t.e.), av., *St. Jean d'Angely*. A very verbose orator, whose opinion on any subject it was difficult to ascertain, in consequence of the cloud of words in which it was enveloped. At length, however, he became a monarchist, and published a periodical in favour of that party, called "*Le Courrier de Versailles*," which gained for him a personal attack in the Champs Elysées from the Marseillois. He had the temerity to oppose Mirabeau, who in return made him feel all his superiority; he latterly attached himself to Bonaparte, and accompanied him to Italy and Malta, and was appointed by him on the council of state.

REGNAULD d'Epercy (t.e.), pr. royal, *Dôle*.

REGNAULT (t.e.), av. royal, *Nancy*.

REGNIER (t.e.), av., *Nancy*. An unscrupulous Jacobin, who assisted his party and the Terrorists as much as consisted with his own safety, then, with no change of principle, took Tallien for his leader, and was elected on the council; then, governed by the same cautious motives, approved the Bonaparte *coup d'état* at St. Cloud, and was named by Napoleon on his council of state.

RENAUD (t.e.), av., *Agen*.

RENAUT (c.), curate of Preux-au-Bois, *Quesnoy*.

RENNEL, the Count of (n.), *Toul*. He resigned his seat on the union of the orders, and was replaced by M. d'Alençon.

REPOUX (t.e.), av., *Autun*.

REVOL (t.e.), av., *Dauphiné*. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

REWBEL (*t.e.*), Bâtonnier de l'ordre des avocats au conseil souverain d'Alsace, *Colmar et Schelestadt*. He was the agent and man of business of the German Princes, who were possessed of lands and feudal privileges in Alsace, and, in gratitude for the income and fortune thus obtained, proceeded against them for the forfeiture of all those rights with far more zeal than honesty. Avarice was his ruling passion, and he was suspected of having possessed himself of the large accumulated wealth in plate and jewels of the elector of Mentz. He thus purchased or made his way to the councils and a fifth share of the Directorial Dictatorship, and ultimately under the immediate influence of Barras, who alone could control his habitual coarseness and audacity, concurred in the accession to power of Bonaparte. He was on a mission at the period of the king's trial and death, but wrote to the assembly approving of the sentence.

REY (*t.e.*), av., *Beziers*.

REYNAUD, the Count of, *St. Domingue*.

RHODEZ, the Bishop of, Seignelay Colbert de Gast le Hill (*c.*), *Rouergue en Rhodex*. Passed among the first of his order to the *tiers état*, apparently considering that he atoned for that error by signing the protests of September, 1791.

RIBEROLLES, de (*t.e.*), merchant, *Riom en Auvergne*.

RICARD (*t.e.*), *Nismes*. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

RICARD (*t.e.*), conseiller, *Castres*.

RICARD de Séalt (*t.e.*), av., *Toulon*. In August he presented a document signed by 26 curates, renouncing, on behalf of themselves and the church in general, the right to tithes.

RICHARD (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Forez*. He was elected on the council of 500, for two years, and then proceeded to the legislative body.

RICHE (*t.e.*), merchant at Angers, *Anjou*. He spoke from the tribune requiring the abolition of the venality of offices.

RICHIER, de (*n.*), Gentilhomme de Marennnes, *Saintes*.

RICHON (*t.e.*), av., *Puy-en-Velay*.

RIGOUARD (*c.*), curate of Solliès-la-Fallède, *Toulon*. He joined

the revolutionary party, and was appointed constitutional bishop of the department of the Var in May, 1791.

RIQUIER (*t.e.*), propriétaire at Brimoux, *Montreuil-sur-Mer*.

RIVIERE (*c.*), curate of la Ville de Vic, *Bigorre*. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

RIVIERE (*t.e.*), *Mende*.

ROBECQ (*n.*), le Prince de Montmorency, Chevalier des Ordres du Roi, Lieutenant-Général de ses Armées, Grand d'Espagne, &c., *Bailleul*. He had been member of the Assembly of Notables in 1787.

ROBERT (*t.e.*), avocat, *Nivernois*.

ROBESPIERRE (*de*), Maximilien Isidore (*t.e.*), avocat, *Artois*. This dreadful man has occupied so large a space in the preceding annals of the assembly and the convention, that we are happy to escape the necessity of entering on a repetition of his crimes.

ROBIN de Moréry (*t.e.*), merchant, *Piormel en Bretagne*. He soon resigned, and was replaced by M. Ledeist.

ROCA (*t.e.*), bourgeois of the town of Prades, *Perpignan*.

ROCHEBRUNE (*n.*), the Baron, *St. Flour*. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

ROCHECHOUART (*n.*), the Count of, *Paris*. Was one of the first seven members of his order who united with the *tiers état*, and issued a public announcement of having so done.

ROCQUE, de Saint Pons (*t.e.*), merchant, *Beziers*.

RODAT Dolemps (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Rhodesz*. He was nominated, in 1798, on the council of ancients, and in December, 1799, became a member of the legislative body.

RÖDERER, de (*t.e.*), conseiller, *Metz*. Notorious for his manifold tergiversations and invariable adherence to the strongest party, always securing a way of escape. Successively a monarchist, Girondin, Feuillant, and terrorist, he at last subsided into the confidence of Talleyrand and Bonaparte, and became a very influential minister with the latter.

ROGER (*t.e.*), Juge Royal de Simorre, *Comminges*.

ROHAN-GUEMENEZ (*c.*), Cardinal Prince Louis René Edouard, Bishop and Prince of Strasbourg, &c., *Haguenau*. He was titular Bishop of Canopé in Egypt, and one of the forty

members of the French Academy, whose participation in the diamond necklace story we have before had occasion to narrate. He was elected to mortify the court, and resigned in favour of the Abbé Louis, who dying, the National Assembly confirmed the first election, and annulled the sentence of exile the cardinal was under. He took his seat on 12th September, 1789. The revolutionary party expected he would take his revenge on the court, but they were disappointed, although he took the civic oath, but immediately afterwards withdrew. On 29th July, 1790, the Assembly required him to resume his seat within a fortnight; this he peremptorily refused to do, alleging that he could not sanction the resolutions for depriving the church of its privileges. On this a decree of accusation was issued, on which he withdrew to the extreme limit of his principality on the right bank of the Rhine.

ROI (*t.e.*), avocat, *Angoulême*.

ROLLIN (*c.*), curate of Verton, *Montreuil-sur-Mer*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

ROLLAND (*c.*), curate of Caire, *Forcalquier*. He took the oaths.

ROSE (*c.*), curate of Obersteinbronn, *Belfort en Alsace*.

ROSTAING (*t.e.*), the Marquis of, Maréchal de Camp, *Forez*.

Was led into the revolutionary current mainly by the following incident. At the moment that the nobility of his bailiwick were about to elect him as their representative, he received an official announcement that he had been unanimously elected by the *tiers état*; he accepted this flattering demonstration of confidence, and considered it his duty to identify himself with the order who had bestowed it.

ROULHAC, de (*t.e.*), mayor of Limoges, and in 1787 had been one of the Assembly of Notables. *Limosin*.

ROULX (*c.*), curate of St. Pol, *Artois*.

ROUSSEL (*c.*), curate of Blarenghem, *Bailleul*. Took the civic oath, but at the same time signed the protests of September, 1791.

ROUSSELET (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Provins*.

ROUSSELOT (*c.*), curate of Thiénans, *Amont en Franche-Comté*.

ROUSSIER (*t.e.*), merchant, *Marseille*.

ROUSSILLOU (*t.e.*), merchant, *Toulouse*. He succeeded in January, 1791, in obtaining a decree of the assembly for the abolition of the Company of Senegal, as being a monopoly, and contrary to the principles of equality.

ROUZIÈRE, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Auvergne*.

ROYER, Abbé de Noë Honoré Joseph (*c.*), conseiller d'état, *Arles en Provence*. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791. He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, as implicated in the conspiracy of the Luxembourg prisoners, with whom he was confined. He was born of a noble family at Arles, and aged 55 years at the time of his execution, in June, 1793.

ROYERE, de (*c.*), bishop of *Castres*. He resigned after the events of the 5th and 6th October, 1789, and was replaced by M. Cavailhès.

ROYS, the Count of (*n.*), *Limosin*.

ROZÉ (*c.*), curate of Emalville, *Caux*. Signed the protests of the 12th and 15th September, 1791.

RUALLEM, de (*c.*), Abbé d'Isle-lès-Villenoy, president of the council, and intendant of the finances of the Princesses Adelaide and Victoire of France. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791. *Meaux*.

RUELLO (*c.*), curate of Loudeac, *St. Brieux en Bretagne*. He took the constitutional oath at the tribune of the assembly, on the 31st December, 1790.

RUILLE, the Count of (*n.*), *Anjou*. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791. The military commission of Angers condemned him to death as a brigand, in consequence of his having fulfilled some function in la Vendée, while it was under the dominion of the royalists.

SAIGE (*t.e.*), av., *Bazas*.

SAINT ALBIN, l'Abbé de (*c.*), Doyen de Vienne, *Dauphiné*.

SAINT ESTEVENT (*c.*), abbé and curate of Ciboure, *Labour*.

SAINT FARGEAU, Louis Michel Lepelletier de (*n.*), Président à Mortier au Parlement de *Paris*. He and Mirepoix were the only representatives of the nobility of Paris who did not from

the first join the *tiers état*; he, however, afterwards did so under the influence of the Duke of Orleans, and on the trial of the king voted for his death, although he had some years before taken a voluntary oath that he would never sanction the punishment of death. This double crime of perjury and murder was signally avenged, as, six days after he had pronounced the sentence, he was assassinated at Fevrier's, a restaurateur in the Palais Royal, by a gendarme named Paris, who had been appointed garde du corps to the king during his trial, and who, on hearing that the fatal sentence had been pronounced, appears to have formed the determination that he would cause the death of one at least of the guilty judges. Entering accidentally the restaurant, he heard the name of Lepelletier de St. Fargeau mentioned as present, and who being pointed out to him he went up to him and asked him whether that was his name, and whether he was a Deputy to the National Convention, and upon being answered in the affirmative he added, "And you voted for death?" Lepelletier had only time to utter the words "My conscience," when Paris drew his sabre and plunged it into his chest. He then departed, in spite of some efforts to detain him, and left for Normandy, but was viewed suspiciously by many passengers, and had proceeded no further than Forges les Eaux, when he was found in bed by two gendarmes. Upon seeing them he drew out a pistol and shot himself. Among his papers was found one disclaiming any accomplice whatever in performing the duty of ridding the earth of the *scélérat* Fargeau, and only regretting that he could not follow it up by a like visitation on the *monstre parricide*, Orleans. The following lines were also found inscribed on his brevet or commission as garde du corps de roi :

" Sur ce brevet d'honneur je l'écris sans effroi,
Je l'écris à l'instant que je quitte la vie,
François, si j'ai frappé l'assassin de mon roi,
C'étoit pour m'arracher de votre ignominie."

The assembly caused their colleague to be buried with much pomp, and adopted his daughter. He was wealthy, and reported

to have said that a man possessed of 600,000 livres of income, should either be at the head of the Mountain, or at Coblenz.

SAINT FLOUR (*c.*), Bishop of, Ruffo, C. M. Des-Comtes de Laric, *St. Flour*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

SAINT MAIXANT, the Marquis of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp et des Armées du Roi, *Gueret*.

SAINT MARS, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Etampes*.

SAINT MAURICE Barbeyrac, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Montpellier*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

SAINT SIMON, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Angouleme*.

SAINTE ALDEGONDE, the Count of (*n.*), *Avesnes*.

SAINTES, Larochefoucault, Davers Peter Louis, Bishop of, *Saintes*. He met his death by a most afflicting casualty, for he, not being under accusation or any legal proscription, went on the 2nd September, 1792, to the Carmelites on a visit of sympathy and condolence to the Bishop of Beauvais, in confinement there, and with his friend and all the other prisoners was massacred.

SALCETTE, Colaud de la, Jacques Bernardin (*c.*), *Dauphiné*. Took the constitutional oath and voted for the detention of the king until a peace, and for his death in case of foreign invasion. He was nominated on the council of 500, and retired from it in 1797.

SALICETTI (*t.e.*), av., *Corsica*. A Corsican of good family, and a determined Jacobin. He voted for the death of the king, and was then sent on a mission of blood and plunder to Marseille and Toulon, with Barras, Freron, and others for his colleagues. By these means he acquired an immense fortune. He was arrested in 1795 on a charge of having protracted his residence in those cities for his own selfish and rapacious purposes. He was absolved in 1796 by the amnesty then granted, and in 1800 retired on his fortune to his native island.

SALLÉ de Chou (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Berry*.

SALLES de Costebelle (*t.e.*), av., *Beziers*.

SALLES (*t.e.*), physician at Vezelise, *Nancy*. He joined the revolutionary party, and generally concurred with the Girondists. He voted for the detention of the king until a peace, and for

exile afterwards. The Jacobins included him in their proscription, and obtained his condemnation and outlawry. He fled to Evreux with others of his party, and from thence embarked by way of Quimper for Bordeaux, then moving from one asylum to another, and changing from cavern to cavern, he was seized on 20th June, 1794, at the house of Guadet's father, and executed the next day at the age of 34.

SALOMON de la Saugerie (*t.e.*), av., *Orleans*. Was on the first committee of public safety, but not otherwise distinguished.

SAMARY (*c.*), curate of *Carcassonne*. Signed the protest of September, 1791.

SANCY (*t.e.*), av. at *Châlons-sur-Saône*. In January, 1791, he made a long speech on the organization of civil and criminal justice.

SARRAZIN, the Count of (*n.*), *Vendôme*.

SATILLIEUX de Faure, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Annonay*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

SAURINE, the abbé of (*c.*), *Béarn*. He took the civic oath, and was appointed bishop of the department of the Landes. Voted for the detention of the king until a peace, and signed the protests of September, 1791. Was included in the list of seventy-three proscribed by the Mountain, but concealed himself until its fall, and was then recalled to the assembly. Placed on the council of 500 in 1795, he left it in 1797.

SCHIPPERS, Leclerc (*t.e.*), merchant, *Lille*. In 1795 was nominated on the council of 500 for two years, but excluded from it in consequence of his refusing to co-operate in its proceedings at St. Cloud for establishing Bonaparte as consul.

SCHMITS (*t.e.*), av., *Saarguemines*.

SCHWENDT (*t.e.*), syndic de la noblesse immédiate de la Basse-Alsace, *Strasbourg*.

SEGUR, Viscount of (*n.*), maréchal de camp, *Bordeaux*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

SENEZ, Jean Baptiste Charles Marie de Beauvais, ex-bishop of (*c.*), *Paris*.

SENTETS (*t.e.*), pr. royal, *Auch*. On 8th June he proposed a law for the punishment by death of all who professed atheism, deism, or other dogmas which sanctioned acts condemned by the laws.

SERENT, the Count of (*n.*), *Nivernois*. A prepossessing young man of some ability, and warmly attached to the king, whose command to join the *tiers état* he reluctantly obeyed, and then, too often with a view to shine in debate, joined the Anglo-Americans, or Monarchiens. He, however, signed the protests of September, 1791, and was killed in Brittany in 1798.

SEURRAT de la Boullaye (*n.*), *Orleans*. He signed the protests of September, 1791.

SEZE, de (*t.e.*), physician, *Bordeaux*. Entertained moderate views, and proposed that the king should have an absolute veto in respect of all legislative measures.

SIEYES de la Beaume (*t.e.*), propriétaire and avocat at Fréjus, *Draguignan*.

SIEYES, the Abbé Emanuel Joseph (*t.e.*), vicar-general of the Bishop of Chartres, *Paris*. The associate of Condorcet, Diderot, and Alembert, and their brotherhood of the *Encyclopédie*, and, according as his innate cowardice or tendency to safe intimidation prevailed, was the slave or the prompter of every successive faction. He had a constitution ready cut and dried for each party as it gained the ascendancy, but, not having the courage to carry out his own principles, was obliged to submit to such modifications as the stronger organ of the prevailing party dictated. The last of his many intrigues was to have set up Joubert as a kind of military dictator, leaving the civil power to himself; this scheme was disappointed by the death of Joubert and the immediate arrival in France of Bonaparte, who, with the help of Lucien and Barras, demolished the cobweb contrivances of Sieyes, but allowed him to be a mere nominal consul with himself, and soon dismissed him to the honourable exile of an embassy to Berlin. He had been a member of the assemblies, on the council of 500, and a director with Barras and Rewbel. On the trial of the king he voted for his death, and in contradistinction to the elaborate speeches and modifications suggested by those who had preceded him on the tribune, he pronounced the sentence in these expressive words, *la mort sans phrase*. It may, in conclusion, be observed that he had in a pamphlet printed by him in July, 1791, expressed himself in these

remarkable words: "It is not in deference to ancient habits nor from any superstitious feeling in favour of royalty that I prefer a monarchy; I prefer it because it appears to me a demonstrable proposition that there is more liberty to a citizen under a monarchy than in a republic, and that, according to every possible hypothesis, the greatest amount of individual liberty is enjoyed in the first of these governments."

SILLERY, Alexis Brulard de Genlis, the Marquis of (*n.*), *maréchal de camp, Reims.* Was from his youth up the pupil and associate of the Duke of Orleans in all his profligate orgies and political conspiracies, taking an active part in all the insults offered to the king. On the trial of Louis XVI. he voted for his detention until a peace and exile afterwards; he was also the determined advocate of Orleans on occasion of all the accusations brought against him, and of the escape of his son the Duke of Chartres, with, or soon after, that of Dumouriez. This filled up the measure of the suspicion and contempt which had long attached to the conduct of Egalité, and which Sillery in vain attempted to explain and extenuate in April, 1793. He was involved in the proscription of 31st May, and guillotined on 2d June with Vergniaud and the other Girondins.

SIMON (*c.*), curate of Voel, *Bar-le-Duc.* Signed the protests of September, 1791.

SIMON (*c.*), rector of Boussacq, *Dôl en Bretagne.* Took the constitutional oath.

SIMON (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Caux.*

SIMON de Maibelle (*t.e.*), professor of civil law, *Douay.*

SINETTI, de (*n.*), the Marquis de, Chevalier de St. Louis, et premier maître d'hôtel de Monsieur. He sat on the *côté gauche*, and yet evinced some principles of moderation.

SOLLIER (*t.e.*), avocat at Seignou, *Forcalquier.*

SOUSTELLE (*t.e.*), avocat at Alais, *Nismes.*

SURADE, de (*c.*), canon of St. Genevieve and prior of Plaisance, *Poitou.*

TAILHARDAT (*t.e.*), *Riom en Auvergne.*

TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD (*c.*), Archiepiscopal-Duke of Reims, peer of

France, *Reims*. Signed the protest of 12th September, 1791. TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD, Charles Maurice (c.), Bishop of Autun, *Autun*. Born at Paris in 1754. A great statesman and diplomatist, equal to Mirabeau in all the worst elements of their common nature, and inferior to him only in imagination, genius, brilliancy, and eloquence. Overwhelmed with debt and immersed in profligacy, he hailed the revolution as the only means of repairing his shattered fortunes. He attained that object, made his successive bargains with republicans, directors, consuls, emperors, and kings, but with no deception on his part, for though each employed him no one trusted him, the entire absence of all emotion on his impassive countenance precluding all other confidence than that inspired by interest. On the 14th July, 1790, he solemnised the feast of the federation with a bevy of constitutional priests, dressed in white robes, ornamented with tricolour ribands. On 3d March, 1791, he pronounced a discourse in the assembly in honour of his friend Mirabeau, and read a long treatise on successions, which Mirabeau had on his death-bed confided to him for that purpose. He then addressed letters to the bishops and clergy of France, recommending them to follow the example of his apostacy, and which brought down upon him a monitory notice from Rome. The reign of terror now looming in the distance, he was apprehensive that his friend Robespierre might disconcert his schemes; he retired therefore to England with some vague intimations of peace, but his credentials being questionable, he had notice to quit under the salutary provisions of the alien act, and accordingly made the best of his way to America, fearing that his return to France might have a summary result by the possible discovery of his correspondence with the Tuileries. The revolution of 27th July, 1794, having abated his dread of danger and of death, he applied to have the decree of accusation against him rescinded and his name erased from the register of emigrants. This was granted, and he returned to Paris in 1795, and from that time forward he was in high office with the ruling authorities, whichever they might be, and some of the journalists

were amused with announcing the ex-bishop of Autun in full military uniform, his sabre by his side, presenting to the directory with one hand a nuncio from the pope, and with the other an ambassador from the sultan.

TARGET, av., *Paris*. Had acquired a first-rate celebrity at the bar, and, as occasionally happens in the legal and other professions, with very second-rate qualifications. The king was advised to require his assistance as his counsel on his trial; this Target refused in a letter to the assembly, signed by him as "the republican Target." That his refusal arose from a dastardly apprehension of consequences was obvious from his soon afterwards getting himself appointed secretary to Chalandaun, a shoemaker, and president of one of the Jacobin sections of Paris, under whom Target, in his capacity of secretary, had to sign warrants for the arrest and execution of many innocent individuals.

TELLIER (*t.e.*), av. royal, *Melun*. Voted for the death of Louis XVI. Was sent in 1795 on a mission to Chartres, where he shot himself in a frenzy of mortification at not having been able to suppress a riot in consequence of the high price of provisions, when he was compelled by the populace to cry "*Vive le Roi!*" while led sitting backwards on an ass through the streets.

TERME (*t.e.*), cultivateur, *Agen*.

TERNAY, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Loudun*.

TERRATS (*t.e.*), juge de la vignerie de Roussillon, *Perpignan*.

TESSÉ, the Count of (*n.*), Lieutenant-General, Chevalier des Ordres, first equerry to the Queen, and a grandee of Spain, *Maine*. He soon relinquished his seat, and was replaced by M. Dumas, avocat.

TEXIER (*c.*), canon of Chartres, and chaplain to the queen, *Chateauneuf*. Signed the protest of the 12th September, 1791.

THEBANDIERES, de (*t.e.*), ex-procureur général, *St. Domingue*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. de Villeblanche.

THEVENOT de Maroise (*t.e.*), av., *Langres*.

THIBANDEAU (*t.e.*), av., *Poitou*. A determined republican; he voted for the death of the king, but would attach himself to no party,

and boldly resisted Robespierre when his more eloquent opponents, the Girondins, deserted their posts. On the fall of Robespierre he adhered to the convention, and equally opposed the royalists and the Mountain. He continued in this course until the revolution operated in favour of Bonaparte, when he was included in the sentence, arrest, and deportation, but his friends succeeded in obtaining his release. It has been said that he was the only regicide with whom the Bourbons were disposed to treat, he not being disinclined.

THIBAUT (*c.*), curate of Souynes, *Nemours*. Having taken the oaths, he was nominated to the bishopric of Cantal. Endued with a sufficient stock of audacity in lieu of talent, he occasionally made his appearance on the tribune, and the last time he did so was in 1793, for the purpose of resigning his bishopric.

THIBOUTOT, the Marquis of (*n.*), *maréchal de camp*, *Caux*. Signed the protests of September 1791, and in an able speech he made on the relinquishment by his order of all their rights, titles, and privileges, expressed his readiness to sacrifice every pecuniary appointment he held, but was not prepared to make a surrender of his honorary distinctions.

THIRIAL (*c.*), Doctor of the Sorbonne, curate of St. Crépin, *Chateau-Thierry*. Signed the protest of September, 1791; condemned to death May, 1793.

THOMAS (*c.*), curate of Meynac, *Tulle en Limosin*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

THOMAS (*c.*), curate of Mormans, *Melun*. On 12th September, 1793, he was condemned to deportation to Guiana as a refractory priest, not having taken the oaths, and thus giving an example of disobedience to law, and having held fanatical correspondence; he was then upwards of seventy years of age.

THORET (*t.e.*), physician at the university of Bourges, *Berry*. Signed the protest of September, 1791.

THOURET, Jacques Guillaume (*t.e.*), *av.*, *Rouen*. Had shown an evident tendency in favour of the monarchy and of moderate measures, but the dread of the Jacobins prevailed: he adopted every method for propitiating their favour, and for that purpose headed a deputation to congratulate them for having disposed of the tyrant. This abasement did not avail: the Jacobins

held that he retained his original principles, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Luxembourg, and then tried and convicted of a conspiracy to escape, and executed in April, 1793, at the age of thirty-eight.

TIXEDOR (*t.e.*), juge de la vignerie du Confluent, *Perpignan*.

TOULONGEON, the Marquis of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Amont en Franche-Comté*. Was for a very short time seduced into the party of the Monarchiens, but soon disgusted with the course of the revolution and its adherents, he resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. Meray. He retired in 1792 to Friburg, in Switzerland, and from thence wrote letters to his brother and to the king. The latter having been found among the king's papers at the Tuileries, and the former intercepted at Verdun, a decree of accusation was fruitlessly fulminated against him by the National Convention.

TOULONGEON, the Viscount of (*n.*), *Aval*. He was much in the same predicament with the preceding nobleman; but as his return to reason and right principles was caused rather by mortified ambition than by an honest conviction, he did not entitle himself to the same credit.

TOULOUSE, the archbishop of, de Fontange (*c.*), *Toulouse*.

TOULOUSE, Lautrec, the Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Castres*. He was arrested at Toulouse in May, 1790, on a charge of exciting to counter-revolution, but succeeded in absolving himself from it by the interest of his friends in the assembly, among whom were the Count of Ambly, and Robespierre himself. He never deviated from his attachment to and support of the monarchy.

TOURS, the Archbishop of, Francis de Conzie (*c.*), *Tours*.

TOURUYOL (*t.e.*), *Gueret*.

TOUSTAIN de Viray, the Count of (*n.*), Maréchal de Camp, *Mirecourt*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

TOUZET (*c.*), curate of Ste. Terre, *Libourne*.

TRACY de Stutt, Count (*n.*), *Bourbonnois*. A man of small fortune and no ability, he was an adherent of la Fayette, and was taken prisoner with him, but considered of so little importance, that he was permitted to depart, and he returned to the original obscurity of his position and province, from whence

he was charitably relieved by Bonaparte, and promoted to his conservative senate.

TREBOL de Clermont (*t.e.*), *Quimper en Bretagne*.

TREILHARD (*t.e.*), *av., Paris*. Voted for the death of the king, although some time previously he had enthusiastically exclaimed, on hearing an address made by the king to the assembly, "*Ah! voilà un discours digne d'Henri Quatre!*" Still he retained office under each succeeding government, and was elected a director, from which post he was with Merlin and Lareveillière turned out by Sieyes and Barras, to make room for Napoleon.

TRIDON (*c.*), curate of Rongères, *Bourbonnois*.

TRIE, the Count of (*n.*), *Rouen*. Signed the protest of September, 1791.

TRONCHET (*t.e.*), *av., Paris*. The learned and eloquent defender of the king, forming a perfect contrast to Target. In September, 1793, he was decreed for arrest, but withdrew from the threatened storm, and in 1795 was nominated on the council of elders, and ultimately promoted to the tribunal of cassation.

TROUILLET (*t.e.*), merchant, *Lyons*.

TUARILT (*t.e.*), *Piormel en Bretagne*.

TURCKHEIM, de (*t.e.*), consul of the city of *Strasbourg*.

TURPIN (*t.e.*), *Blois*.

ULRY (*t.e.*), *av. royal, Bar-le-Duc*.

UPAC de Badens, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Carcassonne*. He resigned his seat, and was replaced by M. de Rochemade.

USSON, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Maréchal de Camp, Pamiers*.

USTON de St. Michel, the Viscount of (*n.*), *Comminges*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

UZES, the Bishop of, Henry Benedict Jules de Bethisy de Mezières (*c.*), *Nismes*.

VADIER (*t.e.*), *Pamiers*. A Jacobin of the most determined description, he voted for the death of the king, and went all lengths with Robespierre, until within a few hours of that dictator's fall, when with Collot, Barrère, Billaud, and some others, he endeavoured to make his peace with Tallien

and the conventionalists. He was implicated in the Jacobin conspiracies of Babœuf, but escaped punishment, and was ultimately pardoned by Bonaparte.

VAILLANT (*t.e.*), keeper of the seals at the council of Artois and cultivateur, *Artois*. He was afterwards nominated on the council of elders, which he resigned, but was re-elected.

VALERIAN Duclos (*t.e.*), mayor of St. Esprit, *Nismes*.

VALETTE (*t.e.*), merchant at Tours, *Touraine*.

VALLET (*c.*), curate of St. Louis, *Gien*.

VALETTE Parisot, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Quercy*.

VANEAU (*c.*), rector of Orgères, *Rennes en Bretagne*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

VARICOURT, Rouen de (*c.*), *Gex*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

VARIN (*t.e.*), avocat, *Rennes en Bretagne*.

VARELLES (*c.*), curate of Marolles, *Villers-Cotterets*. He took the constitutional oath the 3d January, 1791.

VASSE (*n.*), the Vidame of, *Maine*.

VASSY, the Count Louis of (*n.*), *Caen*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

VAUDREUIL, the Marquis of (*n.*), Lieutenant-Général des Armées Navales, &c., *Castelnaudary*. Signed the protests of September, 1791. Was one of the most prominent members on the *côté droit* of the assembly. He spoke occasionally on naval affairs, and on emigrating received a letter from the minister Bertrand, earnestly entreating his return, to which invitation he returned no answer.

VERCHERE de Reffye (*t.e.*), avocat, *Autun*.

VERDET (*c.*), curate of Vintranges, *Saarguemines*.

VERDOLIN (*t.e.*), avocat, *Draguignan*. Voted for the reclusion of the king, and his exile on a peace.

VERDONNE, Adam de (*t.e.*), *Crépy*.

VERGNE, Richard de la (*c.*), prêtre, docteur en droit, avocat en parlement, recteur de la Trinité de la ville de Clisson, *Marches Communes de Poitou et Bretagne*.

VERGUET, Dom (*c.*), prior of the abbey royal of Relecq, *St. Pol de Leon en Bretagne*.

VERNIER (*t.e.*), avocat, *Aval*. Devoted himself almost exclusively to matters of finance, and wrote and spoke ably on the subject. On the trial of the king, he in his capacity of legislator voted for his detention, but declined to act or interfere as judge. He was arrested towards the close of Robespierre's power, but released by his fall. Being nominated on the council of elders, he favoured the claims of Bonaparte, and was therefore promoted by him to the conservative senate.

VERNIN (*t.e.*), *Bourbonnois*, nominated afterwards on the council of ancients.

VERNY (*t.e.*), avocat, *Montpellier*.

VERTHAMONT, le Chevalier de (*n.*), *Bordeaux*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

VIALIS, de (*n.*), maréchal de camp et directeur des fortifications, *Toulon*.

VIARD (*t.e.*), *Bar-le-Duc*.

VIELLARD (*t.e.*), doctor and professor in civil law, *Reims*.

VIELLARD, fils (*t.e.*), avocat, *Coutances*.

VIENNE, Jean George le Franc de Pompignan, Archbishop of (*c.*), *Dauphiné*. A prelate of irreproachable life and conversation. He was at a very advanced age elected deputy. Early in life he had written some sacred poems of considerable merit, and which, owing more to their subject than to their composition, had incurred the bitter ridicule of Voltaire. On his entrance into the assembly, his mental and physical faculties were in a decaying state, and, flattered by the confidence reposed, he considered it his duty to obey the implied instructions of his constituents to unite the orders, and he accordingly, with a minority of his order, joined the *tiers état*, and thus gave an unhappy sanction to the party of the revolution. He died soon after, and, great as was his age, it was said his death was hastened by his melancholy forebodings of the consequences of his act.

VIGNON (*t.e.*), *Paris*.

VIGNIER (*t.e.*), avocat, *Toulouse*.

VILLARET, the Abbé of (*c.*), Vicar-General of Rhodéz, *Villefranche*.

- VILLARMOY, the Count Arthur de la (*n.*), *Coutances*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.
- VILLEBANOIS, de (*c.*), curate of St. John the Aged, *Berry*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.
- VILLE le Roulx, de la (*t.e.*), merchant at l'Orient, *Hennebon en Bretagne*.
- VILLENEUVE-BARGEMON, the Abbé of (*c.*), Count-Canon of Victor-lès-Marseille, *Marseille*.
- VILLEQUIER, the Duke of (*n.*), Governor of Boulogne, Maréchal de camp, first gentleman of the king's chamber, *Boulonnois*. He resigned his seat in 1790, and was replaced by M. Dublais. When in personal attendance on the king, on 28th February, 1791, with 500 gentlemen, who by command of the king were disarmed by the national guard, la Fayette basely insulted the duke, regardless of his rank and age.
- VILMORT, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Poitou*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.
- VIMAL-FLOUVAT (*t.e.*), merchant, *Riom en Auvergne*.
- VINCENT de Pannette (*n.*), *Trévoux*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.
- VIOCHOT (*c.*), curate of Maligny, *Troyes*.
- VIRIEU, Francis Henry (*n.*), Count of, *Dauphiné*. Was one of those simple young noblemen who, on the impulse given by Noailles, surrendered by acclamation their privileges. Virieu lamented that all that was left for him to offer on the altar of the nation were the dovecotes of France. After this sacrifice, he signed the protests against innovation, and was as much surprised as mortified to find that those who had nothing to lose would not be content as long as anything was left to take.
- VISMES, de (*t.e.*), avocat, *Vermandois*.
- VIVIER (*t.e.*), propriétaire, *Navarre*.
- VOGUÉ, the Count of (*n.*), *Villeneuve*. Signed the protest of September, 1791.
- VOIDEL (*t.e.*), avocat, *Saarguemines*. Though a zealous revolutionist, was deficient in all the qualities leading to distinction, his only pretence to which was his appointment on the committee of inquiry and investigation, which enabled him to

denounce, from the king downwards, all who presumed to differ from himself, except the Duke of Orleans, whose creature he was, and whose biddings he zealously performed. In 1790 he conducted Madame Genlis to England, and took on himself the training of the young duke of Chartres.

VOLFINS (*t.e.*), av., *Dijon*. On 10th November, 1790, established a momentary celebrity by moving a resolution for the recall of all the French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts, in consequence of the disdain which they experienced.

VOULLAND (*t.e.*), av., *Nismes*. A Calvinist, and friend of Rabaut St. Etienne. He voted for the death of the king, lent all his support to Robespierre, up to the eve of his fall, when he joined in the cry against him; this did not save him from being denounced and arrested as his accomplice, but he succeeded in getting himself included in the amnesty afterwards granted.

VRIGNY, the Marquis of (*n.*), *Alençon*. Resigned May, 1790, alleging that his term of service had expired.

VYAU de Baudreuille (*t.e.*), *St. Pierre le Moustier*.

WARTEL (*t.e.*), av., *Lille*.

WIMPFEN, the Baron of (*n.*), *Caen*. Instantly joined the *tiers état*, protesting against the majority of his order for not doing so. He had the command of the army opposed to the Austrians at Thionville, and was subjected to several denunciations for treachery, but acquitted himself of all. On the defeat of the Girondins, he repaired to the Calvados and endeavoured to rouse the country in their favour, and took the command of the departmental forces, issuing a proclamation announcing a march on Paris, and inviting Custine to join him, who forwarded his letter to the assembly. The demonstration proved a total failure; he was abandoned by his troops, and could only effect his own escape by emigration.

WOLTER de Neurbourg (*n.*), *maréchal de camp, Metz*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

YVERNAULT (*c.*), canon of St. Ursin de Bourges, *Berry*. Signed the protests of September, 1791.

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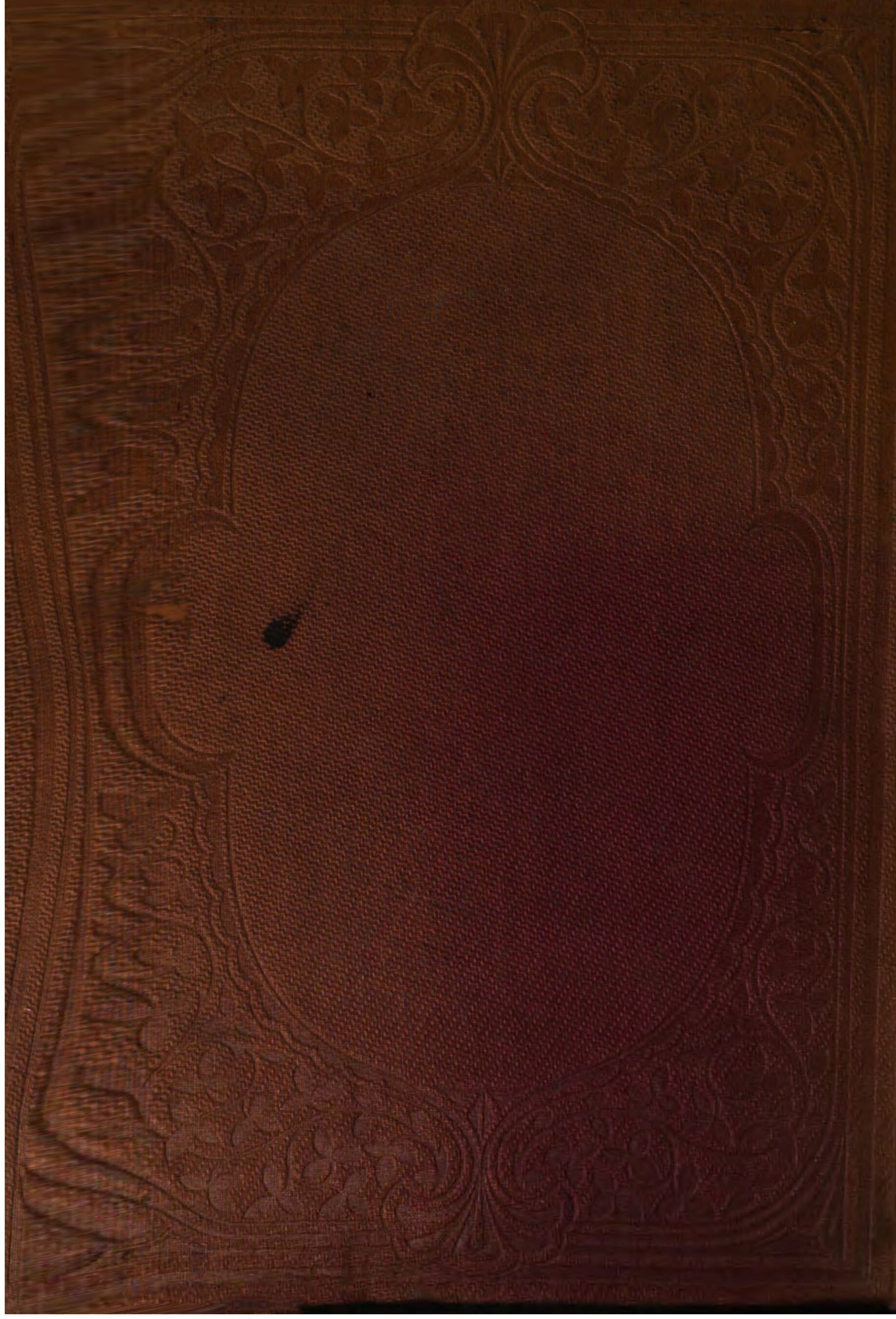
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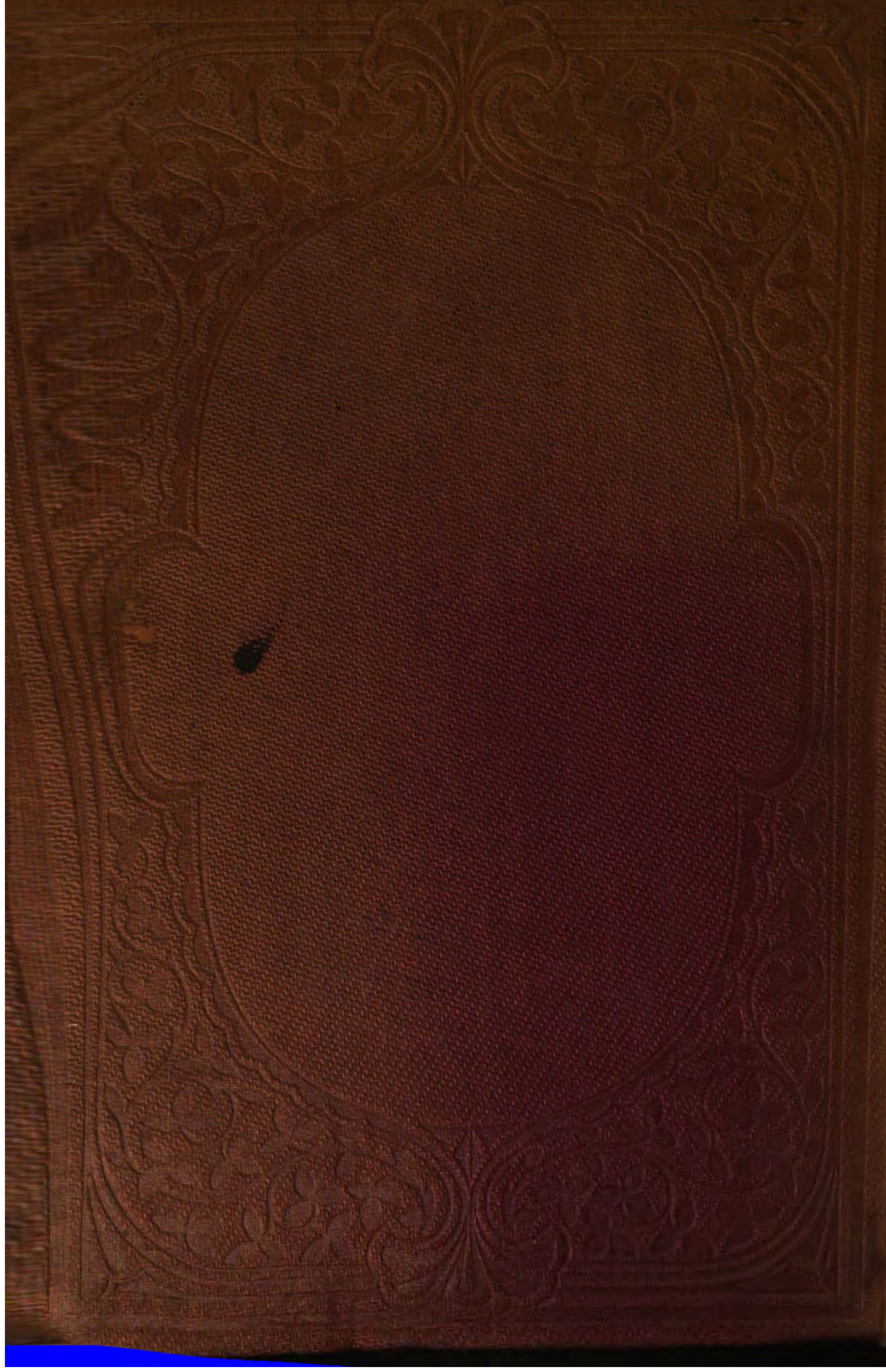
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